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# **POLITICAL REGISTER.**

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**VOL. XXX.**

***FROM JANUARY TO JULY,***

**1816.**

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**London:**

**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY G. HOUSTON, No. 192, STRAND.**

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**1816.**



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TO THE  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

LETTER X.

*On the depreciation of the American Paper Money at this time.—Bath Agricultural Meeting.*

Peckham Lodge, 4th January, 1816.

SIR,—It is John Bull's happy turn of mind, always, when he is embarrassed, to look about the world to see if there be no other nation in a state of embarrassment; and, if he find any in that state, to chuckle and hug himself in the thought, that he is not suffering alone, though, perhaps, he may have been the cause of the very misery, from the existence of which he derives his consolation. The stripping of Paris by Blucher and others like him; the cutting of the Protestants' throats in the South of France; the base murder of the brave MARSHAL BRUNE, with whom the Duke of York capitulated at the Helder; the blood of Marshal Ney, and others, shed by the royalists; the long rolls of proscription, ruin and death that are now making out in France; these, with other scenes exhibited in Italy and Spain, seem to cheer honest John in the midst of his calamities.

It is, I presume, from a thorough knowledge of this happy and amiable disposition, that the TIMES and COURIER newspapers have lately entertained their readers with such exulting descriptions of the *depreciated state of the Government paper-money*, in the United States of America.

But, Sir, these writers appear to forget (if indeed, they have ever known) the vast difference between our pecuniary situation and that of America. They seem to forget, that the whole of the *capital* of the American Debt is not equal to *one year's interest* on our Debt. They seem to forget, that, independent of the thousand millions owed by Great Britain, there is a Debt of about 300 millions in Ireland; and that, besides these, the East India Com-

pany owes a Debt of 40 millions, equal itself in amount to the Debt of the United States, a country the population of which is at this very time nearly equal to that of Great Britain, and the navigation and commerce of which cannot fail soon to overtake ours in magnitude. Before men begin to talk of the consequences of the depreciation of the Government Paper in America, they should take this comparison into their view; for, in the case of a total discredit of such paper, the distress produced thereby must necessarily bear a proportion to the *amount* of the paper; that is to say, in fact, the amount of the Debt, or sums owing to individuals from the government, or public.

Deprived as I am, at present, of all means of getting at American news-papers, I cannot speak with any degree of certainty, as to the real state of the Government-Paper in America; but, if it be much depreciated, two prices, a money-price, and a paper-price, will soon follow; and, though, as in all such cases, there will be *partial suffering*, the thing will soon put itself to rights. The American Debt, compared with the resources of America, is nothing. The total blowing up of that Debt would only take £1,000 each, from about 37 thousand people. It would not send, as in our case, many hundreds of thousands, nay, perhaps, millions, to beggary; and that, too, in a country, already full of paupers and beggars.

It is quite curious, besides, that we should find consolation in this depreciation of American paper-money, and anticipate therefrom the fall of the government, when we recollect, in our own case, the stoppage of Cash payments at the Bank of England; and while we are actually living under laws, which compel the landlord to take payment in paper for the amount of his rent, or to go without payment; while we are actually living under laws, and in time of peace too, which authorize the Bank Company, to refuse payment, on demand, of their notes, made payable on demand. This is being pretty impudent, at least.

But, Sir, I agree, that the cases are different. I agree, that it is improbable, that the Americans should do as the people of England have done. There are too few of the former immediately interested in supporting the Funds. The government of America has not been able, nor do I believe it has been willing, to tie to it such a large part of the community. The system there has not such support as it has here; and, most heartily do I hope that it never will.

The truth is, that the government paper of America is in discredit (if it be in discredit) because the people in general do not believe, that the interest will be duly paid in full; or, in other words, that they do not believe, that taxes in sufficient amount to pay the interest will be collected; or, perhaps, even granted by the Congress. There are never any fears of that sort here. Here the parliament never refuses to grant what the government calls for; and no man would think of refusing to pay the tax gatherer any more than he would think of refusing to submit to rain or thunder. The evil is not great, when a paper-system is blown up in time. But, when it has existed for ages, its dissolution is generally attended with some great and terrible convulsion.

In America there is no *National Bank*; and most ardently do I hope, that there never will be one, though it may now be wished for by many of the real friends of the liberties of the country. I think they deceive themselves as to the effects of such an institution. For the present, it might remove difficulties; but, in the end, a close connexion would take place between the Government and the Bank; and, from that moment, be the form of the government what it might, from being the servant, as it now is, it would begin to become the master of the people. When things are brought to this state; when the fortunes of half the community, depend, in whole, or in part, upon the government, and must be lost if the government be overthrown, who can be foolish enough to expect any thing like effectual resistance of the acts of the government, be they what they may? In such a state of things, when men talk of supporting the government; when they say, that government must be supported; that they will spend their last shilling and shed the last drop of their blood in supporting the constitution; they really mean,

by government and constitution, neither more nor less than the dividends on their stock; and, if they were frankly to say so, no one could reasonably blame them: it is the hypocrisy of their professions only that exposes them to censure.

By the means of a system, such as is here contemplated, a government soon becomes able to do what it pleases. The great check, the right of withholding money, and which is, indeed (short of open resistance by force of arms) the only check that any people can have in their power, is, in such a case, a dead letter, and the granting of money is a mere matter of form. Thus a government, backed by an enormous debt, may safely count amongst its supporters all the most opulent even of its political enemies, while those who are its political friends, are bound to it by ties of ten-fold the ordinary force. On the other hand, whoever has courage sufficient to oppose, or to censure openly, such a government, is sure to bring down on him the vengeance of all who feel that their fate is linked to that of the government. No matter what is the subject of his complaint; no matter how clearly justice and truth are on his side; no matter how irreproachable his character, how indisputably upright his views; no matter how unanswerable his arguments: his speeches or his writings, tend to shake the system, and he is jacobin, traitor, devil, and merits to be exterminated. What a deal of pure loyalty, Sir, has flowed from this abundant, this inexhaustible source!

If the people of America do but read in my work "*Paper against Gold*," the account of the origin of the *Bank of England*; if they see clearly that that Bank was established for the purpose of securing to the government the means of getting money into its hands without the necessity of applying directly to parliament; if they see, that the Bank and the Debt arose at one and the same time; if they see, that, since the Debt arrived at any considerable magnitude, no parliament has ever refused to grant money; if they see, that, as the Debt has increased so, and in nearly the same proportion, pauperism has increased, and that penal laws and laws abridging public liberty have also gradually increased; if they see, as they may in the present picture of this country, thousands upon thousands plunged into utter ruin; from affluence hurled down to poverty by an in-

fluence unseen and to them wholly unaccountable; if they see, that a great Bank, connected with a Government, has produced a state of things, in which no human precautions can enable any man to shield himself from ruin; in which the value of property is subject to changes which the owner has nothing to do in producing; in which all pecuniary contracts for time are virtually violated, to the ruin of one party and the enriching of another; and which, according to all appearance, must end in calamities even more serious than the present: if, Sir, the people of America see all this, and all this they may clearly see in our example, I am disposed to believe, that they will be very slow indeed to consent to any establishment, that shall, in any of its leading features, resemble the paper Mammoth of England.

I do not believe, (and, indeed, I can almost say I am certain of the contrary), that it is the design, or the wish, of the American government to build such a structure as that which I have here been describing. Such men as Mr. MANISON and Mr. MUNRO can have no such wish. The former is about to retire to private life for the remainder of his days; the latter, at most, has only a few years to following after him in the same career. Neither can possibly have the aggrandisement of their posterity in view from any source of emolument connected with the public. If they are strenuous for a National Bank, as it is said they are, it is because they see in it immediate benefit to the country, and do not see distant danger to its happiness and liberties lurking in the same cause. But, and this is all I desire upon the subject, I hope they will, before they finally adopt such a measure, cast their eyes once more towards England, and see what a revolution has, silently and unseen, been accomplished by similar means.

There is not a doubt that an establishment, which gives rise and creates confidence in a fictitious medium, such as that of paper-money, is the cause of greatly increased operations in commerce, trade, manufacture, and agriculture. If I, by the means of discounted notes, kept alive by renewals for a year or two, were to expend fifty thousand pounds at Botley, there is no doubt that the paper-money, created for my use, would set numerous hands to work, would enrich the tradesman,

and would fill the whole neighbourhood with what is called *prosperity*. But, as the expenditure would be built on fiction; as the fiction would cease at the end of the supposed two years; ruin, misery, feebleness, must then ensue; and, if there were no *third party*, namely, the *law*, to restrain us, we must, through the whole neighbourhood, be plunged into mutual revilings, confusion, hostility and violence.

In the case of nations there are *no third parties*. Hence it is, that all men of sober reflection dread the moment of putting an end to a system of paper, the existence of which they deplore, because they see the evils that it has produced. Dangerous as *a funding system is*, and always must be, to any country, it would, in my opinion, be more dangerous to America than to any other country in the world; not only because she has more of happiness and of liberty to lose, but because, from the peculiar construction of her governments, combined with the local relationships of the several parts of the nation, such a system could scarcely avoid, in the course of a very short life, to produce conflicts that would end in a dissolution of that *Union*, on which wholly depends the real independence and safety of the nation. For a while a funding system would tend to bind the several States together; but, when once its burdens came to be severely felt, a relief from those burdens would be sought for in the getting rid of that part of the ruling power of the country, by which those burdens were imposed. In England, were there is but *one legislature*; where a number of great families with enormous estates and with hereditary titles; where a church, dependent on, or, rather, *belonging to these*; and a crown, supported by, and supporting, both, all concur in the upholding of a funding system for what they deem their own benefit, the dissolution of such a system, terrible as the consequences must be when the system has arrived at its present pitch, may, nevertheless, not be attended with a dissolution of the whole frame of government. Indeed, there are not wanting persons to believe, that the dissolution of our funding system would merely bring the nation back to the state in which it was at the Revolution, or at 20 years later. But, not to dwell upon this point at present, it seems to me very clear; that,



In America, where there is no tripple, fast-twisted, boud of aristocracy, church, and crown, the smallest uneasiness under the burdens imposed by a funding system would produce, first the forcible resistance of the demands of the general government, and next a separation of the States. And, therefore, regarding as I do, the American Union as affording the last chance for the restoration of the liberties of Europe, I should be very sorry to hear of the establishment of a National Bank in that country.

In the meanwhile, however, there does not appear, from the last advices from America, to be any danger of the depreciation of the government paper-money continuing. I said before, that the total amount was too small to produce any serious mischief; and the great amount of the duties of customs must, in a short time, relieve the government from all its difficulties.

Leaving the Americans for the present, let me now solicit your attention to the late *Proceedings of the "Bath and West of England Agricultural Society."* This is a body of some weight, in point of numbers and property, and in point of understanding also, it being next to impossible, that 200, or 300, men of considerable property should assemble without bringing with them a great deal of information of a description more or less useful. The whole country is in agitation. It is all rigging and twisting. It seems as if the St. Vitas's Dance had seized the whole community. At *Rumford* the farmers and land-owners are meeting to obtain a *diminution of the tythes*, these, as they presume, being one of the causes of their distress. In other places the people are meeting to petition for relief from taxes. But, these meetings fall short of the Bath Society in point of importance. That Society, which really boasts of almost the whole of the great land-owners, whether Noblemen or Gentlemen, in the Western Counties of England, may, when it comes to any serious and formal decision, be fairly supposed to speak the sentiments of all the land-owners in the Western Counties. It is not, therefore, beneath you to pay some attention to what took place at their last meeting, at which meeting were present, as we are informed by their reporter, "the Duke of Somerset, Earl of Cork, Right Hon. Lord Gwyder, Sir John Cox

Hippesley, Sir J. W. Smith, Rev. Sir C. Rich, Bart. R. W. Weston, W. Gore Langton, Esq. M. P. Colonel M'Mahon, and about 200 of the principal gentry in the western counties."

Now, Sir, whatever may be the share of intellect that you may be pleased to allow to this meeting, you will not, I am sure, think that the meeting is to be *despised*, seeing the mass of property of which these persons were the representatives. The very *errors* of such persons, though I may treat them pretty freely, are not to be lightly dealt with by you, whose business it will be to *quiet* the clamours now about to assail your ears. I will take the *REPORT* of the proceedings upon this occasion, and having inserted them, will subjoin such remarks of my own as the occasion appears to me to call for; but, suffer me to repeat here, that great *attention* ought to be paid to the opinions uttered at this meeting, because, sound or unsound, wise or foolish, they are the opinions of so large a body of the owners of the land.

"The Anniversary Meeting of this Society, which opened on the 18th, and closed on the 20th of this month, gave rise to most important discussion on subjects connected with agriculture; the present low price of produce; the total failure of the Corn Bill; the heavy burthens which on every side bear down the agricultural interest; together with the best means of relieving the landholder from his present depressed state, formed the basis of a most animated and eloquent debate. The gentlemen who took a part in the discussion, though differing considerably in their *views*, concurred in giving a most luminous exposition of the present state of the country in general, and of the agricultural interest in particular. Our limits will not allow us to give more than a sketch of the interesting debate, which was opened by

"MR. SPOONER, who began by stating that when he ventured at first to call the attention of the meeting, the day preceding, to the state of the agricultural interest, it was only with a view to get an assurance from some persons (better qualified than himself to do justice to the important subject) that it should be made matter of discussion this day; but not receiving such assurance, he gave notice himself of the present motion: trusting that by bringing the subject before so ex-

"lightened a body of gentlemen, some one  
 "would be able to point out the cause of the  
 "depressed state of the agricultural interest,  
 "and, if possible, point out a remedy. Mr.  
 "Spooner took it for granted, that there  
 "was no occasion to prove the present dis-  
 "tressed state of the tenantry of the king-  
 "dom; if any one doubted it, let them  
 "refer to the daily advertisements of sales  
 "by auction of the property of farmers; to  
 "the almost only topic of conversation in  
 "every assembly of persons: and, taking  
 "it for granted, he would only suppose that  
 "every one would agree, that that respecta-  
 "ble body of men ought *not to be suffered to*  
 "*go to ruin*, without at least one effort of  
 "that Society, who had ever proved itself  
 "the true friend and zealous promoter of  
 "the best interests of the tenantry, to save  
 "them from impending ruin—a body of  
 "men, by whose exertions, in the time of  
 "pressing need, when our manufactures  
 "were rejected by almost the whole world,  
 "when we were driven to depend for food on  
 "our own means, the country was chiefly  
 "enabled to make that *glorious struggle* which  
 "has been productive of such *brilliant conse-*  
 "*quences*. Mr. Spooner then proceeded to  
 "show, that capital employed in agriculture  
 "could not be withdrawn and again employ-  
 "ed, as it could in manufactures and in com-  
 "merce; the capital employed in the latter  
 "could, as soon as it ceased to be profit-  
 "able, be withdrawn, and, on any new open-  
 "ing, promising success, again employed.  
 "Not so with agriculture; capital there  
 "was invested in the soil; the only means  
 "of return was by *produce*; throw down the  
 "price of produce *below the price which will*  
 "*pay the necessary expence of raising it, and*  
 "*the capital previously invested would at once*  
 "*be lost*. Were this only an individual  
 "loss, it would be *bad*; but consider it a  
 "national loss, it is dreadful indeed: Agri-  
 "culture must revert to the same state, to  
 "the management of the same ignorant per-  
 "sons, it was 20 years ago, and we may be  
 "reduced to the necessity of dependence  
 "for our food upon foreigners—foreigners  
 "who not long since, when our enemies,  
 "shewed, that they were not dependent  
 "upon us for manufacturers; foreigners,  
 "who soon might again be our enemies.  
 "And would any true friend of his country  
 "wish to see her placed in such a situation.  
 "Shall BRITAIN—the *pride, the envy, the*  
 "*admiration of the world*—be reduced to the  
 "necessity of begging her bread at the  
 "hands of her enemies?—Mr. Spooner next

"proceeded to examine *the cause* of the de-  
 "pressed state of agriculture; he attributed  
 "it to the demands of *Government Contrac-*  
 "*tors being withdrawn* just at the time when  
 "we had the *most abundant crop known for*  
 "*many years*—at that moment too the ports  
 "were thrown open to foreign importation.  
 "The prices suddenly falling, the corn-  
 "grower and corn-dealer, not knowing to  
 "what the price might fall, *all became*  
 "*anxious to sell*. Mr. Spooner said, that  
 "every one must be aware that the agricul-  
 "ture of the country had been chiefly sup-  
 "ported by an *artificial capital of credit*;  
 "and that that artificial capital had chiefly  
 "been found by the *Country Bankers*.—  
 "These gentlemen seeing the property of  
 "the farmer so greatly reduced, naturally  
 "withdrew the assistance they had formerly  
 "afforded, as any prudent person would of  
 "course do, when they saw the security  
 "upon which they relied constantly and  
 "rapidly decreasing; this again obliged the  
 "farmers to *press their sales*, and to bring  
 "still more of their commodities to markets  
 "already glutted with produce and barren of  
 "purchasers.—Mr. Spooner, adverting to the  
 "remedy, said, that difficult as it was to  
 "point out, he did not despair of the evil  
 "being remedied; but the remedy must be  
 "one, which while it relieved one class, did  
 "not injure another; it must not *intrench*  
 "*upon public faith*. He did not look for  
 "any great relief from the lessening the  
 "public burdens; we must *primarily look*  
 "for relief from a judicious *division* of the  
 "public burdens, and from a *suspension of*  
 "*the operation of the Sinking Fund*, which  
 "he could not help calling in the present  
 "financial state of the kingdom, a *political*  
 "*humbug*: it had its uses; it had frequently  
 "been used, and well used, by raising the  
 "Funds at certain times, when the minister  
 "wanted to borrow; but this use was now,  
 "he trusted, over: and as to looking upon  
 "it as possible to reduce the national debt  
 "in reality by the Sinking Fund, till the  
 "time came when the national income ex-  
 "ceeded its expenditure, he looked upon as  
 "ridiculous: Suspend it then for the pre-  
 "sent, and *when your financial income enables*  
 "*you resort to it again*. He thought great  
 "relief would be afforded by taking off the  
 "taxes mentioned in the resolution; *even*  
 "*if they were again laid on in some other*  
 "*way*: but having so long trespassed on the  
 "Meeting, he would not longer take up  
 "their time, by entering into discussion,  
 "which, if it was fully entered into, *one*

"bracing as it did the first principles of taxation, would occupy more time than he could request the Meeting to give him. Mr. Spooner in the course of his speech, shewed that the commercial and agricultural interests were one and advisable—one could not be hurt without the other. If the rent of land were lowered, the expenditure of the landlords must also be diminished; and then what would become of the numerous artisans and others who exist by the expenditure? What would become of that proportion of the revenue arising from such expenditure both of the landlord and tradesman employed by them? He concluded by moving

"That the present depressed state of the agricultural interest of the country imperiously demands the immediate consideration of the legislature:—That this Meeting looks with confidence to his Majesty's Ministers for promoting relief from as large a part as possible of those burdens, which more immediately fall upon the tenantry of the kingdom; particularly the tax called the Tenants' Property Tax, and the tax on malt, salt, and horses used in husbandry.

"That our President be requested to make known to his Majesty's Ministers, through the medium of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, this resolution entered into by this most ancient Society, instituted for the promotion of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; a society emanating from, and comprehending all the western counties of the kingdom."

"Mr. Hunt objected to the remedy as insufficient, the cause not properly described. He agreed, in fact, as to part of the cause, but thought the Bank of England was the chief cause—that it was an engine in the hands of Government—that Government, by compelling them to withdraw their issues, had occasioned the distress—and that by these means lowering the price of every article of life, in fact they doubled the taxes.—Mr. Hunt also objected to the proposed manner of deputing the Chairman to go *sneaking* to the Ministers for relief, instead of applying at once to the legislature. In fact, he thought the Society would much better study its own dignity, after the woeful experience of the Corn Bill, (of which by the bye they were its first instigators,)—merely to come to a resolution 'declaring of their sense of the inexplicable difficulties of the country,' and leave it to

"the President to make what use of it pleases."

"Mr. MCGRIDGE said, nothing but revetting, as near as possible, to the state of taxation in the year 1792, would remedy the evil; and moved that a petition to Parliament should be adopted instead of the measure proposed."

"Sir J. C. HIPPISLEY recommended the cultivation of hemp."

"Mr. GURLEY said, all taxes should immediately be taken off, which bore upon industry in any way."

"Mr. SPOONER replied, and said, that he could not agree with Mr. Hunt in his idea, that the Bank had so materially reduced its issues as to produce the effect described; and as to the idea of Government having compelled the measure (even if it were so) was it probable, said Mr. Spooner, that Government should be the promoters of that general distress, which must operate by closing the purse-string of the nation, and thus destroying all their power. As to returning to the state of taxation of 1792, as proposed, he should be very glad to see it done, if it could be done honestly; but with the present amount of national debt, without allowing any thing for the peace establishment, how was this to be done? And as to taking off all taxes which fall upon industry, what taxes, he wished to know, would then be left? As to the manner of proceeding, whether by the resolution he had had the honour to move, or by the petition proposed, he would leave entirely to the choice of the meeting: one remark only he would make upon the term *sneaking manner*, which had been applied to it. It was impossible, he was convinced, for the gentleman who used the expression, and much less for the members of the Bath and West of England Society, to imagine that any thing they entrusted to their President could deserve that epithet: that he for one, and he could safely assert, that all who heard him would coincide with him in saying, that whatever they entrusted into such hands would be done *honourably, done with great ability, and done with effect.*—Mr. Spooner's resolution was then agreed to by a large majority."

As to the minor points, I am of opinion, that Mr. HUNT was perfectly right with respect to the *mode* of applying for relief; for, how lost must this body of Noblemen and Gentlemen be to all sense of their former weight and dignity, when they could

agree to a proposition to go crying to the *Ministers*; to persons whom I need not name, instead of sending their application to the Parliament. The Duke of Somerset cuts a bold figure in the character of an applicant for relief; and addressing himself to the Roses, the Huskissons, the Cannings, the Addingtons, and other Ministers. These are, I allow, very fit men for Ministers in these times; but, it has such an odd look to see such a body of Noblemen and Gentlemen going to them humbly craving *relief*, being the very term which is used to describe the food and raiment given to paupers to keep them from starving. Nor was Mr. SPOONER's reply either very able or very *manly*, seeing that he chose to apply the not of *sneaking* to the President, and to say that it was impossible for the President to *sneak*. This was a turn which may be fairly considered as *mean*, seeing that the intention to *sneak* was imputed to Mr. Spooner's motion, and not at all to the President, Sir BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE, though that gentleman, is, I believe, a *placeman* not without considerable emolument, derived from the taxes. Mr. SPOONER might have grounds for asserting, that, in *such hands*, the thing would be done well. He might happen to be acquainted with the honour and ability of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse; but, all that the public knew of him is, that he, from being a *Whig*, became a *placeman* under Addington, and supported, as far as his very small apparent ability would go, all the measures of Addington's and Pitt's ministry.

Sir JOHN COX HIFFISLEY's hope of relief from the cultivation of *hemp*, is a little too ridiculous to merit any particular notice; nor was the proposition of Mr. GOURLAY of much great consequence. Indeed, I am persuaded, that you will, as I do, feel strangely puzzled to know where to begin in disentangling the confusion of ideas created even by the reading of Mr. Spooner's observations. However, this we know: that Mr. SPOONER, a Banker at Worcester and Birmingham, did propose the taking off of the taxes on the *tenants' property*, on *wool*, on *silk*, and on *horses employed in husbandry*; and that he grounded this proposition upon certain facts and opinions, which he stated and the substance of which we have before us. If I trespass on your time, Sir, in observing upon these facts and opinions, I am

aware that I shall not be justified either by their intrinsic merit or by the ability or character of the speaker; and that I must rely solely on the circumstance, that shallow, and ever absurd, as we shall find the contents of the speech, it received the *approbation* of a large majority of a Meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who, if unable to make speeches, are very well able to *vote*. The parliament is frequently described as containing "the *assembled wisdom* of the nation;" and, therefore, it behoves you to look out sharply, to discover before hand, what the several branches of that wisdom are now proposing as remedies for the disorder of the times. Mr. SPOONER was, upon this occasion, the chief organ, and, therefore, it is well worth while to examine a little into the notions which he put forth.

Mr. SPOONER sets out with a compliment to the understandings of his hearers, whom he calls an "*enlightened body of Gentlemen*." He next observes, that they ought to make an effort to save the farmers from ruin, because these latter chiefly contributed towards supporting that *glorious struggle* which has been "productive of such *brilliant consequences*;" alluding, I suppose, to our having got to Paris, to the imprisonment of Napoleon, to the death of Marshal Ney, to the emptying of the Museums, to the work going on at Nismes; all, certainly, effected by the troops from England and Germany, paid out of taxes, raised on the people of this country. But, then, there were other *consequences* that Mr. Spooner overlooked. He overlooked the defeat and capture of two English fleets by the Americans; he overlooked the defeat and capture of our frigates at sea, and their being compelled to haul down their flags to the "*Bits of Striped Bunting*;" he overlooked the battles of Chippewa, the retreat from Plattsburgh, and the blighting defeat at, and flight from, New Orleans. Yet, these were of great importance in the discussion; because, if the farmers claim merit for having supported the war that has, on the one hand, restored the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Inquisition, let them, in the name of all that is fair, take to themselves; on the other hand, the merit of the events and of the result of the American war. Let us give them the *whole* of their merit; for, until we do that, it is impossible for us to allow to

them a suitable quantity of our compassion.

This talkative gentleman, Sir, tells us, that *Britain* is "the *pride*, the *envy*, and "admiration of the world." Why, then, are so many thousands hastening to quit it? Why have we laws to *compel* people to remain in it? Why are men punished for their attempts to get out of it? This boast, at all times foolish and despicable, must *now* require, one would think, an extraordinary portion of assurance, or of emptiness, to give birth to, and especially upon an occasion, when a remedy for the notorious *miseries* of the country was the subject of deliberation. Amongst the "*glorious consequences*" of the war, who does not see these miseries? And who but Mr. Spooner would, upon such an occasion, have found nerves to put forth such boasting language.

However, let us leave him to boast still, and look a little at his notions of the *causes* of the present distress. He has a preliminary remark; that "*capital, employed in farming is lost*, unless a price "can be obtained for produce, sufficient "to defray the expence of raising it." Hence he proceeds to observe, that, if the price of farm-produce be not raised, or the expences of getting it diminished, corn enough for our own use will not be raised, and, that we shall have to beg our bread of our enemies. Mr. Spooner may quiet his mind upon this score; for, he may be assured, that the land will continue to be cultivated as long as men continue to eat; and that, without any *laws* passed on the subject, the farmer, in about a year more, will feel *no distress* from the low price of corn, meat, wool, or cheese, though the prices should be much lower than they are at this moment. If the paper-money be wholly swept away, we shall have wheat at 2s. or 3s. a bushel; but, as the rent, the labour, the horse-feed, the seed, and all other things will bear a due proportion to this price, it will make, because it *can* make, no difference at all to the farmer. He will be just as able, and will have just as much inducement, to raise wheat then as he has had at any former period, taking in any ten years upon an average. All the difference will be, that he will live a less luxurious life; but, then, he will live in a less luxurious community.

"The cause" of the depressed state of agriculture, Mr. SPOONER (and the *Meet-*

*ing* agreed with him) stated to be this: that "the demands of the *government contractors* ceased just at the time "when we had the *most abundant crop known for many years.*" Now, Sir, is not this being wonderfully shallow? It is very well known, that we have never fed from these Islands, not even *in part*, more than 200,000 of our people by the means of contracts *more than we now feed.* The armies and the fleets, serving abroad, supposing them to contain 200,000 men, more than they *now* contain, were, in great part, always fed from the soil on which they were serving, or near to which they were stationed. But, supposing them to have been fed wholly from these Islands, and, that, being now *come home*, they have *ceased to eat.* This is supposing a great deal indeed in favour of Mr. Spooner's position. It is conceding to him rather more, I think, than even he could ask. But, let him take it, and, having deducted the demand for 200,000 eaters from the demand for 14,000,000 of eaters (leaving out the *colonies*), let him tell us how it is possible, that such a falling off in the demand for wheat, should have caused the price of that article to fall from 15s. to 6s. a bushel. Let him tell us upon what principle he proceeds when he concludes, that the diminution in demand to the amount of *one in seventy* has produced a diminution in price to the amount of *nine in fifteen.*

But, says Mr. SPOONER, you have not yet tripped me up; for my "*cause*" has another leg: to wit: "*the most abundant crop known for many years.*" When, was this, Sir? Not since 1813. That was, indeed, an abundant crop, and we have had *two fine harvests* since. These are causes of comparatively *low price*; but, Sir, Mr. SPOONER must have in reserve a great deal of ingenuity to make it to appear to be a cause of *distress*; for, as I had occasion to observe in my last letter, the *quantity* of a crop must always be a matter of indifference to *farmers in general.* Suppose, for instance, that I grow this year 100 bushels of wheat and sell them for £100; and that I next year grow 400 bushels and sell them for £100. My rent, rates, and all other expences continue the same. Do I lose by this low price? Is this *low price* calculated to plunge me into *distress*? Is it possible that such an effect should be produced by such a cause? No: and every

man of sense, except Mr. Spooner, must, I think, perceive, that, if distress be produced by *low price*, the low price must proceed from causes other than of an abundant crop.

But, Mr. Spooner has mixed up these strange notions along with some others, which have more of the character of sound sense about them. He says "that every one must be aware, that the agriculture of the country has been chiefly supported by artificial capital," and that this came from the "*Country Bankers*." There is some reason in this. Here he is upon the true scent, though he puzzles a good deal, and finally goes off upon a false scent. But, observe, Sir, how he takes from the farmers all the merit he before so liberally gave them as the chief supporters of the "*glorious struggle*" against the French and Americans; for now he tells us, that the farmers were supported by the country bankers. The farmers were the chief supporters of the war; but, we, the country bankers, supported the farmers. And, *why* have you now withdrawn that support? There is no want of rags or of printing presses. Why, says he, we saw their produce falling in price, and we did not think it prudent to support them any longer. Well, allow this to have been very kind and generous, they were only compelled to *sell a little sooner*. If they did "glut the market," that evil must cure itself; for, if low price caused a *greater consumption*, high price must have followed long ago from the same cause. In spite of all the noise of all the mobs, in high life as well as in low life, it has long been a settled opinion amongst persons, not willing to pass for vulgar fools, that *no delays in bringing to market*; that no combination of farmers, corn-dealers, meal-men, millers, or any body else, can, *upon an average of months*, for a year, make corn and bread *higher* in price. This has been so fully established, that I will not suspect Mr. Spooner and the Meeting to be ignorant of it. If, then, it be *impossible* for any measure, tending to keep corn from the market, to *raise its price upon an average of months for a year*, how is it possible, that the causes which, as Mr. Spooner says, obliged farmers to press their sales and to bring more of their produce into markets already glutted; how is it *possible* that such causes should, *for so long a time*, have produced a *low price* of corn?

Therefore, Sir, Mr. Spooner's causes are inadequate to the effect which he and the meeting were deploring, except indeed, as far as he speaks of the diminution of the quantity of paper-money as a cause. And of the way in which this cause works, he, though a country banker, seems to understand but very little, if any thing at all.

Faint, however, as is the glimmering which he has been able to obtain of the cause of the distress, his notions of a remedy are certainly still more faint, except in as far as they are marked by that absurdity which is their most staring feature.

He would "not trench upon public faith," yet he would "*suspend the operation of the Sinking Fund*," which he calls "*a political humbug*." He expects "little relief from the lessening of taxes," but much from a *judicious division* of "them." He saw no prospect of good from the lowering of rents; and he would have the Malt and Salt and Horse Taxes taken off, if laid on afterwards in some other shape, or under some other name.

Sir, does it not shock you to hear these grave personages, these loyal nobles, squires and bankers, calling the grand scheme of the grand schemer a *political humbug*? I called it so ten years ago, and most outrageously was I abused for it. Now, however, every one calls it by this name; and we hear it declared in the very hall of the Bank, by the Bank stock proprietors themselves, that "it is a *farce* to talk of the Bank ever paying in specie," though, according to *law*, they are to pay in specie in a few months from this time. Did you, Sir, when, about 12 or 15 years ago, you were writing pamphlets to *prove*, that Pitt's scheme was the finest in the world, imagine that you should live to see the day, when at a meeting like this, the Sinking Fund would be called a *political humbug*?

However, humbug as it is as to its professed object of *paying off* the Debt, it is far from being a humbug as to its *real* object; namely, that of making the Funded Property of individuals *worth something*. And, if Mr. Spooner could have so far got rid of the confusion of idea, created in his mind by the term *fund*, and could have regarded the thing in its true light, he never would, I think, have proposed to stop its operation, while he was professing this anxiety to keep *faith* with the Fundholders. If he had perceived, that, out

of the 44 millions of taxes, raised for the purposes of the Debt, 14 millions, or thereabouts, are expended by the government in purchasing stock of private persons, he would I imagine, have been afraid to put a stop to this operation, unless he really wished to destroy, at once, the value of all the capital of the Fundholders. If the purchasers by the government were put a stop to, does not Mr. Spooner see, that there would be no purchases at all, unless at a rate so reduced as to portend the speedy blowing up of the whole system?

But, Sir, these are times for new and strange opinions. Thousands of persons now begin to talk of what they have never before thought of. The circumstances of the country set their brain to working; and, in a crude state, out come their thoughts. Every man has his scheme; and, while the schemes are disputing, causes roll on and the final effect approaches.

Of the speeches upon this occasion the opinions of Mr. HUNT were certainly the most rational: that the Government and the Bank had caused, by some means or another, the quantity of the paper-money to be diminished; and, that the only remedy, short of lowering the interest of the Debt, was new issues of paper-money. As to what Mr. Spooner said in answer to this, it was any thing but satisfactory. He asked, was it to be *believed*, that "the government would do that, which, by closing the purse-strings of the nation, *would destroy their own power.*" No: but Mr. SPOONER does not appear to perceive, that the government may, and without being very wild in its opinion, believe, that this reduction of prices, though it must greatly lessen the amount of the taxes, *may be necessary to its own safety.* Strange as this may seem to such men as Mr. Spooner, there are men, who begin to think, and to say too, that for the Aristocracy and Church to sustain themselves, they must *separate their interests* from that of the Funded Proprietors. Yes, Sir, and it is strange that Mr. Spooner should not know it, there are men; and men who do not pass for fools, who earnestly wish that a falling off in the taxes may, as speedily as possible, bring to issue the question, whether the Fundholders are to be paid any longer in full, or not. Now, if this opinion were to be adopted by persons in power, it is far from impossible, that they might be able to preserve the

power, though the bushel of wheat were sold at 3s. or even at 2s. Mr. Spooner does not appear to reflect, that the war is over; that the Crown, the Nobility, the Church, have no longer any enemies to dread; that loans are no longer necessary; that the funding system has done its business; that the nation subsisted very well before it was invented; and that, therefore, it would not be so very surprising, if the public creditors were now to lose some of their warmest and most efficient friends.

That the whole will turn upon this one point is certain: whether taxes are now to be collected in amount sufficient to keep up the army, the navy, and the civil list, and, at the same time, to pay the Fundholders their interest. If taxes sufficient for all these purposes are collected, all will go on as it is now going; if not, some great branch of the expenditure must be lopped off. Which branch that will be I cannot tell. I am for beginning with the army and civil-list, leaving only what is *absolutely necessary.* But, if the Ministers and the Parliament differ from me in opinion, they will, of course, begin with something else.

It is very true, that new issues, large issues of paper-money, would enable people to pay taxes as heretofore; but, then, it must soon become notorious to all the world, that the Bank never could pay in specie, and that their paper is irredeemably depreciated. Thus, then, in profound peace, our paper-system would stand the gazing mark of all the nations in the world. The pound note would exchange against 3 dollars at first; and who can tell what it would exchange against at the end of a year or two? *Two prices*, the last stage of every paper-system, would appear in a short time. The taxes would be little worth to the government. Great shocks would precede some terrible convulsion. Of the two ways of bringing the system to a close, that of low-prices and cash-payments is the safest for the government; and, therefore, Mr. Spooner was wrong, when he supposed, that by such a course of things the government would lose its power.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## A FARMER'S VIEW

*Of the Causes of his Distress.*

MR. COBBETT,—In your Letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, you have so ably and justly ascribed the principal cause of the present low prices of the produce of Agriculture, to be owing to the attempt to bring the value of the pound note to the standard of the guinea, by withholding the issue of bank paper, that I think most unprejudiced minds, who attentively consider your arguments, must be convinced of the justness of the reasoning and the soundness of the conclusions. But as several persons, placed in varied positions, see the same objects in different points of view, differing in form and appearance, although there is no alteration in the objects themselves, except what arises from the different position of the spectators; so the same truth or subject will be viewed in a different light, according as the various habits, opinions, prejudices, and interests of mankind form or bias the judgment; but the grand object and difficulty to obtain, is to discover Truth, which ultimately may be productive of beneficial results. The distress among the farmers for want of money owing to the cheapness of grain, never I believe at any time was so great as at the present period. If a farmer has an abundant crop, it is worth but little money, and makes him no return in proportion or equal to the demands he has to pay. The consequence is, that all those people who are dependent on payment from his returns, feel with him the want of money, as he cannot procure a sufficiency to satisfy them. In fact, the farmer is now placed in a similar situation as we read the Israelites were, when in bondage to the Egyptians, who required them to make and deliver the full tale of bricks without straw; and the farmers are now required to find money, but deprived of the means of obtaining it, by their withholding a supply sufficient to secure to them a reasonable price for their commodities. For if the amount of the sale of the farmer's produce is not sufficient to answer the demands on the land, and afford him a living, it is evident he must be a loser, and those connected with him; and this holds universally. Now, as the value of agricultural produce is sunk on an average to what it was about

two years ago, one half, it follows that the capital, together with the annual returns of all the corn and sheep farms, more particularly throughout the kingdom, have sunk in the same proportion; so that a farmer, who two years ago was worth £1000 or £1000, now finds the same stock only worth £2000 or £500, and his returns diminished in the same proportion. If we take an average of the reduction in prices at one half, or one third, &c. whatever proportion the reduction may be, so much as is reduced, so much capital or value is lost to the farmer. Suppose the value of the lands of the United Kingdom, two years since, to have been annually worth 30 millions, and the farming capital invested at 300 millions, which is now reduced in value, say only one third, there is a loss of 100 millions of capital or value sustained by the land occupiers. Admitting the farmers return their stock once a year, there is the same amount of capital or value of 100 millions taken out of the annual circulation of the country; a diminution of bank paper to the amount necessary to represent and circulate the above value, and a loss to the bankers and lawyers, &c. in managing the circulation of so large a sum of money. If an accurate data of the rental of the land of the United Kingdom, and the value of the stock on it, and returns three years ago, could be ascertained, I believe the loss the land has sustained by the fall of produce, would far exceed the above calculation. Is it to be wondered at then, that there is a universal complaint of the scarcity of money and the want of trade, when the resources from which it is derived, are cut off and dried up. Besides, when there was 100 millions more capital or value in circulation, it enabled the farmers and their dependants to spend more with the tradesmen, to pay more taxes and duties to government, for paying the interest in the funds to the stockholders. For it must be remembered that the funds produce nothing towards paying interest of itself; the bank only receives the amount of the revenue, and distributes it in half yearly payments, the interest due to the respective claimants according to the amount of their dividends. There is no source of revenue to be derived from the funds, but what virtually is supplied from the produce of land and industry; and as



all duties directly enhance the price of every commodity on which they are levied, to its amount, and indeed more, and all taxes indirectly have the same tendency, although not so apparent, it is evident the higher they are, the more money is required to represent and circulate the increased value of every article of produce, consumption, and use, as every thing becomes dear, and the demand for money increases. It is found, that a sufficient quantity of gold cannot be obtained to supply the current circulation. Resource is had to promissary notes, and gold, as long as they can be converted into things go on well; but the moment that ceases to be the case, a virtual depreciation of the paper takes place, as the wants of government and taxes increase, and prices of things progressively rise—More money, that is paper promissary notes, are required to be issued, until gold is totally banished from circulation. As the above process is continued, a progressive depreciation of the paper takes place, and a regular augmentation in the value of gold. As the taxes and notes increase, paper and gold are continually separating farther and farther asunder; so that it is possible by aid of taxation, a paper system may be carried on until a pound note is not worth a shilling; or the price of a guinea may be raised equal in value to twenty-one pound notes, as the guinea has already been advanced to be worth twenty-eight shillings, or otherwise the pound note reduced in value to fourteen shillings. The attempt to bring the guinea down to twenty-one shillings, or raise the pound note to twenty, their original value, appears to be the principal cause of the present scarcity of money, low prices, and distress throughout the kingdom. But as it is impossible to reconcile contradictions, neither can the guinea be reduced to twenty-one shillings, and the present revenue be paid. What occasioned its advance to twenty-eight shillings? Why the taxes having added to the value of all kinds of property, the seven shillings advance on the guinea, above the standard price, showed the increased value of every thing, as raised by the present system of taxation, to be one third more than when gold was the original currency; so that what twenty-one guineas would formerly purchase, then, of necessity, required twenty-eight

pound notes to effect, and must continue so long as the present taxes remain, and are expected to be paid. Gold cannot be restored, unless, by taking off the taxes, &c. the guinea is brought back to its original value, or a sufficient supply of bank notes withheld (as farmers and tradesmen, to their sad cost, have experienced,) without greatly injuring the value of all property thus, as above, artificially raised. As no more notes can be kept in circulation than are sufficient to exchange and represent the value of things, it is absolutely necessary there should be a sufficient and regular issue by the bank, to keep the value of property in a continued progression, as it has a constant tendency to advance, as the taxes augment. If the bank materially reduce the issue of notes, the public have comparatively little or no money left, neither paper or gold, to answer the purposes of commerce or pay the taxes. No wonder then when the paper is withheld, that prices come down, and there is an universal complaint of the scarcity of money. But let us remember we have a revenue of upwards of sixty millions a year to raise. When the money is gone or kept back, how is that to be paid? or, what amounts to the same thing, when every kind of property is sinking or reduced to half its former value, where is the money to be found to pay the revenue, and satisfy the public creditor? No where but by lessening the expenditure, diminishing the taxes, or again supplying the country with a fresh issue of paper, and thus, as far as possible, restoring things to their natural level and value, as measured and raised by the degree of taxation. The kingdom at present is similar to an estate that has been let or mortgaged at a high rent roll, to its utmost value. There comes a sudden reduction of half in the price of produce; some of the tenants sustain the loss the first year, but cannot pay above half their former rents the second. From necessity the landlord or mortgagee must soon be reduced to accept of half the rent, more or less, according to the reduction in the prices of produce; and he has no remedy; unless means can be devised to restore the value of produce, &c. to the prices when the farms were first let. Many farmers are already ruined, and most of the arable farmers are sinking of money. The manu-

facturers and tradesmen are complaining of the want of trade, and of the scarcity of money. If the present state of things continue much longer, the time may come when the stockholder must put up with the loss of half or part of his capital and income, as well as the farmer and tradesman. What remedies may be applied, to relieve the country from its present financial difficulties, remain for the wisdom of Parliament to devise.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS BERNARD.

*Mitchamers, Rumsey, Hants, Dec. 30, 1815.*

#### REMEDIES.

MR. CORBETT.—That the present times are critical is a truth which requires no demonstration; it begins to speak pretty *feelingly* to almost every man and woman in the country. They are not merely critical; they are novel and alarming. The disease contracted by the *war mania*, after having raged with fierce exacerbation and virulence, for more than twenty years, now assumes that *facies hippocratica*, which, together with great prostration of stamina, and frightful decay of the very bones and sinews of the state, begins at last to startle not only the farmers, fund-holders, land-holders, place and sinecure holders, but even those *ci-devant* slashing heroes, the yeomanry cavalry! Those very Gripums and Cheatums who were so loud and so clamorous for war, eternal war, *war for ever*, now shake their empty heads, as, with their hands in their half empty pockets, they cast a despairing look on the *fallen* bushel; that bushel, which a few short years back overflowed with port and claret; that milk and honey of the land; that bushel which, by a simple *hocus pocus of war*, transformed the whole generation of clod-hopper into gentlefolks; that bushel of bushels, which, in the twinkle of an eye, had turned the social pillions into gigs, tandems and vis-a-vis; gammer into madam; the young louts into 'squires; and sent the rustic wenches from the dairy to the boarding-school! Even the yeomanry cavalry, who were clothed with blue, as Ezekiel has it, captains and cornets clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses; even this yeomanry cavalry, who so valiantly brandished their blades, outbrawling through

their brazen helmets, the very Gripums for *eternal, interminable war*, begin now to cool wonderfully. One would almost imagine that they had put on their valour when they put on the lions skin; for no sooner are they stript of their brass caps and silver jackets, but there is an end at once to all manner of prancing, roaring, and clashing of swords! Yes, Sir, the very devils of the British press, and their arch employers, (to speak in the language of Milton) seem now to contract themselves into the smallest size; viewing, as far as devils ken, the dismal consequences of that war which they so heartily fomented with puffs, and brawls, and yells, and hurrahs, through the restless jaws of their *groaning* presses; viewing the dismal, situation far and near, regions of sorrow, doleful plains, where peace at last is come too late. Hope hardly comes that comes to all; but taxes without end still urge us, and an overwhelming debt, &c. &c.; even these devils seem no longer to bellow forth the advantages of war! No, no; they begin to *feel*, as well as *their betters*, that war has left a *sting* behind; that thousands are reduced to beggary; that thousands are hastening to the workhouse, &c. &c. The *Budget*, too, which, as war advanced, still held up to public view the advancing wealth, prosperity and inexhaustible resources of the country,—what will the budget say now? Will what was prosperity yesterday, by a turn of the pen, be adversity to-day?

But what avails the downcast look, the folded arms, the long faces of farmers, land-holders, yeomanry and devils?—*What good will all this do?* "FALLEN CHERUBS! to be weak is miserable;" instead of bemoaning so piteously over the ghastly corpse of departed happiness, which our glorious war has left behind; instead of brooding over the fall of grain, and the disembodied honour of plumes, sabres, whiskers and mustachios, and all the pomp and vanity of war; now silently reverting to the sombre *unshowey* walks of common life and a peace establishment; why don't you put a shoulder to the wheel? Has twenty years of feasting and damning the Jacobins rendered you too delicate, too spruce, too jemmy for such work? If it has, the sooner you all return to yourselves and to your senses the better. Henceforth let not the sound of a cork be heard in your

houses; let madam revert to her *dowd* and *oaken* table, and instantly kick her coffee urns, chandeliers, carpets, settees, automans, pier glasses, swing glasses, quizzing glasses, and claret glasses out of doors; and the young ladies, instead of sporting a silken leg at a rigadoun, or a white arm at the piano, return at once to the more congenial churn and worsted stocking. Talking of Remedies, Sir, why even this will be a REMEDY so far as it goes; a Remedy of superior efficacy to many others that *prima facie* appear more important. For though we do not agree *in toto*, yet I am sure you will agree so far with me, that, under the crushing pressure of the times, we shall certainly have occasion for every stick, however small, if so be we may by any means build us up a raft to keep ourselves afloat upon the stupendous surges of our bottomless Debt.

In pointing out the *remedies* that ought to be pursued for the *alleviation* of our evils, nothing must be neglected which may contribute to the wished for end. The idea of partly bearing up under our load of taxation, by the rigid adoption of economy and retrenchment at home as a primary remedy, may nauseate the stomach of our patients—No matter—It is not to be rejected on that account. To farmers, in particular, this plan is strongly recommended; they have long laboured under a *plethora*, which would have burst them, like the frog in the fable, had it continued a few years longer. The effects of this plethora were very *singular*—In a variety of cases they shewed themselves in catches and glees, roaring, thumping the table, drinking and fox hunting; attended with a preternatural turgidity of the liver and lights, a great redundancy of ill humours, and immoderate foolishness. But the characteristic sign which almost invariably distinguished this inflammatory disease, was its strong tendency to extinguish every gentle feeling, harden the heart, weaken the head, inflate the carcase, give an awkward strut to the limbs, and an intolerable stench of vanity and ostentation. Hence the mode of treatment is obvious:—blistering, bleeding, caustics and cathartics; a plain regimen, consisting of beans and bacon, plenty of pure water, and small beer, *ad libitum*, with moderate daily exercise at the plough; though, indeed, the mere *absorption* produced by the unremitted exhibition of house

tax, property tax, window tax, parochial rates, and other well medicated taxes and rates, *ad infinitum*, must needs produce considerable EVACUATIONS! Yes, yes, they will *sweat you down* a little—No matter—Stick to a low regimen, always remembering, by way of cheering up your spirits, what Abraham very apropos observed to the rich man, when he complained to him that *times were changed*, and begged for a drop of water. Aye, aye, brother, said he, remember *you have had your day*; you have had *your good things*; when wheat was 15s. a bushel you had your *bottle* then and your *song*; you did not call for *water* then; let that comfort you; there is a time for all things.

This principle of domestic economy, and voluntary etrenchment, is only the basis of that sanative system which I mean to propose. But, to produce any solid benefit, it must become general; from the highest to the lowest, *all must drink of the bitter draft*. Bitter indeed; bitter the necessity of being thus compelled to a state of rigid economy and temperance, after having so long given the reins to luxury and every inordinate appetite; after having, for twenty years, gorged voraciously on the *good things* of the war, which at once exhilarated the spirits and exhausted the vital powers. Before I enter upon the system of operative remedies, it seems necessary to take a correct view of our situation; though I really feel a kind of horror whenever, impelled by circumstances, I venture to look at the *sum total* of our evils full in the face; yet unless the precise extent of those evils be ascertained, it is impossible to prescribe with any confidence.

A THOUSAND MILLIONS!! I don't know how this may vibrate in your ears; in mine, it sounds like the crashing of the blue mountains in Jamaica, when broken to pieces by the dreadful earthquake of 1699, at which time many went mad, and many died of fright. A thousand millions; for, discarding fractions *pro ór con*, I suppose that is about the amount of the National Debt. I am not bedlamite enough to enter into any Quixotic project for *paying off* this Debt. A man who should stop forward, armed with all the boasted powers of the Sinking Fund, to annihilate this monster, as times go, would be as likely to succeed as Satan

was, when Milton makes him raise his spear to kill DEATH! Leaving that herculean task to others, I shall be satisfied if I can contrive so to lay this enormous weight upon the shoulders of the nation as to make it sit, if not comfortably, at least tolerable. A man who happens to come into the world saddled with the gout, or who contracts the disorder by feasting and drinking, is a fool if he goes about in search of a cure; but he would be equally foolish if, because he despairs of a cure, he rejected every means to mitigate his sufferings.

The next object for consideration is what is termed the PEACE ESTABLISHMENT; or, in other words, *the lowest possible annual sum* required for the support of the state in all its ramifications.

B. R.

#### ROYAL BOROUGH.

MR. CORBETT.—As I live in a Royal Borough, I have sometimes had the curiosity, though I am by no means a deep-read person, to inquire a little into the origin of communities of that nature. I find that almost every writer, who has treated the subject, gives it as his opinion, that the original establishment of such institutions, was an event favourable to liberty; and I am willing to allow, that, at the period of this establishment, when the usurpations of the Feudal Barons had arisen to such a pitch, that all those classes of society generally stiled "inferior," were reduced to a situation no better than that of slaves, the erection of communities, by which numerous bodies of the people were collected together, and bound by the powerful tie of *common danger*, was an excellent measure for the immediate resistance of oppression. But the influence of the Sovereign, in all the countries of Europe, increased in proportion as that of the great Barons was diminished. From "Your Grace" and "Your Highness," they proceeded by gradual steps, to "Your Majesty" and "Your Sacred Majesty." The power of the Barons, which was supported only by direct force, and that in its most disgusting shape, would, in all probability, have fallen to decay, under the gradual progress of knowledge and civilization; but the power gained by the Crown, which, in addition to the agency of force in a still greater degree was strengthened and stayed by the more palatable, though not less dangerous ingredients of court favour and corrup-

tion, has increased rather than been diminished; during the progress of settlement, in almost every country in Europe. In these circumstances, it is at least a matter of doubt, whether the erection of Boroughs has, or has not, in an extensive point of view, been favourable to the cause of liberty. But, however, that question may be determined, certain it is, that in Scotland, at least, the mischiefs of the establishment are the reverse of those, which are essential to the very nature of civil liberty. Indeed, it would appear, from all the institutions of this part of the United Kingdom, while it remained independent (from the "Lochs of the articles" downwards) either that liberty was unknown to its legislators, or that it was the anxious care of all those possessed of power, to prevent the smallest spark of it from being introduced into the country. As the inhabitants of Boroughs in Scotland, as well as elsewhere, were, of course, too numerous to meet in the aggregate, for the purpose of deliberating and deciding upon public affairs, it was natural and proper, that they should do this, through the common medium of representation. But it would have been dangerous, perhaps, to the power, by which, for its own safety and aggrandisement, Boroughs were created, to have established this representation upon the obvious principles of freedom. Instead, therefore, of allowing the inhabitants to choose and to change their own representatives, or Town Council, by which means the general voice must have decided every question affecting the public weal, it is the invariable system, that the members of Council choose their own successors. One consequence of this is, that, with the exception of one or two leading members, the Council is universally chosen from those individuals in the Borough, who, from the poverty of their circumstances, or the insignificance of their characters, are ready to do as they are bid; it being a standing rule to admit no person who "thinks for himself." Another consequence is, that the leader of a faction having got possession of power, may keep it as long as he chooses, let his public conduct be what it may, by electing only his relations and dependants, the inhabitants of the Borough, in general, having by the system above explained, no sort of controul over him and his associates. A third consequence is, that in the case of the election of a member of parliament,

the candidates have to deal only with one or two persons. The leader of the day may be secured by the procuring or the promise of a snug birth, something like a sinecure, in the customs, or any other branch of what is called the public service; and it has scarcely ever been known, that a set of Scotch Boroughs in choosing their representative in the National Parliament, have not given the preference to the candidate, who could hold out the fairest prospect of ministerial favour and advantage, to the leading members. I have hitherto spoken only of those evils, which are naturally inherent in the very constitution of Scotch Boroughs. A variety of others seem to have crept in, during the lapse of time, which could not possibly be in the contemplation of the original founders. Of these latter evils the greatest seems to be the interference of powerful noblemen or gentlemen in the neighbourhood with the affairs of the communities. It is quite a common thing for one of these noblemen or gentlemen, after having, by the means

before-mentioned, gained the leader of a Town Council for the time, to regulate, with ample and undivided sway, the whole public affairs of the Borough. Nay, even this does not always content him. By way of rendering "assurance doubly sure," it is no unusual thing for him, to cause his own creatures, his agents and footman, and perhaps himself, to be chosen members of the council, though they may not live within many miles of the Borough. It often happens by proceedings such as this, that one half of the members of a Town Council are strangers in the very place, of whose inhabitants they ought to be the representatives; and Boroughs, instead of being what they were originally, barriers against the usurpation of the feudal nobles, are thus rendered convenient weapons in their hands, for maintaining their influence in the national representation, and securing the degradation and debasement of the people in general.—Yours, &c.

A LITTLE SHOPKEEPER.

*Aberfeldy, 23d December, 1815.*

**PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain; and COURSE OF EXCHANGE with Foreign Countries, during the last Week.**

**BREAD.**—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, varies at from 8½d. to 10d.  
**WHEAT.**—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 6s.—The Sack of Flour, weighing 280lbs. 5s. 6d.  
**MEAT.**—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 7d; Mutton, 7d; Veal, 9d; Pork, 6½d.  
**WOOL.**—Segovia, 4s. 9d.; Soria, 4s. 4½d.; Seville, 3s.; Saxony, 1st. 7s. 9d.; Ditto. 2d. 5s. 9d. Bohem, 1st. 5s.; 2d. 3s. 3d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, 31,808lbs.—From France, 2,576lbs.—From India, 3,970lbs.—From Spain, 16,352lbs.  
**ENGLISH FUNDS.**—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; shut.  
**FRENCH FUNDS.**—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 63.  
**BANKRUPTCIES.**—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 34.

**COURSE OF EXCHANGE.**

LONDON.	Friday 6.	LONDON.	Friday 5.
Amsterdam .....	37 2 B 2 U	Bilboa .....	36½
Ditto at Sight .....	36 8	St. Sebastian .....	35
Amsterdam .....	11 7 C.F.	Corunna .....	35
Ditto at Sight .....	11 4	Gibraltar .....	32
Rotterdam .....	11 8 2 U.	Leghorn .....	49
Antwerp .....	11 10	Genoa .....	46½
Hamburgh .....	34 4 2½ U.	Venice .....	25
Altona .....	34 5 2½ U.	Malta .....	49
Bremen .....	34 5	Naples .....	41
Paris 1 Day's Date .....	24 10	Palermo .....	118 per oz.
Ditto .....	24 30 2 U.	Lisbon .....	59½
Bourdeaux .....	24 30	Oporto .....	58½
Frankfort on the Main .....	140 Ex. Mo.	Rio Janeiro .....	64
Madrid .....	36 effective	Dublin .....	15 per Cent.
Cadiz .....	5½ effective	Cork .....	15
Barcelona .....	35		

Printed and Published by G. Houston, No. 192, Strand; where all Communications addressed to the Editor, and containing the real name and address of the writer, are requested to be forwarded.

TO

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

*On the effect of Taxation with regard to the creating of paupers and the debasing of a people, as illustrated by the prices of food and of labour and by the farming expences, in the American Republic, compared with those in England.*

Peckham Lodge, January 11, 1816.

SIR,—It is now about four years since, during a conversation on the effects of Taxation on a people at large, that the following question arose: *whether the labour, absolutely necessary to be performed to maintain men in civil society, could be performed, if the labourers, taking them in general, were not compelled to work by the feeling or dread of immediate want.* Your opinion, from which I rather dissented, was in the affirmative. You observed, that it was a notion, inculcated by despots and their abettors, that men must be kept upon the verge of starvation to insure their steady application to labour; and you insisted, that the *dread of want* was a weaker inducement to labour than the *hope of acquiring property and independence.* In the course of the present letter I shall be able to produce the most complete proof of the correctness of this your opinion; but, my main object is, to lay before you and before the public a strong, and, I believe, unquestionable proof, *that pauperism and crimes are the natural offspring of heavy taxation.*

Upon more than one occasion, it has been shown, and, as I thought, clearly shown, that taxes must inevitably make a few rich and many poor; and, that the notion, so often inculcated by those who fatten on the taxes, that “like *deus col- lectus* in the cloud, they returned over “the land in *showers*,” was fallacious. But, still, whatever arguments were made use of to combat this notion, there wanted facts upon the subject. We had, indeed, the facts, that the increase of the *paupers* and of the *crimes* had kept an exact pace,

in England, with the increase of *taxation.* We could trace poverty, misery, ignorance, and crimes pretty clearly to this source; but, still there wanted such facts as I have now at my command.

In the month of August last, I wrote to a friend in Philadelphia, Mr. JOHN MORGAN, whom I name, because I will leave no doubt as to the authority on which I proceed, to send me answers to a number of questions. Mr. MORGAN, who is an Englishman, is a man in trade, and a person on whose report I can place perfect reliance, having known him intimately for twenty years. The information required was stated by me to be intended to be publicly used; and, as it included many heads belonging to country affairs, I requested him to apply, in those cases, to some mutual friends of ours, who are persons of landed estates, and some of whom cultivate their own land. The paper, containing my questions, has been returned to me with the *answers* required. I shall here insert a copy of the whole of the paper, as it stands filled up by Mr. Morgan; but, previously I must make a remark or two as to the relative value of the *money or currency*, of the two countries.

*Paper* is, at present, the currency in both countries. The American paper is, in a letter of Mr. Morgan accompanying the answers to my questions, stated to be 18 per centum under the value of its nominal amount in real dollars. One of our Bank Dollars, which is not so good as a Spanish Dollar, passes for 5s. 6d. here, though the Spanish Dollar is, in sterling money, worth, at most, no more than 4s. 6d. So that, upon the whole, the paper-currency of America is in much about the same state of depreciation as ours is *at this time.* Be it observed, however, that this has little to do with the main points, to which I wish to draw your attention; namely, the price of *food*, compared with that of *labour*; and the amount of *labour* on a farm, compared with that of the *taxes* on the same farm. You will perceive, that the sums are here stated in

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*Dollars and Cents.* The Cent is the *hundredth* part of a Dollar. I will insert the answers just as I have received them, and will add the average price, in our own present currency, in a separate column, looking upon the Dollar in America to be equal to 5s. of our currency, not, however, thinking it worth while to be nice to a mere fraction. In the case of the farming expences, I thought best to point my questions to one particular

farm; a farm every inch of which I was well acquainted with; the proprietor of which I well knew; in order that, when I came to make use of my information, I might be able to speak with more confidence and in a manner more circumstantial.

Having thus premised, I will first insert the paper, and then solicit your attention to the remarks which I have to make upon it. It is as follows:

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.	AVERAGE in English MONEY.
What are the usual wages of a labouring man in a farm-house, per year? .....	140 Dollars .....	£ 35 0 0
What is the daily pay of a harvest man? .....	{ 1 Dollar to 125 Cents. if found in food and liquor .. }	0 5 7½
What is the usual wages of a woman servant in a farm-house, per year? .....	52 Dollars .....	13 0 0
What is the price of a pretty good cow, 4 years old? ..	40 to 60 Dollars .....	12 10 0
What is the price of a pretty good cart-horse, 4 yrs. old? ..	80 to 90 Dollars .....	21 5 0
What is the price of a good new farm-waggon? .....	100 Dollars .....	25 0 0
What is the price of a good new farm cart? .....	30 to 40 Dollars .....	8 15 0
What is the whole number of acres of JAMES PAUL's farm? .....	260 .....	
How many acres of ploughing land? .....	175 .....	
How many of orchard? .....	10 .....	
How many of meadow? .....	30 .....	
How many of woods? .....	45 .....	
What is the amount of all the direct taxes he pays to the government in a year? .....	Look at Book sent you ...	
What is the amount of his Poor Taxes in a year? .....	27 Dollars .....	6 15 0
How many bushels of wheat grow, on an average, on an acre of well-prepared land? .....	20 .....	
What is the common price of a bushel of wheat? .....	162 Cents to 2 Dollars .....	0 8 0
How many bushels of Indian corn grow upon an acre of land? .....	20 to 25 .....	
What is the usual price per bushel? .....	1 Dollar, in the field, this fall ..	0 5 0
What is the price of a bushel of malt? .....	125 Cents .....	0 6 3
What is the pay, per day, of a journeyman carpenter at Philadelphia? .....	150 Cents .....	0 7 6
What is the pay, per day, of a journeyman bricklayer at Philadelphia? .....	2 Dollars .....	0 10 0
What is the pay, per day, of a journeyman printer at Philadelphia? .....	180 Cents .....	0 7 6
What is the price of a pound of Mutton at Philadelphia? ..	6 Cents to 10 Cents .....	0 0 4½
..... of a pound of Beef? .....	8 Cents to 16 Cents .....	0 0 6½
..... of a pound of Butter? .....	31½ Cents to 37½ Cents. ....	0 1 8
..... of a Turkey? .....	75 Cents to 250 Cents. ....	0 6 9
..... of a Goose? .....	50 Cents to 100 Cents. ....	0 3 9
..... of a Fowl? .....	31 Cents to 125 Cents .....	0 3 10
..... of a gallon of good American Beer? ..	40 Cents. ....	0 2 0
..... of a gallon of good French Brandy? ..	250 Cents .....	0 12 6
..... of a gallon of good West India Rum? ..	200 Cents } First Proof. ...	0 10 0
..... of a pound of middling lump Sugar? ..	42 Cents .....	0 2 1
..... of a pound of white powder Sugar? ..	33 Cents .....	0 1 7½
..... of a pound of brown powder Sugar? ..	23 Cents .....	0 1 1½



QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.	AVERAGE in English MONEY.
What is the price of a pound of white Soap? .....	27 Cents .....	£ s. d. 0 1 4½
..... of a pound of brown Soap? .....	16 Cents .....	0 0 10
..... of a pound of Coffee? .....	31 Cents .....	0 1 6½
..... of a pound of Souchong Tea? .....	2 Dollars .....	0 10 0
..... of a pound of dipped Candles? .....	25 Cents .....	0 1 3
..... of a pound of mould Candles? .....	28 Cents .....	0 1 4½
How many people have been hanged in Philadelphia, } since I was there, in 1799? .....	2 Negroes .....	

What new light, Sir, the bare perusal of this list throws on the most abstruse and most interesting questions of political economy! *Two necks* only, stretched, in the course of 15 years, in a city now containing, perhaps, 200,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the extensive and populous country, of which that city is the capital! Compare this, ye enologists of taxation and the borough system; compare this with the hangings in London, and either confess, that you delight in death, or that you, at last, have some feelings of shame.

But, Sir, to this seemingly wonderful fact the preceding and following facts furnish a solution. In one line we are told, that the journeyman carpenter receives 7s. 6d. a day; and, in the next, that malt is 6s. 3d. a bushel. So that here is a journeyman of a very common trade, only one remove above a common labourer, who earns a bushel of malt a day, and 1s. 3d. over. Such a man, to become a thief, must have thievishness bred in his bones. The pay of the journeyman carpenter in London is about 4s. a day. Here he cannot earn more than about 3 gallons of malt, with nothing over. In Philadelphia he can earn more than 21 pounds of mutton a day; in London only 6 pounds. There 14 pounds of beef a day; here 5 pounds. There about 40 pounds of bread; here about 22 pounds. There a fine large turkey, and have 9d. left; here about half a turkey. There almost four gallons of beer; here not more than 2 gallons. There 3 quarts of best Jamaica rum; here not, I suppose, much more than one pint.

But the important facts, those facts, which, with their illustrations, will bring us to as close quarters with the borough-mongers as a Noble Lord wished to be brought with the reformers, are those which relate to *farm expenses*. You will

perceive, Sir, that Mr. PAUL's farm consists of 260 acres of land, the acre being the same as our statute acre. I have one particular farm of 250 acres. Now, what I am going to exhibit here is, the outgoing of our two farms, as far as *labour and direct taxes* go; and herein to show, as clear as day-light, I think, the real cause of pauperism and degeneracy. I shall suppose the two farms to be of equal goodness as to their quality of producing. I have 20 acres of wood more than Mr. Paul; I have less meadow; and, while I have about a quarter of an acre of orchard, he has 10 acres, out of which, as he wrote to me about seven years ago, he made 60 hogsheads of cyder in one year. Mine is a common old English farmhouse; his an excellent square stone house, with sash windows, four rooms on a floor, and even the ground-floor, except the kitchen, boarded. Add to this, that his farm lies within eleven or twelve miles of Philadelphia, near one of the great roads to New York. However, the relative value of the farms is not of much consequence in this case; the chief object being to show what portion of the *expences* of each goes to the *labourer* and what portion into any *other channel*. My expences consist of labour, poor-tax, tithes, property-tax, window-tax, horse-tax, house-tax, and dog-tax, the indirect taxes being left out of the question, they being paid, in both cases, in the price of the commodities which we consume. His expences consist of *labour, poor-tax, and direct-tax* paid to the *general government*, on account of the war. *Road taxes* are not to be reckoned, because, though I pay a great deal more than he, on this account, it is so much laid out for my own benefit. Mr. Morgan refers me, for an account of the *direct-tax* to a *book*, which he has sent me, but which

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is not come to hand. The whole of this tax, in the United States, amounted last year to 6 millions of dollars, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million of our present money. Apparently it had not been collected of Mr. Paul when the foregoing inquiries were made. It is now proposed, I see, to reduce it one half immediately, in consequence of the peace. But, taking the war-standard there as well as here, I shall suppose the 6 millions to be in train of collection now, and, upon that ground, I will estimate Mr. Paul's direct tax at 60 Dollars, or 15 pounds of our money. This is, I should suppose, over doing it very largely; but the difference cannot be very material.

With regard to the *quantity of labour* necessary to the proper cultivation of the two farms, there can be very little difference. I will, therefore suppose, that we each of us employ, all the year round, five labourers, at full wages. This is not the case. Sometimes I have more and sometimes less. So it must be with him. He used to labour himself, and that was worth two men. He has a son worth four such men as some that I have had the misery to see. Supposing the five men on

both sides, to be all fed and lodged in the house. We will leave the cost of the board and lodging out of the question too, because that must keep pace with the price of farm produce, and, it so happens, that the bushel of wheat there, at the date of Mr. Morgan's letter (10th November last) was, as nearly as possible, the price of the bushel of wheat here at and about Michaelmas, when our farm servants were last hired.

Now, Sir, Mr. Paul pays his man by the year 140 Dollars, or £35 of our money; and I know of no farm servant, hired into the house last Michaelmas, at higher wages than 10 pounds for the year. I believe, that you will find, if you inquire, that the average wages were much under this mark; but, I know of one man hired at 10 pound, and, therefore, I will take our general wages at that amount. In such a farm each must, to perform all the female part of the work, have two women servants; and the wages of ours would be now, I suppose, not more than £3 10s. each, while the wages of Mr. Paul's would be, as we have seen, 52 dollars, or £13 each. Our expences, then, will stand thus:

HIS	£.	s.	d.
5 Men at 140 Dollars, or 35l.....	175	0	0
2 Women at 13l.....	26	0	0
Labour, exclusive of board	£201	0	0
Poor Tax .....	7	0	0
Direct Tax .....	15	0	0
	£223	0	0

MINE	£.	s.	d.
5 Men at 10l. ....	50	0	0
2 Women at 3l. 10s.....	7	0	0
Labour, exclusive of board	£57	0	0
Poor Tax .....	87	5	0
Property Tax .....	43	17	6
Assessed Tax on Horses, &c.....	15	10	0
Tythes .....	36	0	0
	£239	12	6

Thus, you see, Sir, that this American farmer's *expences* are much about the same as mine. I am, in this respect, as well off as he. He can make no more of his farm than I can of mine, unless he exceed me in skill and industry, or, unless he labour himself; and, then, of course, all his skill, industry, and labour, are to be charged in the amount against him, seeing that they would bring their value if employed in any other way. But (and you will have perceived the jet of the illustration long enough ago), his expenditure is almost wholly in *labour*; mine almost wholly in *taxes*. His expen-

diture goes to make little fortunes for those who till his land; mine to support armies and navies, to maintain, on the one hand, splendour and dignity, and, on the other, to preserve from actual starvation those who can labour no longer, or whose labouring parents and husbands have died without being able to leave them the means of satisfying the calls of hunger and thirst.

If my labourer, with his 10 pounds a year, be able to purchase clothes, and to defray the other little expences of the year, so is the American labourer with 10 of his pounds, and then he has 25

pounds to save. This, Sir, is something like a "saving bank!" At the end of 7 years of labour, the latter is a man of property; the former still a poor labouring man, who, if he make shift with constant health, to keep from the poor-house to the age of fifty, can seldom do it beyond that period; and, if he has a family, they all become paupers even while the father is yet in his youth.

The difference in the lot of the labourers of the two countries is in no degree to be attributed to the will, or the disposition, of the employers; but solely to the difference in the demands of the two governments, made upon those employers. No more than a moderate profit can, from the effects of competition, and, indeed, from the very nature of things, remain, upon an average, to any description of employers in the ordinary callings of life. All beyond this must, and ever will, be taken away by somebody. If the government, or the church, or the pauper, does not take it away, the labourer will take it away. But, if the former take the greater portion, the latter must take the less; and, in whatever degree the demands of the former rise, the portion of the latter must fall; 'till, at last, he has pared down even beyond what is barely necessary to sustain animal life, and, then, to prevent him from expiring, an addition is made him in the shape of parish relief, which as you well know, is the case in almost every parish in the kingdom. What, then, becomes, Sir, of BURKE's eulogy on taxes, when he called them "the dews of superfluity, drawn up by the sun of government, to be sent back in showers to fertilize and bless the country?" Much more apt would his figure have been, if he, in drinking the wine, bought with his pension, had said: "Come! here go the sweat and blood of the labourer."

The poor taxes in America are employed to relieve persons who fall into misfortune, who want aid, either from sickness, or some accident; and, indeed, I believe, that the greater part of the sums thus raised, go to assist persons to get out of a state of poverty. And then the sum is so small, when compared with the amount of labour. Thus, you see, that Mr. Paul's poor taxes amount, in a year, to only one fifth of the wages of one labourer; whereas mine amount to the whole wages

of nearly nine labourers, or, to forty five times as much as his poor taxes, compared with the amount of labour on both sides. Is it any wonder that our country is filled with wretchedness? Is it any wonder, that almost the whole of our labourers are paupers, when we see, that of the produce of the land so large a portion is taken away by the government, and so small a portion left to those who till that land, and who perform the other labours of the country? It would be the same as to all trades and callings, if we were to push our inquiries into them. We should every where find the master tradesman so hardly pressed by the tax-gatherer as to be obliged to pare down his journeymen as close as possible; and, we should trace the journeyman and his family to the poor-house through the same chain of causes that impel the labourer and his family to the same miserable end.

Mr. BENETT, of Pitt-House, in Wiltshire, said upon his oath before a committee of the House of Commons, that, in his parish, they allowed to each person in a labourer's family the price of a gallon loaf a week, and 3d. over. A gallon loaf weighs 8lb. 10oz. So that here is only a pound and a quarter of bread a day for each poor creature, one, at least, of whom is to work from morning 'till night. Here is neither meat nor clothes nor fuel nor bedding, except as much as each creature can buy with 3d. per week. And yet, Sir, it is to creatures like these that people are proposing to give learning!

As the miseries of the people have increased crimes have increased, and people have taken it into their heads, that the want of education, as they call it, is the cause of crimes. Hence all the School and Bible schemes. Granted that ignorance, properly so called, is one of the parents of crimes; but, the parents of ignorance are poverty and misery, and as these spring, and ever must spring, from that taxation, which leaves the labourer no encouragement to be industrious and no means of husbanding earnings, it is all in vain to attempt to enlighten his mind, while the load of taxation remains. The innumerable thefts committed on our farms, against which no vigilance and no locks and bars can protect us; the cheatings, the low cunning, the falseness, of the labouring classes, the pilferings of ser-

vants, the meanness, the shameless baseness of all the tribe of coach drivers, waiters, chambermaids, porters, &c. All these arise from the same cause. Their employers are unable to *pay* them sufficiently for their labour, because the demands of the government upon the employers take away so large a part of that which would otherwise go to reward labour. This is the great cause of the degeneracy of the people; this is the great source of all sorts of crimes; and, while this cause exists, School and Bible Societies will labour in vain. It is hunger joined to a meanness of soul engendered by an origin and a life of misery. All the institutions for charitable purposes, the Societies for the suppression of vice, for the relief of the distressed, for giving premiums for industry, for the forming of "*Saving Banks*:" these, and scores of others that exist, are mere expedients for the mitigating of the evils of heavy taxation; and, if Mr. GEORGE ROSE were to apply the amount of his salaries and sinecures to the paying of a couple of hundred of labourers, at the rate that my friend JAMES PAUL pays his labourers, he would soon see that his time might be better employed than in writing pamphlets about "*Saving Banks*," which are benevolently intended to receive, and put out to interest, the *surplus* earnings of poor creatures, whose allowance is a pound and a quarter of bread a day and 3d. per week over.

I have said, that it makes *no difference* to the *farmer* whether his expences consist of taxes and tythes, or of wages to labourers. But, I must beg to be understood as speaking here of a difference *merely pecuniary*, merely as relating to his profit; for, in other respects, the difference is very great indeed. In a *money* point of view, it is no difference to me, whether I pay the parson and the government and its *justices* (for they have a controul over my poor taxes) so many pounds in the year, or whether I pay these pounds to my labourers; but, if the labourers had the money it would be a much pleasanter life for me, seeing that I should then have to do with a very different sort of men, to say nothing of the pain which a heart almost of stone must experience, in the contemplation of misery so complete. Besides, that which I paid to my labourers could not possibly be used to

bear against my own liberties, and could not be expended in any of those various ways, which tend to keep the man who pays, and who does not receive, taxes, lower in the scale of society than he otherwise would be.

Even noblemen and gentlemen of large estates are in this way affected by the taxes. That which you, for instance, pay to the government and the church (for, in this view of the matter, it is all the same) you cannot have to pay to your servants and tradesmen. I agree, that, as to mere money you would be no gainer by the change. But, would you not rather give an additional £30 a year to your groom than to give that £30 to the tax-gatherer, who hands it over to the government?—Would you not rather see your groom, or your huntsman, in his old age, a man of property, and his family well settled in the world, than give the means of effecting this to support those whom you know nothing of? Would you not rather see your hall, like the hall of your forefathers, the crowded scene of feasting and mirth, than give away, into strange hands, as you now are compelled to do, the means of supporting this formerly amiable characteristic of an English gentleman's mansion? In short, would you not rather have the spending of your fortune yourself, than yield up two-thirds of it to be spent by somebody else, and, perhaps, for purposes of which you wholly disapprove?

There is a strange notion prevailing in England, that society, in America, is yet in a *rude* state; that the American is, and must be for some time, an *unpolished* nation; that, when they *become* polished, and when *great riches* are accumulated by individuals, they will have as much pauperism and as many crimes as we have; and, that ours has only been the unavoidable progress of *civilization* and *refinement*. If this were true, it would be impossible to deny, that, during this king's reign, we have made a most wonderful progress in the sublime arts of polishing and refining, seeing that, since 1760, the paupers have increased a hundred-fold. But, Sir, if I look back to the days of *Pope*, I do not perceive that there is much proof of an increase of the quantity of the highest of talent. If, by *polish* and *refinement*, are meant *hypocrisy* in all its various branches, we have certainly ar-

rived at the pinnacle. But, as to the Americans being in a *rude* state, on what is the notion founded? Their dress, their amusements, their manner of eating and drinking, are so much like ours, that, were it not for the absence of beggary, misery, and filthy streets, a man dropped down in an American town would imagine himself still in England. There is no science, no art, known in England, which is not studied and practised in America, and, in numerous instances, with greater success than in England. Their courts of justice have the same forms; law is administered in the same manner; in many cases it is the same law. In matters of commerce and navigation the Americans almost equal us, and are a in fair way of surpassing us; and as to the affairs of war, whether by land or by sea, they have made us feel, and they have convinced all the world, that they want no lesson from any body.

Where, then, are we to look for these marks of comparative *rudeness*? Not in the speeches made in the Congress; not in the Notes and other papers of their diplomatic Ministers; for, as to these latter, it makes one blush for one's country to view their vast superiority. Is it in their friendly and dignified deportment towards foreign nations; in the wisdom and gentleness of their government and laws; in the peaceable behaviour of their citizens; in the absence of crimes, and in the want of rotten boroughs and a "*new drop*:" is it in any, or in all, of these, that we are to look for proofs of this alleged *rudeness*?

So far, Sir, from its being true, that the Americans are in a mass, compared to us, in a *rude* state, the very *contrary* is the truth. In America there are none of those *brogues*, or dialects, which distinguish Scotch and Irish and English and Yorkshiremen and Wiltshiremen and Cockneys from each other. These cease with the emigrant, whose children all speak good and correct English. In America reading and writing, and something beyond merely these, are universal. The American farmer has other charms under his roof besides those attending his hospitality. He can converse with you upon almost any subject. The Bible alone does not form *his* library. He comes in from the heat of the sun, stripped to his shirt, takes down a volume of his encyclope-

dia, or some book of science, travels, history, law, politics, or poetry. When he has rested himself, he returns to his fields or his yard. There is no law of his country, no regulation which he does not understand; no right that he possesses that he does not know how to go to work to defend; no public question in which he does not feel a lively interest, and as to which he is not able to express his opinion. I must be understood, of course, to speak with exceptions. There are stupid men in all countries. But, as a *general* description, I pledge myself for the truth of what I have here said, with the expectation that, in less than four months, this letter will find its way to every part of the country, of which I am speaking, and with very powerful reasons not to be looked upon, in that country, as a dealer in falsehoods, and more especially as a flatterer.

Well, then, Sir, if what I have here stated be true, will not you, with all your still unshaken attachment to Old England (and which, after all, I cannot refrain from participating with you); with all the sorrow that you must feel at seeing distant regions carry off the fruits of the talents, the labours and the sufferings of Sidney and of Tooke, will not your rising envy be stifled by that generosity which will make you exclaim, "blasted be the man who would destroy the harmony and freedom of such a people."

As to the effect of great individual fortunes on the liberties and moral state of the Americans, such fortunes already exist, and have long existed. There are men in America worth half a million of pounds sterling each. But, as these riches have not been derived from *taxes*, they have not impoverished and degraded any part of the community in their accumulation; and as it is impossible that they should be employed in the purchase of *Boroughs*, they do not appear to be dangerous to public liberty. The Edinburgh Reviewers flatter themselves, that these rich merchants will, in time, become the Lords of the country; and, they tell us, that our government ought to conciliate their friendship before hand. These wise critics know, or appear to know, very little about the matter. They seem very uneasy at the existence of a great democracy. They are anxious to see it converted into a "*more dignified*" state

with “*a great body of aristocracy*, able “to protect the people against the throne, “and the throne against the people.” In short, they itch all over to see a list of “*Royal Burghs*” in America. I dare say the Americans will be much obliged to them for their anxiety; but, I am very sure, that they will think themselves better protected by their power of choosing their own public servants, than they would be by any “*great body of Nobles*,” even if imported from Scotland, and if Mr. JEFFREY himself were to go out as king. No, Sir, I do not believe, that the Americans will be very likely to fall upon the scheme of rearing a *throne* for the purpose of wanting “*a body of great Nobles*” to protect them against that throne. Such brilliant schemes they will leave, with all humility, to the *polished and refined* nations of Europe.

Now, Sir, after taking a review of what I have here done myself the honour to submit to your perusal, how wild, how ridiculous, appear the notions, which have lately been so much in vogue: namely, “that taxes, however heavy, do not injure “a community, because, though taken “from one man, they are given to another; “—that the amount of them still remains “amongst the whole of a people;—that “they do not tend to degrade the labourer, who must, under all changes “still be confined to what will satisfy the “mere calls of hunger and thirst;—that “it is no matter how great is a nation’s “debt, seeing that it owes it all to itself; “—that taxes and public debts are “riches”—and the like? How clearly do the foregoing facts and illustrations show all these notions to be false!

As to the topics which will form a very natural conclusion to this discussion; namely, the manner in which our taxes are assessed and levied; the number and description of persons employed in the business of examining into our private concerns in order to assess us; the purposes to which the taxes are applied; how they are spent in some glaring instances; and what is the effect, on our liberties, of this system of taxation and debts:—these and several other topics, connected with the interesting subject, are all perfectly familiar to you. But, they are not, and cannot be so familiar in other countries, and, as a thorough knowledge with regard to them must be of great benefit to a

people situated as the Americans are, I intend to treat of them, in the most ample manner, through the press of that country. I am, Sir,

With the greatest respect,  
Your most humble and obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—Sir,—Since writing the above, the President’s message to the Congress has come to hand. It is given below; and, from it you will learn how prosperous are the affairs of that great republic; nor will you forget, that the chief magistrate of America, now containing a population equal, perhaps, to that of England, Scotland, and Wales, is content with a salary of about 6,000 pounds a year. Let the advocates of *costly* government look at this. Let them compare the state of America with our state; let them view a commerce and navigation nearly equal to our own; let them look at the astonishing progress of manufactures in the Republic; let them look at her deeds in arms both by land and by sea; and, when they have so done, let them produce, if they can, one single reason in support of *costly government*. The present prosperity of the Republic is such as to beggar all description. What a contrast! England, at the end of her wars, is plunged into indescribable distress: America, at the end of her war, starts in a career of prosperity unparalleled.

I here insert an extract from a letter, written to me by a gentleman in Philadelphia in November last. From it also you will be able to judge of what is going on under the cheap government of America.

“The approaching session of Congress “will be an important one. There is “much to review, to establish, and to “provide for; but executive power has “obtained so much influence that it is “probable the session will be more occupied on that subject than on the “finances, the public credit, the peace establishment, the navy, the treaty, “the import revenues, &c. There are “several candidates already in the list “for President,—MONROE, CLINTON, “CRAWFORD, J. Q. ADAMS, R. KING, “CH. JNO. MARSHALL. They appear, “at present, to stand the chances of “their order above. Indeed, the *federal* party have so much played the “fool; so much transcended all rational “ideas, both as the abusers of power

“ when in, and the abusers of liberty  
 “ when out, that, as a party, they have  
 “ no sort of chance for an ascendancy,  
 “ unless when the Democrats become  
 “ too corrupt to sustain themselves, or  
 “ abuse their power equally with the  
 “ federalists; then they may look for  
 “ power. But the elements of parties  
 “ will be totally dissolved and re-founded  
 “ before that can happen.—The late war  
 “ has made a great change in favour of  
 “ national feelings here. The eastern  
 “ people departed so much from their  
 “ reputed cunning and sagacity as to in-  
 “ volve all who had ever the name of  
 “ thinking with them.—In civil or social  
 “ affairs here, commerce never exhibited  
 “ so much activity. Indeed, I suspect  
 “ it will be over done, to the ruin of many  
 “ adventurers here and of their creditors  
 “ in England. The imports in amount,  
 “ since the peace, have been unexampled,  
 “ but various causes having banished the  
 “ precious metals, the sort of credit  
 “ attached to their presence has had a  
 “ considerable influence on the exchange  
 “ between the States. Internal industry  
 “ has reached a height, of which you can  
 “ form no adequate conception. The  
 “ woollens of the coarse fabric leave the  
 “ foreign coarse goods without price  
 “ in the market. It is the same with  
 “ coarse cottons. The *luxurious* arti-  
 “ cles are those alone for which there  
 “ is no competition here. I wear as  
 “ good superfine broad cloth made here,  
 “ at seven dollars, as can be brought here  
 “ from England for eleven dollars. It  
 “ is fashion alone which will sell the  
 “ latter; and you may imagine how long  
 “ fashion can prevail. Works in metal  
 “ of every denomination have made a  
 “ great progress. Argand lamps are made  
 “ in this city from the raw material. At  
 “ Pittsburgh we have glass girandoles  
 “ engraved, equalling those of Venice in  
 “ brilliancy and beauty.—Recollect,  
 “ Pittsburgh is the *Fort Pitt* of 1763;  
 “ and that town now contains 10,000  
 “ inhabitants, and a new town is rising  
 “ up, called *New Birmingham*, on the  
 “ opposite side of the Monongehela.  
 “ This city (Philadelphia) has tripled its  
 “ settled extent since you were here.  
 “ The improvements here are such as  
 “ those who have not been out of Europe  
 “ could not credit. We shall have two  
 “ new States in the ensuing year; *Missi-*

“ *issippi* and *India*, both which have above  
 “ 70,000 inhabitants. *Illinois* will follow  
 “ in less than 4 years. It has 40,000 in-  
 “ habitants.”

And, Sir, all this has taken place under  
*cheap* government. This great nation has  
 risen up under a government without  
 splendour; without show of any kind;  
 without an established church; without  
 any power existing any where to restrain  
 the expression of opinions regarding reli-  
 gion; without a single soldier to give either  
 protection or ornament to the chief ruler,  
 or any officer, belonging to the govern-  
 ment. This great nation has thus risen  
 up without any power to enforce the law  
 besides that of the constable's staff. All  
 this prosperity, all the means of carrying  
 on war with success, have been the work  
 of laws framed by a Legislature, the mem-  
 bers of which, together with the chief  
 Magistrate himself, *have been elected by*  
*the people at large*. Let the enemies of  
 parliamentary reform show us, then, if  
 they can, why similar effects, as far as  
 local circumstances would admit, should  
 not be produced by similar causes, in any  
 other country as well as in America, and  
 especially in that country from which the  
 people of America originally went. Let  
 them show us, why a free choice of repre-  
 sentatives should not lead to prosperity  
 here. Let them show us why this free  
 choice, which has been accompanied with  
 such beneficial effects in America, which  
 produces peace and prosperity, which dis-  
 penses with all military force except for  
 the mere purposes of war, which leaves  
 society almost without crimes: let them  
 tell us, why that free choice of represen-  
 tatives should not be tried in England.  
 Lord MILTON expressed his wish to come  
 to *close quarters* with the Reformers.  
 His Lordship has here a very fair oppor-  
 tunity of gratifying his wishes. Let him  
 show us such prosperity here as I here  
 show him under an elective govern-  
 ment. Let him produce an assembly, like  
 the American Congress, who know not  
 what a soldier means, except as a per-  
 son employed against a foreign enemy,  
 Let them tell us how it is, that at the end of  
 war, we find ourselves steeped in misery,  
 while the happiness of America invites all  
 the world to her shores.

It will no longer do, Sir, for the inso-  
 lent foes of freedom to speak of America  
 with contempt. Her population, com-

merce, navigation, manufactures, are all equal, or soon must be equal, to ours. Her statesmen and legislators yield to none in talent. Her armies and fleets have extorted the admiration of the whole world. She can no longer be looked upon as a little or a new nation; no longer can they pretend that her form of government is an *experiment*. All the predictions of those, who said she must have a king and an aristocracy, have been falsified. It is now clearly proved, that even the wealth of commerce is innoxious, where the smallness of the taxes leave so large a portion of income to the labourer as to cause a continual increase of independent men, and to deprive even the richest men of the power of gathering about them any very great body of dependents, while the general absence of want enables the very poorest of the people to obtain a sufficiency of useful education without the aid of *charities* or *societies*, the education derived from which is that of a pauper or beggar, and must bend the mind towards slavery rather than towards freedom.

#### REMEDIES.

SIR,—I have laid down the National Debt at a THOUSAND MILLIONS *in toto*; and I have intimated that the PEACE ESTABLISHMENT must be *new cast* to fit it in some measure to *existing circumstances*; for I suppose no man in his senses will assert that a certain analogy ought not to exist between *the head, the belly, and the limbs*. Without entering into the *minutiae* of laboured detail,—without descending to the herculean invidious drudgery of weighing to a *scruple* every judge, clerk, placeman, minister, &c. &c. &c. &c. In that graduated balance which the outstretched arm of ECONOMY must now set up,—without absolutely fixing the *maximum* and *minimum* as applicable to pay, allowances, or salary of the above persons (though under the actual pressure, no man in office would, I think, be in danger of incurring public odium if he *declined* to receive more than £3000 per annum),—without doing all this, I think it will be sufficient to say, generally, that sinecures ought to be abolished; that no office, place, or situation under the crown, to which a salary is attached, ought now to be continued, unless *bona fide* necessary; and at all events, that where sala-

ries have been expressly raised to meet increased expenditure during the war, such salaries ought to revert to their original standard, as the cause of increase ceases to operate;—that the army and navy should instantly be put on the lowest practicable establishment;—and by the bye, upon the broad principle of national justice and common sense, it is to be hoped that the 30,000 British troops to be kept in France, will be fed, clothed, and paid, at the *entire* charge of that country. If the hand of retrenchment be prudently and rigidly applied, as here suggested, the Peace Establishment might certainly be brought within *ten* millions. Even this, with the interest of the National Debt, would give a total of near sixty millions to be provided for annually by taxes. I say nothing at present of the Sinking Fund. Allowing that in 1814 the amount of the permanent taxes was 44 millions, and of the war taxes 24 millions, in all 68 millions, I think it pretty evident for the reasons assigned in your last Register, that in 1816 the same taxes, considering the depreciation of agricultural produce, and the consequent operation of this depreciation on other articles of consumption, would not exceed 50 millions. If so, here would be at once a DEFICIT of *ten* millions! But if it should be thought decorous that the war taxes, which were avowedly laid on for the purposes of war, should not be continued in peace, then the DEFICIT would swell to *thirty* millions! However, as in that case, taxes, *under other names*, must be imposed to answer the exigency of the times, I will go on the supposition that the total revenue might yield 50 millions; and if so, remember we shall be taxed higher in proportion to the prices current, and to our intrinsic means, than we were during the war!—Well, then, what is the upshot of all this? Why, that the country will have to pay *nearly sixty millions out of fifty*! You have heard, perhaps, of the old Scotch taylor, who by dint of contrivance and second sight, with a little turning and twisting, made himself a tolerable coat, and his wife a very decent petticoat out of his uncle's old breeches! Without dwelling on the merits of this cross-legged artist, it would be very pleasing to us all if some of the Budget-makers could so far imitate his ingenuity, as to apply his principle of measuring, cutting, and manag-

to the business in hand. But as I have no great hopes on that score, I must proceed to my REMEDIES at once. If the mountain cannot go to Mahomet, the old adage is that Mahomet must go to the mountain; and so I fear it must be in the case before us. If we cannot by any human effort, short of downright exhaustion, screw up the old Tax Machine to a higher pitch than fifty millions, and in truth that is a fearful height, a dizzy height, nay, considering the prices current, it is a height apparently inaccessible even to the financial pinion of Mr. Huskisson—what then is to be done? Archimedes boasted that, could he but find a proper place to rest his machinery upon, he could move the terrestrial globe from its orbit; fortunately, the place he wanted was never discovered, and this poor world of ours was allowed to continue as the Almighty had placed it! So here, too, could Mr. H. but clap one foot on an *18s. bushel*, and the other on a *23 penny quartern loaf*, he might get a confounded good purchase, and I dare say screw up the machine to above 50 millions, even during a period of peace. But, Sir, we must take things as they actually are; and taking them as they are, I think myself fortified in again venturing it as my decided opinion, that fifty millions is the highest point, the *ne plus* to which taxation can possibly be carried. If so, how is an expenditure of sixty millions to be met by a revenue of fifty? This is an ugly question! it speaks volumes:—before it, the lady-like calculations of Edinburgh Reviewers lose all their *charm*, and prove hollow, shallow, and inconclusive. When they talked of the *permanent* revenue collected in 1814 as applicable to 1816, they should at least have endeavoured to shew that the current prices of the former year *would continue permanent* in the latter. This fact should have been established; for on the *permanency of the source*, that is of the current prices, must depend the *permanency of the revenue* thence arising. This they have not attempted to do; nay, I much doubt whether in their zeal and hurry, and pride of budget building, they would not have deemed it a reflection on their *genius*, to have consulted their understanding! And most assuredly, when, *sans ceremonie*, without even a *garde a vous*, at one stroke of the pen, they bring down the peace establishment to 7 millions, they must have concluded that

ministers, the royal household, judges, together with their wives and daughters, and the maids of honour, had come to some kind of patriotic resolution of living on *oatmeal*, and going *sans culotte*, according to Scotch costume: and that the soldiers and sailors, following up so brilliant an example, had made some sort of offer *to serve for nothing*, and live for a few years to come on those *immense loads of glory* acquired during the war! For, without some plan of this nature, it is difficult to imagine how Mr. Huskisson will be able to come down to this calculation. Oh no, no, ye wise men of the North, that will never do, I assure you:—no, 7 millions will not do at all; unless you could transfer the seat of government to the Orkneys, or some of your scraggy *hospitable* highlands towards the north pole, where want of roads and eternal snow, might preclude the expensive necessity of coaches, carriages, chariots, barouches; and where want of cooks, and want of any thing to eat, might preclude the unpleasant necessity of overmuch feasting and carousing;—for whatever the Reviewers may be pleased to say as to the *horned cattle* of all denominations which Scotland pours annually into our country, all the world knows the beef is put on in England. Yet I much doubt whether the logic of these Reviewers will prove sufficiently persuasive to draw these great folks so far North!—No, your seven millions will not do; *ten* is the very lowest which even I dare propose, and that sum must be well and frugally managed, in order that *all the servants of the crown may eat a little*. And, indeed, ten millions will appear no great matter, when you consider that Sir Timothy cannot endure the smell of claret, under half a guinea per bottle; and that my lady would rather go into hysterics than go to court without a cart load of jewels, and a few thousand pounds worth of brocade, tissue, and goose feathers, ostrich I would say. But, stop; it is high time I should apologise to you and to your readers for having allowed the *ignis fatuus* budget of those Edinburgh Reviewers, to carry us so far out of our path. If then my calculations are correct, if there shall exist a deficit of ten millions, what is to be done? If I have succeeded in shewing that the revenue, under existing circumstances, is not likely to exceed 50 millions, we shall in vain cast a wishful eye to that quarter—No; we must neither



delude nor flatter ourselves; we must learn to look at our situation fully in the face. Whither then shall we flee for succour?—Will our dear friends the Russians, or Prussians, or his Holiness the Pope, or the King of Naples, or the *grateful* Ferdinand of Spain, or the King of Holland, or any other royal personages let us have a few millions at this juncture, think you, to adjust our accounts a little? I fear not.—Will Louis stretch a point in our behalf? Oh, dear no, poor man, he is sadly put to it himself! Very well, then, after all our efforts and sacrifices, *does nobody care a stiver for us and our Budget?* You shake your head; then, by all that's good and gracious, Sir, *we have been fighting for some purpose during the last quarter of a century!!!* The remedy must be found at home, or it will be found no where. If the revenue cannot be increased to meet the expenditure, *the expenditure must be decreased to suit itself to the revenue.* Yes, you may hem and haw, and pisha, and shrug up the shoulders, you may twist and turn the point how you will, and which way you will, still you must come to that at last. The only method that occurs to me of decreasing the public expenditure, after having led the ungracious foot of strict economy into every private family, and most scrupulously annihilated every source of lavish or unnecessary expence under government, and by that means brought down the peace establishment as low as possible, would be to *diminish the interest on the National Debt ONE FIFTH.* I am perfectly aware of the extreme delicacy and importance of this subject. I am fully alive to the peril of establishing a precedent so novel, so dangerous; but, to remove these alarms I would propose that *the measure should originate with the fundholders themselves.* The faith of government, the great pillars of public credit, public security, and confidence, would be too seriously shaken and endangered by the agitation of such a measure in parliament. No, Sir, nothing, not even the urgent necessity of the thing, could excuse, much less justify such a proceeding. To divest it of all objections, and give it all the weight and advantage of which it is susceptible, I think it expedient that it should be the sole, the spontaneous act of the fundholders themselves: such a commendable and patriotic sacrifice on the part of the fundholders would, I

know, involve many objects for mature consideration; some of which, with your usual penetration, you did not fail to foresee and point out in a former Register. But it would be matter of regret if a measure so necessary and beneficial should fall to the ground, merely because a few awkward difficulties happen to give it a somewhat forbidding aspect. It is enough for me to have pointed out *the remedy*, and the persons by whom it should be prescribed:—the measure is perfectly capable of those ulterior arrangements and qualifications, which will remove all obstacles. After all, though in my next I may probably dwell a little longer on this point, I do not mean to say that this remedy is very delectable or even palatable; but a man must be an idiot, if, after having feasted himself up to the eyes on turtle and turtle soup, he would on the morrow, rather die of starvation, than put up with a mutton chop. Besides, let it be remembered that even at 4 per centum, the fundholder will still have many little comforts about him; and though he may turn up his nose at the dwindled size of his decanter (*dwindled, alas! from a bottle to a pint.*) yet he may still hug himself, and laugh in his sleeve as he beholds the pitiful farmer, grumbling and croaking over his small beer, or squatting, like Job, though not so patiently, on his wretched dunghill. If it be asked, how shall the fundholders, (though burning with impatience to come forward) come to any thing like a general understanding on this great matter?—The answer is, let a few prominent capitalists set the business afloat:—an advertisement in your Register, which I believe visits every week every town in England, soliciting the YEAS, not nays, by parishes, *would operate like wild fire*; from the Land's end to the Orkneys not a *no* would be heard!!! Let those who object to this remedy have the goodness to point out the grounds of any measure of equal utility and magnitude, that shall be fraught with less inconvenience. As to setting more paper afloat, I do look upon that as the most ruinous of all ruinous expedients.

B. R.

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

##### AMERICA.

*Washington, Dec. 5, 1815.*—This day, at twelve o'clock, the President of the United States transmitted to both Houses

of Congress, the following Message, by Mr. Todd, his Secretary:—

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives,*—I have the satisfaction, on our present meeting, of being able to communicate to you the successful termination of the war which had been commenced against the United States by the Regency of Algiers. The squadron, in advance, on that service, under Commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean, in seeking the naval force of the enemy, then cruising in that sea, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them the principal ship, commanded by the Algerine Admiral. The high character of the American Commander was brilliantly sustained on the occasion, which brought his own ship into close action with that of his adversary, as was the accustomed gallantry of all the officers and men actually engaged. Having prepared the way by this demonstration of American skill and prowess, he hastened to the port of Algiers, where peace was promptly yielded to his victorious force. In the terms stipulated, the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted, by a perpetual relinquishment, on the part of the Dey, of all pretensions to tribute from them. The impressions which have thus been made, strengthened as they will have been by subsequent transactions with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under Commodore Bainbridge, the chief in command of the expedition, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, afford a reasonable prospect of future security, for the valuable portion of our commerce which passes within reach of the Barbary cruisers.

It is another source of satisfaction that the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain has been succeeded by a convention on the subject of commerce, concluded by the Plenipotentiaries of the two countries. In this result a disposition is manifested on the part of that nation, corresponding with the disposition of the United States, which, it may be hoped, will be improved into liberal arrangements on other subjects, on which the parties have mutual interests, or which might endanger their future harmony. Congress will decide on the expediency of promoting such a sequel, by giving effect to the measure of confining the American navigation to American seamen; a measure which, at the same time that it might have that conciliatory tendency, would have the further

advantage of increasing the independence of our navigation, and the resources of our maritime rights.

In conformity with the articles of the Treaty of Ghent, relating to the Indians, as well as with a view to the tranquillity of our western and north western frontiers, measures were taken to establish an immediate peace with the several tribes who had been engaged in hostilities against the United States. Such of them as were invited to Detroit acceded readily to a renewal of the former treaties of friendship. Of the other tribes who were invited to a station on the Mississippi, the greater number have also accepted the peace offered to them. The residue, consisting of the more distant tribes, or parts of tribes, remain to be brought over by further explanations, or by such other means as may be adapted to the disposition they may finally disclose.

The Indian tribes within, and bordering on our southern frontiers, whom a cruel war on their part had compelled us to chastise into peace, have lately shown a restlessness, which has called for preparatory measures for repressing it, and for protecting the Commissioners engaged in carrying the terms of the peace into execution.

The execution of the act for fixing the military peace establishment, has been attended with difficulties which even now can only be overcome by legislative aid. The election of officers; the payment and discharge of the troops enlisted for the war; the payment of the retained troops, and their re-union from detached and distant stations; the collection and security of the public property, in the quarter-master, commissary and ordinance departments; and the constant medical assistance required in hospitals and garrisons, rendered a complete execution of the act impracticable on the first of May, the period more immediately contemplated. As soon, however, as circumstances would permit, and as far as it had been practicable, consistently with the public interest, the reduction of the army has been accomplished; but the appropriations for its pay, and for other branches of the military service, having proved inadequate, the earliest attention to that subject will be necessary; and the expediency of continuing upon the peace establishment the Staff Officers, who have hitherto been provisionally retained, is also recommended to the consideration of Congress.

In the performance of the executive duty upon this occasion, there has not been wanting a just sensibility to the merits of the Ame-

rican Army during the late war; but the obvious policy and design in fixing an efficient military peace establishment, did not afford an opportunity to distinguish the aged and infirm, on account of their past services; nor the wounded and disabled, on account of their present sufferings. The extent of the reduction, indeed, unavoidably involved the exclusion of many meritorious officers of every rank, from the service of their country; and so equal, as well as so numerous, were the claims to attention, that a decision by the standard of comparative merit, could seldom be attained. Judged, however, in candour, by a general standard of positive merit, the Army Register will, it is believed, do honour to the establishment; while the case of those officers, whose names are not included in it, devolves, with the strongest interest, upon the legislative authority, for such provision as shall be deemed the best calculated to give support and solace to the veteran and invalid; to display the beneficence as well as the justice of the Government; and to inspire a martial zeal for the public service, upon every future emergency.

Although the embarrassments arising from the want of an uniform national currency have not been diminished, since the adjournment of Congress, great satisfaction has been derived, in contemplating the revival of the public credit, and the efficiency of the public resources. The receipts into the Treasury from the various branches of revenue, during the nine months ending on the 30th of September last, have been estimated at twelve millions and a half of dollars; the issues of Treasury Notes of every denomination, during the same period, amounted to the sum of fourteen millions of dollars: and there was also obtained upon the loan, during the same period, a sum of nine millions of dollars, of which the sum of six millions of dollars was subscribed in cash, and the sum of three millions of dollars in Treasury notes.—With these means, added to the sum of one million and a half of dollars, being the balance of money in the Treasury on the 1st of January, there has been paid, between the 1st of January and the 1st of October, on account of the appropriations of the preceding and of the present year (exclusively of the amount of the Treasury Notes subscribed to the loan, and the amount redeemed in the payment of duties and taxes), the aggregate sum of thirty-three millions and a half of dollars, leaving a balance then in the Treasury estimated at the sum of three millions of dollars. Independent, however, of the arrearages due for

military services and supplies, it is presumed, that a further sum of five millions of dollars, including the interest on the public debt, payable on the 1st of January next, will be demanded at the Treasury to complete the expenditures of the present year, and for which the existing ways and means will sufficiently provide.

The national debt, as it was ascertained on the 1st of October last, amounted in the whole to the sum of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, consisting of the unredeemed balance of the debt contracted before the late war (thirty-nine millions of dollars), the amount of the funded debt contracted in consequence of the war, (sixty-four millions of dollars, and the amount of the unfunded and floating debt (including the various issues of Treasury Notes), seventeen million of dollars is in a gradual course of payment. There will, probably, be some addition to the public debt, upon the liquidation of various claims which are depending; and a conciliatory disposition on the part of Congress may lead honourably and advantageously to an equitable arrangement of the militia expences, incurred by the several States, without the previous sanction or authority of the Government of the United States. But, when it is considered that the new, as well as the old, portion of the debt has been contracted in the assertion of the national rights and independence; and when it is recollected, that the public expenditures, not being exclusively bestowed upon subjects of a transient nature, will long be visible in the number and equipments of the American navy, in the military works for the defence of our harbours and our frontiers, and in the supplies of our arsenals and magazines; the amount will bear a gratifying comparison with the objects which have been attained, as well as with the resource of the country.

The arrangement of the finances, with a view to the receipts and expenditures of a permanent peace establishment, will necessarily enter into the deliberations of Congress during the present session. It is true, that the improved condition of the public revenue will not only afford the means of maintaining the faith of the Government with its creditors inviolate, and of prosecuting successfully the measures of the most liberal policy; but will also justify an immediate alleviation of burthens imposed by the necessities of the war. It is, however, essential to every modification of the finances, that the benefits of an uniform national currency should be restored to the commu-

nity. The absence of the precious metals, will, it is believed, be a temporary evil; but until they can be again rendered the general medium of exchange, it devolves on the wisdom of Congress to provide a substitute, which shall equally engage the confidence, and accommodate the wants of the citizens throughout the Union. If the operation of the state banks cannot produce this result, the probable operation of a national bank will merit consideration; and if neither of these expedients be deemed effectual, it may become necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the Government, (no longer required as an instrument of credit) shall be issued, upon motives of general policy, as a common medium of circulation.

Notwithstanding the security for future repose which the United States ought to find in their love of peace, and their constant respect for the rights of other nations, the character of the times particularly inculcates the lesson, that, whether to prevent or repel danger, we ought not to be unprepared for it. This consideration will sufficiently recommend to Congress a liberal provision for the immediate extension and gradual completion of the works of defence, both fixed and floating, on our maritime frontier, and an adequate provision for guarding our inland frontier against dangers to which certain portions of it may continue to be exposed.

As an improvement on our military establishment, it will deserve the consideration of Congress, whether a corps of invalids might not be so organized and employed, as at once to aid in the support of meritorious individuals, excluded by age or infirmities from the existing establishment, and to preserve to the public the benefit of their stationary services, and of their exemplary discipline. I recommend, also, an enlargement of the military academy already established, and the establishment of others in other sections of the Union. And I cannot press too much on the attention of Congress, such a classification and organization of the militia, as will most effectually render it the safeguard of a free state. If experience has shewn, in the late splendid achievements of militia, the value of this resource for the public defence, it has shewn also the importance of that skill in the use of arms, and that familiarity with the essential rules of discipline, which cannot be expected from the regulations now in force. With this subject is ultimately connected the necessity of accommodating the laws, in every

respect, to the great object of enabling the political authority of the Union to employ, promptly and effectually, the physical power of the Union, in the cases designated by the Constitution.

The signal services which have been rendered by our navy, and the capacities it has developed for the successful co-operation in the national defence, will give to that portion of the public force its full value in the eyes of Congress, at an epoch which calls for the constant vigilance of all Governments. To preserve the ships now in a sound state; to complete those already contemplated; to provide amply the unperishable materials for prompt augmentations, and to improve the existing arrangements into more advantageous establishments, for the construction, the repairs, and the security of vessels of war, is dictated by the soundest policy.

In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be, which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches, that so many circumstances must occur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress, and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief, that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become, at an early day, not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures, where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and conse-

quently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence, an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded.

Among the means of advancing the public interest, the occasion is a proper one for recalling the attention of Congress to the great importance of establishing throughout our country the roads and canals, which can best be executed under the national authority. No objects within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expence bestowed on them: there are none, the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honour to the Government, whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciates them. Nor is there any country which presents a field, where nature invites more the art of man, to complete her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication, in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. Whilst the States, individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages, by new roads, by navigable canals, and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general Government is the more urged to similar undertakings requiring a national jurisdiction, and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work. And it is a happy reflection, that any defect of constitutional authority, which may be encountered, can be supplied in a mode which the constitution itself has providently pointed out.

The present is a favourable season also for bringing again into view the establishment of a national seminary of learning within the district of Columbia, and with means drawn from the property therein subject to the authority of the general Government. Such an institution claims the patronage of Congress, as a monument of their solicitude for the advancement of knowledge, without which the blessings of liberty cannot be fully enjoyed or long preserved; as a model instructive in the formation of other seminaries; as a nursery of enlightened preceptors; as a central resort of youth and genius from every part of their country, diffusing on their return examples of those national feelings, those liberal sentiments, and those congenial manners, which contri-

bute cement to our union, and strength to the great political fabric of which that is the formation.

In closing this communication, I ought not to repress a sensibility in which you will unite, to the happy lot of our country, and to the goodness of a superintending Providence, to which we are indebted for it.—Whilst other portions of mankind are labouring under the distresses of war, or struggling with adversity in other forms, the United States are in the tranquil enjoyment of prosperous and honourable peace. In reviewing the scenes through which it has been attained, we can rejoice in the proofs given, that our political institutions, founded in human rights, and framed for their preservation, are equal to the severest trials of war, as well as adapted to the ordinary periods of repose.—As fruits of this experience, and of the reputation acquired by the American arms, on the land and on the water, the nation finds itself possessed of a growing respect abroad, and of a just confidence in itself, which are among the best pledges for its peaceful career.

Under other aspects of our country, the strongest features of its flourishing condition are seen in a population rapidly increasing, on a territory as productive as it is extensive; in a general industry, and fertile ingenuity, which find their ample rewards; and in an affluent revenue, which admits a reduction of the public burthens without withdrawing the means of sustaining the public credit, of gradually discharging the public debt, of providing for the necessary defensive and precautionary establishments, and of patronising, in every authorised mode, undertakings conducive to the aggregate wealth and individual comfort of our citizens.

It remains for the guardians of the public welfare, to persevere in that justice and good will towards other nations, which invite a return of these sentiments towards the United States; to cherish institutions which guarantee their safety, and their liberties, civil and religious; and to combine with a liberal system of foreign commerce, an improvement of the natural advantages, and a protection and extension of the independent resources of our highly favoured and happy country.

In all measures, having such objects, my faithful co-operation will be afforded.

JAMES MADISON,

*Washington, Dec. 5, 1815.*

TO  
MR. NILES,  
PROPRIETOR OF THE WEEKLY REGISTER  
AT BALTIMORE,

*In answer to a Letter from him; and on  
the Piracies of the English Press.*

London, January 16, 1816.

SIR,—I am exceedingly obliged to you for your Letter of the 4th of November, and for the Volumes of your valuable work, which you have been so good as to send me. No time will be lost in sending to your friend the things which you desire to have sent to him for you. Before this can reach you, you will, in all likelihood, have seen, in, or from, the pages of the Register, that a plan has been resolved on to defeat the wishes of all those, who, by whatsoever motives actuated, and by whatsoever engines they may work, are desirous to keep America and all the world, but especially America, ignorant of what is passing in England.

In the meanwhile I am exceedingly gratified by the contents of your letter. It is impossible for me not to be proud at hearing what you say of the circulation of my essays throughout your country. The fact is some compensation for past, and an encouragement to future, exertion. But, I am, if possible, still more pleased with the intelligence, that you "have collected the materials, necessary to write to me, publicly, a Letter that shall exhibit to me a great variety of Statistical facts, which you hope will be useful in both countries; and that you shall word the said Letter, with the fear of God before your eyes, for yourself; and with the fear of God and the Attorney General before your eyes, for me." Be assured, that, as far as my ability goes, your matter shall not be seed sown in barren soil; and that nothing which I am able to do, and dare do, shall be left undone to communicate to the people here the facts, which it is your intention to publish.

I am not at all surprised, that the *Cossack suction*, amongst you, is now cut

down. The events in Europe; the treatment of the French under the Bourbons; the restoration and the acts of the Pope; the famous work of Ferdinand and his Monks; the butchery of the loyal Protestants in France, who, like your Cossacks, put up thanksgiving and made triumphal processions for the restoration of the descendants of Charles the 8th and Louis the 14th. These things, and some others that I will detail in another place, must have made your Cossacks hide their heads for shame, if ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> had not long been a stranger to them. I am glad to hear you say, that the *Federalists* are not to be confounded with these people. It would have been shocking indeed if great numbers of sensible and virtuous men, bred up in the very lap of liberty, could have been, by party prejudice and animosity, carried to so disgraceful a length. Indeed, I am quite satisfied, that, though party spirit must always exist in America, the events in Europe, and especially the condition of some European countries, if properly made known there, will, in a very few years, not leave in your Republic a single man, who will dare openly to hold principles hostile to these institutions, which have produced you so much happiness in peace, and which have led you unhurt through the fiery trial of war. To do this, in part, at least; to make your countrymen well acquainted with what passes here; with the state of this country; with measures, motives, intentions, characters, and views; with the very pegs and wires of the machine; shall be one of my principal objects. Something of the manner, in which this is to be done, has been stated in former Numbers of the Register; the remainder of the plan will be hereafter fully detailed.

In my former letter to you I gave you some information about our press. I told you the state in which the London press was. I explained to you how the country newspapers acted as gutters to convey about, or distribute, the emptyings of these grand sewers of falsehood and baseness. I promised more fully to describe

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some of the principal actors in these scenes; that is to say, to *name* them and their employers, to specify the *mode* and the *amount* of the remuneration of some of the leading literary hirelings; in short, to exhibit to you the *English press in its true colours*. This promise I shall fulfil in due time, and, I trust in "grand style." The history of this press will be far more amusing than that of JONATHAN WILD, or of any other of those knights of the post or the pad, whose adventures have at once entertained and shocked mankind.

But, for the present, I shall confine myself, as to the press, to the noticing of a singular turn, which things have taken since my last letter to you. I then told you, *that a state of things was approaching*, which would make people *feel*; and that, in spite of the press, *feeling* would open their eyes. Though it is only six months and two weeks since I wrote to you, this state of things has already arrived. This has produced an inclination in great numbers of people to *hear what I have now to say*; and this inclination in their leaders has led the conductors of a great part of the news-papers in England, Scotland, and Ireland to commit acts of *piracy* upon me, as audacious and base as any of the acts of piracy ever committed by the pirates of Barbary, or the pirates of *any other nation*. In short, there are, I believe, more than one hundred news-papers in this kingdom, the proprietors of which now owe, in part, the bread they eat to my pen. To be the means of assisting in the feeding of these men and their hundred families is, at first sight, a pleasing reflection; but, upon second thought, it is neither moral nor humane to aid in the support of robbers; and, perhaps, of all the robbers that ever existed, literary robbers are the most to be detested.

Some of these pirates regularly take my essays, as they come out, and republish them *entire*, with date, signature and all; and, as their papers contain advertisements, *paid paragraphs*, list of bankrupts, tittle-tattle, and news besides, they can sell their papers for little more than half the price of mine, and can supply, by means of inserting my essays, all sorts of readers at once. Others take the essays and leave out the *name*, leaving their readers to suppose, that they originate with themselves. Others insert the essays with the

*name*, and, having thus provided for those whom they know to be the sensible part of their readers, they insert, in their own name, some dozen or two of lines containing *mere personal abuse of me*. This latter is a bait for the foolish and corrupt; and thus, they secure the custom of the whole circle. But, there is one, who inserts the *whole* of my essays *under a false name*. This paper is published at *Reading*, and is called the *Mercury*. The God Mercury is said, I believe, to have had the protection of robbers committed to him; and, really, this paper seems to be worthy of the patron whose name it has chosen. There are, perhaps, 400 or 500 proprietors of periodical publications in your Republic; and, though to become a beggar in that country would be dreadful to think of, I verily believe, that there is not one out of the 500, who would not rather beg his bread from door to door, than gain it by means like those by which these men are gaining their bread from me.

If, indeed, it was, or ever had been, a practice with me, to steal from other publications, the case would be different; but, this is what I have never done in the whole course of my life. I never take even an extract from any original matter, except for the purpose of commenting thereon; and, upon all occasions, I *name* the author, or the work. Besides, I have no advertisements, I have never in my life, received money for inserting any thing in this work. I am compelled to make my work *high-priced*, having no other means of obtaining a re-imbursement for my expences, to say nothing of remuneration for my time and labour. Under such circumstances, is it not base to the last degree, to commit those acts of piracy, of which I have spoken above?

I ought to feel, and I really do feel, great satisfaction, at seeing that the *public sentiment* have induced these men to pirate upon me; and thus to become the trumpets of him, whom, for so many years the far greater part of them have been abusing. But, I can allow them no share of the merit of doing the good. That same self-interest, which before induced them to be calumniators, has now made them pirates. The same motive, from which they endeavoured to murder my reputation, has now induced them to steal my property. It certainly is a proud reflection, that the public feeling has, at

last, induced the former opponents of my opinions to become the circulators of those very opinions; but, though a particular hive may justly be proud, that the superior flavour of its honey has attracted all the wasps and drones of the vicinage, it does not follow, that the bees should not dislike, and endeavour to drive off, the wasps, who, if left to themselves, would rob the hive of the whole of the profit of their skill and labour. I shall endeavour to drive off these literary wasps, by legally securing the copy-right of my essays, seeing that to all restraints "beyond the letter of the law" they are wholly insensible.

"What!" some corrupt slave will exclaim, "it is *gain*, then, that you have in view, after all your professions of desire to promote the *public good*!" And, he may repeat the sentiment of SIR VICARY GRASS, that a man ought to be more severely punished for writing what is called a libel, when he derives "*base lucre*" from his writings. I beg you, Sir, to pay attention to this; because you will find, that it strikes at the root of all literary independence; that it aims at the degradation of literary talent, and at the extinguishment of all liberty as far as the press is concerned.

I will leave you to determine, whether those who plead at the bar be wholly divested of all objects of *gain*, because that is a point upon which I will not trust my pen, on this side of the Atlantic. But, Sir, what moves the physician to visit the sick? What moves the priest to administer the Sacrament? In both cases a desire to do others good may have great weight; but, the physician takes his fee, and the priest his salary, or his fees, or both. The physician and the priest will tell you, that they and their families must eat and be clad. And must not you and I and our families eat and be clad? The physician and the priest will tell us, that mere food and covering are not a sufficient reward for the exertion of their talents. And, are you and I and our families to be content with mere food and covering as a reward for the exertion of our talents? But, it will be said, that *we* profess to have *public good*, principally in view. And does not the priest more especially profess to have *public good* principally in view? The physician and the priest (in your country), as well as you and I ten-

der the use of our talents to the public, leaving to that public to accept of it, or not, as it may choose, upon the conditions which we prescribe; but, there is this distinction in favour of literary talent, that, while the physician and the priest are employed from *necessity*, whether real or imaginary, those who avail themselves of the use of our talent do it from mere choice, unurged by any necessity either imaginary or real.

If a writer were to publish a book of a few pages and make the price of it a thousand pounds, no one would have a right to find fault. It would be worth the thousand pounds a copy, or it would not. If it was, it would be sold; if not, no one would buy it. In either case no injustice would be done to any body. There is a small pamphlet now published in London, containing instructions how to *destroy rats*, the price of which is a *guinea*. This pamphlet has, and professes to have, *public good* for its object. But, nobody has yet thought of accusing the author of being actuated by a love of "*base lucre*," though it is clear enough that he did not rightly understand his own interest; for the price of 2s. would have brought him much more money as a reward for his discovery.

We have, and so have you, I dare say, *patents* for discoveries of all sorts. These discoveries really are frequently of great national importance. But, do not the patentees keep the benefit of them, as much as possible, to themselves? Is it not the very object of the patent to enable them to do this? Do they not *sell* the permission to use their discovery? Do they not punish those, who pirate upon them? And has there ever been any just man who reproached them for this; who, on this account, accused them of a want of public spirit; or, who laid to their charge a pursuit of "*base lucre*?" But, why need we go farther than the law of copy-right itself, as it exists in America as well as in England? By this law, the principle I contend for is fully sanctioned; and shall it be said, that a man is actuated by a love of *base lucre*, because, in acting upon this principle, he endeavours to obtain something beyond food and raiment? It was one of the greatest glories of England that POPE became rich by the labours of his mind.

But, besides all these arguments, there



is one of still greater force; namely, that by a man's securing to himself ease and plenty from the labours of his mind, he also secures to himself the best possible protection against the temptations to subject that mind to trammels. Had not Johnson and Burke been needy men, do you think, that the former would have written in favour of the Stamp-Act, or the latter against the first dawning of the Revolution of France? Both, by industry and economy, might have possessed large fortunes, and enjoyed perfect independence; and both, at their death, relieved their country from the payment of a pension. It is, therefore, for the interest of society at large; it is for the interest of the rights and liberties of mankind, that all literary men, and more especially those who write on the subject of what is generally called politics, should receive *from the public*, freely paid them, the *full worth of their labours*; and it is very clear, that the richer they become, *from this spontaneous source*, the better it must be for the public to whom they address their writings; because they are hereby stimulated to further exertions, and are, at the same time, made proud in their independence.

The value of a book, a pamphlet, or paper, if these be left to work their way, unaided, on the one hand, and unchecked, on the other, by the government of a country or by its agents, will be sure to be speedily ascertained. If this value be very small, the writer must, and ought to be, as a writer, poor; but, if the value be very great, ought he not to be rich? We set no bounds to the riches of merchants or farmers or land-dealers or loan-makers. We say that Judges, Governors, and Officers of State should be *well paid*. And why? That their purity may be preserved, that their dignity may be upheld. And why not apply this sound and excellent reason to literary men, when the latter desire to possess nothing but the fruits of their own earnings? Why grudge them, and them only, that which their talents bring them without the aid of any government, or any tax-gatherer? Your PRESIDENT, in his dignified, elegant, and modest message of the 5th of December, recommends the establishment of a "National Seminary of learning, as the means of advancing knowledge, without which the blessings of liberty cannot be fully

"enjoyed or long preserved." Useful as such a seminary may possibly be in securing the object here contemplated, I much question, whether great spontaneous reward to literary talent, and the consequent independence of individual writers, are not of much greater importance to the cause of freedom. It is said, that the persons employed in the high offices of government, ought to have large salaries, because, otherwise the nation would not *secure the services of all the most able men*. And, why should it? Why should not some, at least of the able men, be left to watch over the people's rights, and to instruct them in these rights, through the channel of the press? And, why should not these able men become as rich, and be held in as high estimation, as the officers of government?

To return, for a moment, before I conclude, to my particular case; I am resolved, if the law will bear me out, to put a stop to the piracy, of which I complain. Yet, that no one may have just grounds to accuse me of any thing like selfishness or illiberality, I hereby offer to give any body permission to re-publish in any newspaper, out of London, any part of, or all, that I publish in the Register, provided that the proprietor of such newspaper agree before-hand to pay *ten shillings* a week for such permission, the contract ceasing at any time that such proprietor shall choose. I do not include *this present Letter*, which they have my free consent to insert for nothing.

Were I to consult *solely* my interest, I should grant no such permission. But, at any rate, if the permission be not worth this trifle to a proprietor of a newspaper, he can hardly say that the prohibition will deprive him of any thing. That which is not worth his buying at the price of ten shillings, can, surely, never be worth his stealing. Either the readers of his paper will desire the insertion of my Essays, or they will not. If the former, he must derive advantage from the insertion; if the latter, he suffers no injury from not inserting them, and he has only to stick to the sale of his own property, leaving me in quiet possession of mine. All this is so reasonable and so fair, that, really, unless those persons trump up some doctrine about "*a right of search*," which is to justify them in impressing my Essays into their service, I cannot see what

they can have to urge in the way of objection.

Your account of the prosperous state of your country agrees with all that I hear from other quarters of the United States. But, amidst increasing commerce, navigation, manufactures and population, while new towns are rising up and new states are crowding forward, I hope you will not forget to *build ships* and *cast cannons*; for, I am well convinced, that to build ships and to cast cannons are the best, if not the only, security that you can have for lasting peace. Therefore, again I say, *build ships and cast cannons!*

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—Since the above was written, there has been tendered to the publisher of the Register a parcel of *American Newspapers*, from whom I know not. They were brought by the post-man from the post-office in London, marked with the *Gravesend Post-Mark*, sealed safely up with the *Post Office seal*, and charged with *postage* to the amount of *Five Pounds, three Shillings, and ten Pence*; or about *Twenty One Dollars*. They were not received, of course. You will see, in the pages of the four or five last Numbers of the Register, the history of several other parcels of American newspapers, which have been presented and refused in like manner. I do not know who has the goodness to send me this last parcel; but whoever it is my best thanks are due for the endeavour to oblige me. This evil will not now be of long duration. I and my readers are, by these impediments, deprived of a great deal of useful information; but we should have lived in England for the last quarter of a century to very little purpose not to have learnt to submit with becoming resignation and humility to such trifling crosses in life.

TO THE

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

#### LETTER XI.

*The Approaching Session.—Consolations of John Bull.—The Chancellor's own Pamphlet.—His calculations buffed.—Divers Projects on foot.*

SIR,—The present is a time of the most anxious public expectation that I ever

witnessed. The people used to look forward to the meeting of parliament, if not with a sort of indifference, at least with a dread that some new tax, or some addition to an old tax, would take place. They are now all on tiptoe for some grand measure that is to give them *relief*. Some are for one measure, some for another: some expect that you will make corn dear again; these are the farmers and landlords: others, that you will still keep corn cheap, and cause the farmers and landlords to lay out a great deal of money; these are the shop-keepers: others that you will keep corn cheap, take off the Income Tax, and yet make the whole of the taxes amount to more than they now amount to; these are the fund-holders: others, that you will be monstrously puzzled, and will not know what to do; these are the Jacobins, amongst whom I have long had the honour to be numbered.

The consolations of John Bull have been great. He has seen with delight the works of the Most Christian King, and the situation of the French people. He has seen the Pope, Ferdinand and the good old order of things restored, in Italy and Spain. He has witnessed the heart-cheering scenes at Madrid and in divers parts of France. But, the consolation, the grand consolation, which his liberal and philanthropic heart derived from the "*bankrupt state of the American Government*," conveyed to him by his faithful and beloved servants, the *Times* and *Courier*, has, unfortunately been wrested from him by the Message of Mr. MADISON, who "is YET President," as the *Times* once exclaimed, and by the full, clear, and fair report of Mr. DALLAS. From these documents we learn, that the whole amount of the American Debt is only 120 millions of dollars, or about 30 millions sterling; that the interest of this debt, and a fund for its speedy liquidation and all the expences of government, can be provided for, and that, at the same time, a reduction of two thirds, of all the internal taxes is, by the government itself, proposed to take place immediately. I told you in a late letter, without having received any intelligence from America, that honest and philanthropic John would be speedily deprived of this source of consolation; and, you see, Sir, that I was right. He must, therefore, turn his eyes to France and Spain again; and draw

what comfort he can from the fate of the *Regicides* and the *Liberals*, the survivors of whom he will, I dare say, soon have to pursue with his execrations across the Atlantic.

But, in the meanwhile, his own affairs press hard upon him. He has found that *peace*, though coming in such an enchanting shape, though the olive came entwined with the laurel, has not brought the usual advantages of peace. He seems wonder-stricken at this. And, I dare say that you are as much wonder-stricken as he. In one of my letters to you, I expressed an intention to hunt out, if I was able, a copy of the pamphlet, which you wrote, many years ago, in defence of the funding and taxing system. A Correspondent has sent me some extracts from it, which I shall subjoin to this Letter. They will now serve, if not to convince you of your sadly shallow view of things, to show the public that your view was extremely superficial.

From these extracts it appears, that you thought (for I believe you to have been sincere) that the permanent taxes would *increase in amount*, whenever *peace should come*; that, because, in former wars, they had fallen off, and, in the late war, had not fallen off, that the late war was a most lucky war in that respect; and that, at a peace, the produce of all the old taxes would, as a matter of course, increase to a great extent. You forget, or you could not comprehend, the power of the paper-money, which grew into a part of the system, during the late war, and which was wanting to former wars to make the cases parallel. You could not, apparently, understand that the paper-money of the war would never do for times of peace; that the quantity of this money must be diminished in peace, or that we should stand with a Bank never to pay in specie, and with an exchange against us all over the world. Your mind did not (giving you full credit for sincerity) dive so deep as this, or you must have perceived, that the necessary diminution of the quantity of paper-money in *peace* would produce a diminution in the amount of the taxes, and that this diminution would lead, finally, to the want of means to pay those 63 millions a year, which formed the total of your lately-estimated peace expenditure. However, Sir, here are the extracts from your pamphlet inserted. My opinion upon the

same subjects have all along differed from yours. You receive, and have long received, several thousands a year out of the taxes for the use of your abilities, and I verily believe that you most earnestly endeavour to render services worth what you receive. I receive nothing out of the taxes. We shall now, in less than two years, and, perhaps, in less than *two months*, be able to decide the question, who understands this subject best, *you or I*; for, you will please to observe, that I will allow of no *living* competitor; nor of any dead one except PAINE, to whom I willingly yield the precedence. There is no writer, in England at least, that has agreed with me. More than two hundred have written to show my opinions to be false. If I am proved to be wrong, I shall be without company; and, if I am proved to be right, I will certainly admit of no companions amongst the writers in England.

While this question is yet undecided by events, it is necessary to notice the *divers projects* that are on foot. One projector is for causing corn to be *distilled*, in order to raise the price of it, and to enable the farmer to pay his rent and taxes; but this projector has overlooked the means of *providing money* for people to buy the spirits with, and seems not to be aware of the fact, that, out of the *six* great distilleries, in and near London, *two* have already stopped working; whether from moral considerations, or from a want of a sufficient market, I must leave the projector to determine.

Another project is, to give a *bounty* on the *exportation* of corn. This would certainly raise the price of it; and the only objection to this scheme is, that, while the farmer would be able to pay more taxes equal to the amount of the bounty, the government must first give him that same amount out of taxes previously collected, which would, assuredly, not go on very fast in filling the Exchequer and in providing for the payment of the Fundholders.

A third project is to *do something about the Tithes*. Precisely *what* this class of projectors have in their heads, it has, hitherto, been impossible for me to make out. The following passage from the COURIER may throw some light upon their views: "A very general expectation exists, that something will be done during the ensuing *Sittings* of Parliament with

“respect to TITHES; and petitions on the subject, we perceive, are already preparing. What the measure in contemplation is, we have not heard; but, probably, it will be a composition such as is usually introduced into Bills of Inclosure. These Bills commonly assign to the Clergy a certain *rent*, equal to one *ninth*, sometimes more, sometimes less, of the *rent* actually paid to the landlord, or of the value of the *rent* equitably estimated, if the land is not let at a rack rent. In this way the funds of the Clergy will arise from a *positive freehold rent*, as secure as the landlords, and the tenant will bring it into calculation as part of his rent in taking a farm. He will be able thus to know precisely what he is to pay for a tithe-free farm. This measure will be of great advantage to the public, by encouraging the cultivation of poor grounds, from which the corn-tithe at present often takes *all the profit*. Some measures should also be adopted, to compel the entire redemption of the land-tax. If a progressive increase were laid upon the unredeemed tax, this would compel its redemption. Many persons from very unpatriotic motives refuse to buy up this tax, and such persons should *not be spared*.”

—But, then, Sir, as to this last head, Mr. COURIER will, I suppose, furnish the landowners with money wherewith to buy up the said land-tax; for, without some such friend, it is impossible that they should do it.—As to the *Tithes*, this projector means evidently to take them, or a part of them, from the Parson and to transfer that part to the landlord; for, you will observe, Sir, that he proposes to leave the former a tenth, at most, of the *rent*, in lieu of a tenth of the *produce*.—Well, and what would this do? In whatever degree he enabled the landlord, or the farmer, or both, to pay taxes, he would disable the Parson to pay taxes.—If, indeed, he had proposed to *seize*, at once, on all the property of the church, tythes, lands, manors, houses, corn-rents, and the whole, to apply the proceeds to the payment of the interest of the Debt and the support of the Army, the Judges, the Royal Family, &c. and to leave the Bishops and Clergy to be maintained by the voluntary contribution of those who might wish to have their services, I should have understood him, at

any rate. What he has now said is so much sheer nonsense; but it shows, that there are afloat some ugly notions about the property of the church. Men do not appear to see clearly into each others views upon the subject; but they do certainly entertain an idea, that the *property of the church* is a sort of *resource*. It is certainly a very great resource, not less, perhaps, than *eight or nine millions a year*, if the parliamentary estimates of the rent-roll of the kingdom be correct; but, then, it is to be come at by the government and the fund-holders only in the way that I have pointed out; and, though I feel very little anxiety about the matter, I can hardly imagine, that, when the great and incessant zeal of the Clergy for beginning and pushing on the late glorious wars is taken into view, the government will lay its hands on their lands and livings, or, in the phrase of old King Harry, “to be-  
“take itself to their temporalities.”—However, Sir, as this is a question which appears to me to lie entirely between the Clergy, who defended the wars, and the fund-holders, who lent their money to carry them on, it is one upon which I shall not presume to offer an opinion, just observing, as a farmer, that I would as soon pay the amount of my tythes to the one as to the other.

A fourth projector would proceed by subtraction instead of addition. Our arithmetic is all coming into use. He would *lower the interest of the Debt*; or, in other words, apply the sponge to a part of the score. This project has many advocates, and seems to be gaining proselytes daily. It is, I fancy, the apparent *simplicity* of this project and the seeming ease of execution, to which it owes the greater part of the approbation, with which it is every where received. Certainly nothing can be more simple or more easy of execution than the paying of poundage upon ones debts. But, then, there comes to be settled *what proportion* this poundage shall bear to the debt, and what security we are to give that the poundage of *next year* shall not exceed the poundage of this year. There comes to be settled, the divers rates of poundage according to the various times of lending, and the difference in the value of the money lent to the government; for, it would be a crying act of injustice to condemn those who lent in gold with those

who lent in paper-money not convertible into gold. There comes to be settled what is to be done with the Debts of the East India Company, which, exceed, by one third, the Debts of the whole of the American Republic. There comes to be settled, what is to be the poundage on *private* debts and mortgages, and rack rents and ground-rents, and leaseholds and annuities, and rent-charges and marriage settlements, and shares of partnerships, and a hundred other things which I cannot think of, and which if I could think of them, it would be quite useless to enumerate. In short, Sir, that head must be much more solid and steady than mine, which does not swim at the expanse developed by the bare mention of this very "*simple and easy*" project of lowering the interest of the national Debt.

Nevertheless, Sir, I am seriously impressed with the opinion, that, in some shape or other, to this project we shall come. I really have no pleasure in the persuasion, that this will and must be the case; for, though my *memory* is pretty good, and though all prophets like to see their prophecies verified, I see, turn which way I will, so much calamity threatening all classes of people, that I cannot, though I should have a clear right to do it, fold up my arms and laugh at the raging of the storm. I give you, Sir, full credit for the best possible intentions. Your course has never been marked with that insolence towards the people, which has justly excited in their breasts a hatred of some other men. And, though good intentions alone are insufficient for the task which you have now to perform, yet I am very far from supposing, that any good could possibly arise from a change of the Ministry; and, indeed, I am, on the contrary, convinced, that, if any thing could make our situation worse that it appears likely to become, and make our case perfectly hopeless, it would be such a change as the factious Whig writers are now endeavouring to accomplish through the opening that may be made by our pecuniary distress.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble, and

most obedient servant,

WM. CORBETT.

*Quotations from "An Enquiry into the State of the Finances of Great Britain in answer to MR. MORGAN'S Facts, by NICHOLAS VANSITTART, Esq." 1796.*

"About two years ago I had occasion, in answer to the gloomy predictions of Jasper Wilson, to take a cursory view of the resources of the nation, and to examine the general state of its Commerce and Finances. I then endeavoured to shew '*on how vain a foundation the fears of the desponding rested,*' and the events of the momentous and important period which has since elapsed," (meaning, I suppose, the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank) "had, in my opinion, so proved the correctness of my statements and the justice of my conclusions, that I little expected to have been again called upon to defend them. A work, however, has lately appeared, not in the form of a Newspaper Essay, or an anonymous pamphlet, but of a grave discussion, the avowed production of a Gentleman of acknowledged talent, and who may even rank very high among statesmen, if his own definition of the sciences of Government and Finances be just—that *the one requires only a little Common Sense, and the other only a little common Arithmetic.* In that work, supported by the authority of Mr. Morgan's name, and impressed on the public attention by the solemnity of its title '*Facts Addressed, &c.*' the same strain prevails of lamentation and despondence which distinguished Jasper Wilson's florid declamations. *Facts* are always valuable, but I believe the real *facts* to be widely different from Mr. Morgan's statement; and I should lament on much better grounds, than any concern for my reputation as an *Author*, if such facts were true, as the inevitable bankruptcy and approaching ruin of my country."

Page 26.—"Mr. Morgan is so terrified at the dreadful phantom," (speaking of the National Debt) "he has conjured up, that he sinks into the lowest despondency; and, after reckoning up the wars and rumours of wars which this country has produced already, dooms us to warfare, bankruptcy, and ruin in times to come."

Page 30.—"The National Debt is indeed in *one point of view* a charge upon the general mass of national property, which is defrayed by deducting a certain portion of every man's income, by means

of taxation. In *another*, it constitutes the property and furnishes the income of a *great and respectable* class of the inhabitants of the country. In a third it is a deposit for capital not otherwise employed."

"The extinction of the debt is not, however, by any means the only purpose which the *redeeming fund* is found to answer: it regulates in a considerable degree the ordinary rate of interest, and the general state of credit, as well *private as public*; by producing a regular and steady supply of money in the market, it prevents great and sudden fluctuations, and counteracts fraudulent combinations to influence the price of stock."

Page 61.—"So rapid has been the progress of National Improvement in the present times, and so solid is the foundation of General Credit, that they do not appear to have suffered any material detriment from the war, notwithstanding the increasing pressure of the public burdens, and the extraordinary magnitude of the projects which had lately been undertaken. It is needless to prove, that during the continuance of the late peace, such plans had been adopted of agricultural improvement, of roads, and bridges, and canals; of extending buildings in almost all our provincial cities, and of additions to London, alone equal to many cities, as far exceeded the utmost limits of imagination in times past. But the execution of these projects has suffered so little interruption from the exigencies of the times, that many others of not less hardy conception have been undertaken during the war itself."

Page 74.—"From all these circumstances, I cannot avoid drawing the conclusion, that amidst all the alarms and difficulties of so terrible a warfare, the prosperity of the country has not materially suffered; *however, we may regret the necessity which forced us unavoidably into the contest, and now compels us to the continuance of it.* But surely it will ever be remembered among the *most signal blessings which have attended this favoured Isle*, that in a time like the present, *we are able to look for Peace with confidence, or for War without alarm.* History will record the events of the struggle in which Great Britain has repelled the gigantic efforts of the *Modern Vandals*, armed with all the arts of destruction, and inflamed with the spirit of universal desolation; and future Statesmen will investigate the causes

which enabled her, *without exhausting her ordinary resources*, to withstand an enemy, who, casting away every idea of self preservation, consumed his own vitals in his efforts to annoy the foe."

Page 63.—"Another criterion not less important may be derived from the produce of the internal taxes, which, *falling on almost every article of consumption*, excepting those of immediate and absolute necessity, furnishes a pretty certain indication of the comforts or necessities of the people. Accordingly it has always been found, that when the burdens of the state bore heavily on the nation, the income of these taxes gradually declined, and that effect has been considered as so constant during War, as scarcely to afford any apprehension, because it was supposed it *would recover after the return of peace.* But if during the present War their produce has scarcely diminished, notwithstanding the great additions made to them, it affords a most extraordinary proof, that the general mass of National Property has increased to a degree not only capable of bearing its former burdens, but of supporting so great an additional weight, without injuring the happiness of the people."

#### MILTON, SHAKESPEAR, and POTATOES.

It is quite surprizing what heaps of abuse have been thrown on me out of the *Gutters* of Ireland and England (I mean the provincial papers) for my observations upon these subjects. I care very little about Milton or Shakespear; but, I should really like to see something like *an answer* to my observations on their writings. At any rate, why *abuse* me for my notions? If there be persons who are delighted with the idea of an angel being split down the middle, and of the two halves coming (*slap!*) together again, intestines and all, they may, surely, let me pass without *abuse* for not having so refined a taste. If there be persons, who are charmed with the puns and smut and rant and hobgoblins of our other "*Drone Bard*," surely I may be allowed to express my dislike of these without being *abused*.—As to *potatoes*, the use of them, as a substitute for the *flour* of wheat, is a subject of importance. I have not written a mere phillipic against this use. I have stated facts, and have used arguments. These admit of an answer; they admit of being shown to be

erroneous, if they be erroneous; and, those who, instead of facts and arguments, make use of *abuse*, may be assured, that they will be looked upon as doing all they are able to do in support of my opinions. To show these abusive persons, that all the world are not of their way of thinking, I insert the following Letter.

MR. COBBETT,—There was a time, when it was seriously believed by the mass of the people of this country, and they would burn you alive if you disbelieved, that a popish talisman transubstantiates, by a word, a painted wafer into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ.—Cruel and ridiculous as this belief was, it is not more absurd than the belief that a person at ROYSTON can foretel by hieroglyphics, and other outlandish terms, the state of the weather and public events, many months before they take place\*. The fact is, there is nothing too absurd for man not to believe, nor too cruel for him not to act in defence of his belief.—Yet we gravely tell one another, we are an “*enlightened people*,” and that our country is “*the envy and admiration of the world*.” You need not wonder, therefore, that *Potatoes* are considered to be a *good substitute for bread*, and that people continue to eat them by way of *saving*.—But, as this important subject should not be slightly passed over, and as experiments made in different places, though tending to the same results, may be interesting, I request you to insert as follows.—I sent, this week, a little girl into the market to purchase a gallon of potatoes, and as she picked them, she paid 5*d.*; their weight was, in that state, 8*lbs.* 13*oz.* or 7*lbs.* 12*oz.* per bushel. I then washed and pared them, which reduced their weight to 6*lbs.* 11*oz.* being about one quarter loss. They were then fit for the pot; but I grated them into an hair sieve, and poured repeatedly water through them; after standing 12 hours, I poured the water away, and found at top an ounce of brown earthy matter, which I took off. I then dried the rest in a moderately heated stove. When dry, it weighed exactly one pound.—This, I suppose, is *nutritive*, and, if equal to fine flour is above as dear again. Fine flour is here 4*s.* per sack of 280*lbs.* say 2*d.*

\* I am informed there are about half a million of Moore's Almanacks sold in a year.

per pound; 280*lbs.* of potatoe flour costs £5 16*s.* 8*d.*; but flour, such as most families use who bake their own bread, may be bought for 11*d.* per gallon, or £1 16*s.* 8*d.* per sack: so much, therefore, for economy! Now, those who may be inclined to dispute this, had better first try the experiment themselves, then they will be much better informed, as to the other particulars, such as *cleanliness! pleasantness! and health!!*

I am, &c. W. GOODMAN.

Warwick, January 12.

MR. COBBETT,—You have copied into your Register of the 6th inst. a very unfair statement of what I said at the Bath Agricultural Society, upon the subject of Mr. Spooner's motion; and, in consequence, you have very freely set me down with the knight who is said to have proposed the growth of hemp, as a remedy for the present distress of the country.—What I said, was, in substance, and almost verbatim, as follows, that, “I would agree to no partial remedy: that, upon ordinary occasions, I would always be disposed, in petitioning the legislature, to avoid being too particular; but now, such were the necessities of the country, that we ought, specifically, to state, what we thought required for general safety. That, in my opinion all taxes on industry should be withdrawn; that, to render this new system practicable, all sinecures should be given up, the utmost economy be observed in national expenditure, and that entails should be abolished. That, to enable the country to get above its most immediate difficulties, arising from a delusive system of finance, that the Bank should again be liberal, and paper money be held good for at least two or three years. That so far from agreeing with Mr. Spooner's proposal for withdrawing the Farmer's Income Tax, I was clearly of opinion that if the Corn Bill remained as now, that tax should be continued; for although when first imposed, it was the most unprincipled of all taxes, it had now become quite equitable: it was in fact a land tax, and nothing more than a pro-per balance against the advantages afforded the landed interest by the late Corn Bill.” These opinions taken together, you will allow have a very different aspect from the bare assertion, re-

ported in your paper, that all taxes should be taken off *which bore upon industry* IN ANY WAY.—If you shall think proper, setting aside quibble as to what could be meant by *taxes on industry*, to controvert my opinions, I shall not be afraid to defend them. In the mean time, it might be intrusion to argue the question; and, requesting that you will give this a place in your Register, merely as a matter of justice,  
I am, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

*Deptford Farm, Wills. 11th Jan. 1816.*

N.B. I insert the above, because I would not leave Mr. GOURLAY any reason to complain of me, though I cannot subscribe to any one of his opinions. Wm. C.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

MR. COBBETT,—The underwritten letter was lately picked up on the beach near this place by a sailor, one morning after a severe gale: should it meet with your approbation, will thank you to give it publicity through the medium of your widely circulated paper. I am, your's, &c.

HONESTUS.

*Dec. 15, 1815.*

SIR,—As a spirit of the other world, I ought to apologize for the freedom I take in thus addressing my communications to you; but, from the number of new faces that I daily see, and who were your intimate acquaintance when living, it occurred to me you would like to know what is going forward here; but, first, I will briefly state to you my avocation when I inhabited the planet you now reside on.—You must know, sir, I was, some hundred years back, a little country farmer, living not far from the estate of a rich *Commoner*; I managed by my own industry to bring up my wife and family tolerably well, to be sure, I did not send them to a boarding-school, for, fortunately, in my time we had none, it being thought a rare thing then for a farmer's son to read, and as to his daughter's playing on the guitar or spinnet, the idea would have been laughed at; however, with the assistance of the clerk of our parish, I made my sons pretty good scholars and honest men, while my girls were reckoned the best dairy maids and housewives in the county. I lived to see my sons well settled, each renting a small farm, sufficient to supply them with every

necessary (luxuries they knew not), and a trifle to spare for the necessitous. In the midst of my worldly happiness, old age warned me that my end was approaching; while sitting in my elbow-chair, smoking a homely pipe, and drinking a jug of my ale (for we then knew not the use of wine but as a medicine), my old wife Margery and my daughters sitting around me doing the necessary repairs to the family linen, my spirit was suddenly called away to the regions I now inhabit. Old Charon, on my arrival at the ferry, was induced (from the general good character I bore when on earth) to appoint me helmsman of the boat. From the high situation I hold here, I have learnt what befel my unhappy family, the particulars of which as they may be rather interesting, I will relate to you. Andrew and David (my two sons) enjoyed their small farms but a short time, as they were purchased by a *great man* in the neighbourhood, and with the addition of another or two, were all (as we farmers term it) laid into one. This practice increased to a great extent, and was the ruin of many whose property would not allow them to take "*a large farm*." My two boys, however, being left in affluent circumstances, were pitched upon by the Squire as men to be trusted, and, what was much better, as men whose capital would tend to improve his estate. They readily accepted the offer of a farm each, and their landlord was pleased to shew them particular marks of attention; which were productive of no good consequences, as you shall hear. It was a practice with the Squire to invite them, at least once a month (with either of his tenants) to dine with him; the grandeur of the mansion, the magnificence of the apartments, the style in which they were served, had a bad effect on Andrew and David, for, as their visits at the Squire's increased, their own homely fare became less palatable to them, and they could not relish their joint of meat on a Sunday without a glass or two of wine to wash it down. At market, too, they could not ride up and spend their market penny, as I and my neighbours used to do; but, as they had perchance dined with the Squire once that week, they would not lower their dignity so much as to take a glass of grog or ale; No! nothing less than a bottle of wine and a private room would content them. It happened about this time, that



a young ladies' boarding school was established in the neighbouring town, which their landlord much recommended, it being kept by a cast-off mistress of an old friend of his: to this precious seminary were my grand-daughters consigned. My grandsons were sent to an academy for the education of young gentlemen, kept by a broken supervisor of excise, who was discharged from that office for smuggling. Luxury now began to gain ground—an agricultural society was established; the tenants had now more frequent invitations to the table of the Squire, from whom he gathered sufficient materials to enable him to make a decent speech at the quarterly meeting: particular attention was paid by the Society to "breeding in all its *branches*;" and, indeed, so much was this *branch* of agricultural pursuits attended to, that I am credibly informed, one of the members has no less than five-and-twenty illegitimate children. I need not tell you what a state their morals must be in. My grand-children, now returned from boarding-school, the girls, with all the airs of French opera dancers, the fine breed of dairy maids became extinct; neither of them knew a bull from a cow, and would faint at the sight of a milk-pail. The boys on their return were presented to the Squire; they had, by the assistance of a run-a-way Swiss, learned to jabber a little French, which they frequently heard introduced into conversation by the Squire's polite guests; they ridiculed their father's old bone-setting cart as they termed it, alleging, it was now become vulgar to ride in any thing less than a tandem or curricule, as the great gentlemen did who came down to the Squire's: accordingly, a new chaise was prepared to serve as either, which my poor son was constrained to drive to market every week, and upon all genteel visits; while two high bred nags were kept for my grand-sons, who having a great taste for horses, attended a neighbouring pack of hounds, and became in time professed horse-dealers, by which employment it is calculated they did not lose more than three hundred a year. Assemblies and balls, which were only known in my time to a few of the great and ancient families of the County, now became the favourite amusements of the farmers' sons and daughters; cards were introduced, and Dick Muckfork lost his twenty guineas,

and paid them as cheerfully to Harry Duncart, as my Lord Spadille would to Sir George Cassino. Port now became too vulgar. Sherry, Madeira, and a long list of luxurious wines were added to their feasts, which they gave alternately at each others' houses. Their old mansions would not do; new ones were built, for which they paid extravagant rents; these houses consisted of a dining, drawing, tea room, &c. &c. with a *butler's pantry*, and a study for the master. How ridiculous! how truly laughable, instead of being on foot by break of day attending to the stock, here we find the master of the farm breakfasting at eleven o'clock in his *study*, reading a novel, in order to get a sufficient stock of nonsense to vend at the next ball or card party. However, I understand from a very intelligent Spirit that I ferried over the Styx the other day, this career has received a sudden check: the commodity they dealt in declined very much in price. All is havoc and confusion: the good old building which I have often looked at with pleasure while purchasing my stock on a Saturday, is, I am told, almost crammed to suffocation with credulous and unthinking tenants: curricles, tandems, gigs, dog-carts, shooting poniés, all, all! are borne down by the sweeping torrent of insolvency, and my poor grandsons who began their education at a genteel academy, are likely to have the mortifying consolation of finishing it in a college. But I must now conclude this, as I see a great crowd hastening to the ferry: should I by means of them learn the fate of my two daughters, I will send you an account; for the present I must remain (as much as in my power) your well wisher—the Spirit of

A FARMER IN OLD TIMES.

*From the Shades below.*

#### AMERICAN COARSENESS.

I cannot refrain from inserting here the report of a trial, which I find in an American news-paper, (The National Advocate) as a proof of the horror in which crimes are held in that country, and as a specimen of the manner in which are published the accounts of such disgraceful transactions. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews talk of the *coarseness* of the American Press. That press has certainly dealt villany some pretty hard blows. It has made known some

very disagreeable truths concerning the conduct of those, whom these Reviewers wished to screen. This is the *coarseness*, of which these gentlemen so bitterly complain. But, until they can produce us, from some English news-paper, an article of the nature of that which I here insert, written with as much ability and as much delicacy, modesty should keep them silent, at least, upon the subject.

### *Trial of Robert L. Taylor.*

In our paper of yesterday, we were totally silent on the subject of this Trial, which, in consequence of an indictment found against Robert L. Taylor by the Grand Jury at August term, took place on Tuesday last before the Hustings Court, and a Special Jury of this city. It is not easy to define the cause of our silence. It originated in the peculiar nature of the case. There was in that case something over which humanity and modesty wished to throw an impenetrable veil—while Justice, stern and unmoved, rent, with one hand, the chaste and mysterious curtain, and with the other, smote the humbled and wretched offender.

A report of the trial, however, having appeared from another quarter, our scruples are, in some degree, removed; and we feel at liberty to approach it with a blush—with commingled emotions of surprise, indignation, and pity—and, especially, with deepest sympathy for the young, artless, innocent object of the guilty *assault*, and for the amiable and infant son of the author of that *assault*.

How strange a compound is man! and in this compound, what heterogeneous mixture of pure metal and base alloy! The man thus indicted—1 *for an assault with an intent to commit a rape*—2 *for a mere assault*, was not one of those wretched, despicable, brutalized beings, whose soul was never irradiated and warmed by a single genial ray of refined knowledge—whose feelings never waked but to dark designs and atrocious deeds.—No! Genius and Science had marked him for their own—The muses had gifted him with poetical powers which have often been admired—and what is more, Religion had enrolled him under her holy standard! With the eloquence of a Chrysostom, he had of ten inculcated from the pulpit, the precepts of christian morality—No wonder, then, that with so many

claims to private and public confidence, he should engage the esteem, conciliate the friendship, and command the respect of so many enlightened and virtuous persons! The good, the honourable, are not prone to suspicion—and, indeed, who could have suspected one, who, with so many other incentives to virtue, possessed in his accomplished wife, an uncommon share of that bliss which female loveliness bestows? Contrary to all moral probabilities, contrary to the usual results of human affairs, and to the usual phrases of the human character, genius, science, religion, self respect, social considerations, sympathy for innocence, affection for a wife in the most interesting of situations, at once deserted him. No *hallucination* ever was so deplorable. As well might the rash offender have ascended the lofty pinnacle of our capitol and precipitated himself headlong from its summit, with a hope of escaping unhurt from the tremendous fall.—There obviously was, in the unaccountable attempt, a considerable share of *insanity*, produced by intemperate habits, and by the wild, lawless wanderings of a disordered imagination.

To be specific—Robert L. Taylor, indicted on the two counts above mentioned, was, on Tuesday last, put upon his trial. No counsel appeared in his behalf. The case was opened in a calm and dignified manner, by the State's Attorney, Mr. Wm. Marshall. The Prisoner then spoke. The object of his address, in which ingenuity and eloquence, worthy of a better cause conspicuously shone, was to remove the clouds of prejudice in which he stood involved—We ought to have remarked that most of the persons summoned as jurymen upon this case, declared a preconceived opinion of guilt in the Prisoner—and that he declined challenging any of those persons.

Miss—, the only witness, was called upon to reveal the dark mystery of almost inconceivable iniquity. Her tender age (she is scarcely 12 years old)—the modesty natural to her sex and to that age—the awful solemnity of the occasion—the heart rending recollections and dismal imagery which it conjured up—all contributed to impart some confusion to her testimony—the tale of horror was with difficulty extorted from a timid, ingenuous, blushing, artless girl. It unravelled a web of mingled, impure, detestable yarn.

It appeared, that wiles, at first, then threats and violence, had been used towards the poor intended victim of unhallowed love—that pollution had been escaped only by the struggles of alarmed modesty—and that *terrorism* and hypocrisy of the most heinous nature, were superadded to guilt, in order to prevent detection.

Mr. Marshall, uniting with the necessary severity of a state prosecutor the candour and sympathies of a good man, proceeded to establish, upon this testimony, the substance of the indictment. This was done in the most satisfactory manner. He did not recommend to the jury exemplary damages.—They must look, not at the criminal, but at his helpless, amiable, innocent wife—at a poor babe, unconscious of the blushes and misery that await him, &c. The Jury retired, and soon after their verdict was made known. “We of the Jury find the defendant guilty, and amerce him to one cent damages.”

The defendant was then condemned by the Bench to imprisonment for one year in the common jail. He was spared the disgrace of the pillory. The offence amounting only to a misdemeanor under the common law, did not fall within the penalties of the Penitentiary.

Thus has terminated a painful affair, of which, happily for society, few examples have ever occurred. The sanctity of the laws has been polluted; the sacred trust of parental confidence betrayed; the abilities and zeal of able and virtuous instructors of females neutralised by the necessary re-action of the suspicions and doubts incident on such occasions; the scoffers at religion, genius, science, and refined education, have been furnished with additional weapons in a wretched cause.

But here let us pause.—To us the offender is personally unknown. We speak not in anger, but in justice to society—and, in one respect, we congratulate both our fellow-citizens and R. L. Taylor on the result of this ordeal. It has brought to light the real extent of the evil—and chalked out its true dimensions and shape. The exaggerations which had swelled and distorted realities, must now vanish. The contagious breath of calumny will no longer dare to contaminate the purity of many an amiable girl—simply because

she happened to be under the tuition of R. L. Taylor. Had other facts of an unchaste complexion existed, surely the late trial would have forced them out. Away, then, with false exaggerations, malicious surmises, and baseless, airy fabrics, of unjust suspicion! To rob any human being of character, upon mere conjecture, is detestable; causelessly to asperse the reputation of a young, innocent, spotless girl, is diabolical!

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

##### A CONVENTION TO REGULATE THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THOSE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

The United States of America and his Britannic Majesty, being desirous by a Convention to regulate the commerce and navigation between their respective countries, territories, and people, in such a manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory, have respectively named Plenipotentiaries, and given them full powers to treat of and conclude such convention; that is to say, the President of the United States, by and with the consent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed for their Plenipotentiaries John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States; and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, has named for his Plenipotentiaries the Right Hon. Frederick John Robinson, Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, Joint Paymaster of his Majesty's Forces, and a Member of the Imperial Parliament; Henry Goulburn, Esq. a Member of the Imperial Parliament, and Under Secretary of State; and William Adams, Esq. Doctor of Civil Laws; and the said Plenipotentiaries having mutually produced and shewn their said full powers, and exchanged copies of the same, have agreed on and concluded the following Articles, viz.—

ART. 1. There shall be between the territories of the United States of America, and all the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe, a reciprocal liberty of commerce. The inhabitants of the two countries respectively shall have liberty freely and securely to come with their ships and cargoes to all such places,

ports, and rivers in the territories aforesaid to which other foreigners are permitted to come, to enter into the same, and to remain and reside in any parts of the said territories respectively; also to hire and occupy houses and warehouses for the purpose of their commerce; and, generally, the merchants and traders of each nation respectively shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce, but subject always to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

2. No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation to the United States of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign countries; nor shall any higher or other duties or charges be imposed in either of the two countries, on the exportation of any articles to the United States, or to his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe respectively, than such as are payable on the exportation of the like articles to any other foreign country; nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the exportation or importation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, or of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, to or from the said territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe, to or from the said United States, which shall not be equally extended to all other nations.

No higher or other duties or charges shall be imposed in any of the ports of the United States on British vessels, than those payable in the same ports by vessels of the United States, nor in the ports of any of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, on the vessels of the United States, than shall be payable in the same ports on British vessels. The same duties shall be paid on the importation into the United States of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, whether such importation shall be in vessels of the United States, or in British vessels,

and the same duties shall be paid on the importation into the ports of any of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, whether such importation shall be in British vessels, or in the vessels of the United States.

The same duties shall be paid, and the same bounties allowed on the exportation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufactures of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe to the United States, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or vessels of the United States; and the same duties shall be paid, and the same bounties allowed on the exportation of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States to his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the United States.

It is further agreed, that in all places where drawbacks are or may be allowed upon the re-exportation of any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, the amount of the said drawbacks shall be the same, whether the said goods shall have been originally imported in a British or American vessel; but when such re-exportation shall take place from the United States in a British vessel, or from territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe in an American vessel, to any other foreign nation, the two Contracting Parties reserve to themselves respectively the right of regulating or diminishing in such case the amount of the said drawback.

The intercourse between the United States and his Britannic Majesty's possessions in the West Indies, and on the Continent of North America, shall be affected by any of the provisions of this article, but each party shall remain in the complete possession of its rights, with respect to such an intercourse.

3. His Britannic Majesty agrees that the vessels of the United States of America shall be admitted, and hospitably received, at the principal settlements of the British dominions in the East Indies; viz. Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and the Prince of Wales's Island; and that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on trade between the said principal settlements and the said United

States in all articles of which the importation and exportation respectively to and from the said territories shall not be entirely prohibited; provided only, that it shall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the British Government and any State or Power whatever, to export from the said territories, without the special permission of the British Government, any military stores or naval stores, or rice. The citizens of the United States shall pay for their vessels, when admitted, no higher or other duty or charge, than shall be payable on the vessels of the most favoured European nations, and they shall pay no higher or other duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the said vessels, than shall be payable on the same articles when imported or exported in the vessels of the most favoured European nations. But it is expressly agreed, that the vessels of the United States shall not carry any articles from the said principal settlements to any port or place, except to some port or place in the United States of America when the same shall be unladen. It is also understood, that the permission granted by this article is not to extend to allow the vessels of the United States to carry on any part of the coasting trade of the said British territories, but the vessels of the United States having, in the first instance, proceeded to one of the said principal settlements of the British dominions in the East Indies, and then going with their original cargoes, or any part thereof, from one of the said principal settlements to another, shall not be considered as carrying on the coasting trade. The vessels of the United States may also touch for refreshments; but not for commerce, in the course of their voyage, to or from the British territories in India, or to or from the dominions of the Emperor of China, at the Cape of Good Hope, the Island of St. Helena, or such other places as may be in the possession of Great Britain, in the African or Indian Seas, it

being well understood, that in all that regards these articles, the citizens of the United States, shall be subject, in all respects, to the laws and regulations of the British Government from time to time established.

4. It shall be free for each of the two Contracting Parties respectively, to appoint Consuls for the protection of trade to reside in the dominions and territories of the other party; but before any Consul shall act as such, he shall, in the usual form, be approved and admitted by the Government to which he is sent; and it is hereby declared, that in case of illegal or improper conduct towards the laws or Government of the country to which he is sent, such Consul may either be punished according to law, if the laws will reach the case, or be sent back, the offended Government assigning to the other the reasons for the same.

It is hereby declared, that either of the Contracting Parties may except from the residence of Consuls such particular places as such party shall judge fit to be so excepted.

5. This Convention, when the same shall have been duly ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their Senate, and by his Britannic Majesty; and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory on the said United States and his Majesty for four years from the date of its signature, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in six months from this time, or sooner, if possible.

Done at London, this 3d day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

(L.S.)	JOHN Q. ADAMS,
(L.S.)	H. CLAY,
(L.S.)	ALBERT GALLATIN,
(L.S.)	FRED. J. ROBINSON,
(L.S.)	HENRY GOULBURN,
(L.S.)	WILLIAM ADAMS.

(*To be continued.*)

COBBETT'S AMERICAN PROJECT

*Fully developed in all its parts.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS IN ENGLAND; TO GENTLEMEN, IN ENGLAND, WHO MAY WISH TO BE SUPPLIED WITH AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS; TO GENTLEMEN, IN AMERICA, WHO MAY WISH TO BE SUPPLIED WITH ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS; AND TO READERS IN GENERAL.

Peckham Lodge, 21st January, 1816.

TO CORRESPONDENTS IN ENGLAND.—I have now before me six very well written essays from one person, sent me last week, all which I should gladly insert, were it not for the existence of circumstances, which it can hardly be necessary for me minutely to describe. A letter from H. S. of Reading, received some months ago, about the *auditing of accounts*; and a great number of others, of greater or less merit, and, for the most part, containing facts, very curious in themselves and very interesting to people in general; and, moreover, well calculated, in my opinion, to do a great deal of good to the world, if made public: all these are in the same situation.—Now, it must be very provoking to the writers to reflect, that these papers should be suppressed, and it is very painful to me to think, that I am liable to be suspected of a wish to see them suppressed. Therefore, it is intended to send all such papers to New York, and to cause them to be published there, in quarterly, or half-yearly, volumes, under the title of "*Cobbett's Collection of Suppressed Communications*." Thus the field of utility is flung open to any man, who has the talent and the will to do good with his pen, on the subjects of *government, politics, and religion*, and of *characters and acts*, connected with those subjects; or on any other subjects of general interest. Few men will be found hardy enough to deny, that, if the field of *discussion be free*, Truth will prevail in every contest with Falsehood. Therefore, it must be an unmixed good to afford men

the means of *freely expressing their thoughts*. There are, however, certain conditions, necessary to be stated here, upon which alone communications will be admitted into the intended "Collection."

1. If the Communication do *not* contain the statement of any *fact*, *new* to the public, affecting the character of any individual person, or any particular body or description of persons, the writer may affix his real name, or not, according to his own choice; because *argument and inference* want not the support of witnesses.
2. When the communication does contain such *fact*, and when, of course, the justice of the statement, and the propriety of making it public, must depend upon the truth of the *fact*, and that again upon the veracity of the writer, he *must* affix his real name and describe his place of abode; and if, as may possibly be the case, he has reason to fear the consequences of truth appearing under his name, though in a distant country, he must add a private note, pointing out his name and place of abode, so as to *enable me* to satisfy myself as to the *fact*; or *facts*, that he has stated.
3. That the subject of the communication be of a *public nature*, fairly so considered. That the Letter, or Essay, relate to something, in which the public is interested; and that it deal not in anecdote purely of a *private nature*, even though the parties concerned be really public men.
4. That the communication, if intended to be published without alteration, be carefully written and pointed. If it be a mere *hint*, or a mere *fact*, communicated, without a wish for it to appear in the same form in print, less care will be necessary. But, in no case, will any communication be attended to, unless it come in a hand so legible as not to expose the printer to mistakes.
5. That every communication be ad-

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dressed to WILLIAM COBBETT, at *Botley, near Southampton*; or left, directed to the same, at the Office of the Political Register, London; and that, in all cases, there be *no charge of postage to be paid*, this being a very serious matter to one who receives a great many letters, though a mere trifle to the many who send them.

The field being thus fairly opened, any person, on the above conditions, may write to me with *perfect freedom*, and with the confident expectation, that what they write *will be published*, it being understood, of course, that the language will be decorous, and that the matter be such as ought not to be considered libellous. The receipt of all such communications will be acknowledged in the next, or succeeding Register. As to any promise to *import into this country* the publication in question, or, to be aiding and assisting therein, either by word or deed, that is wholly out of the question. All that I engage to do is, to send, and (the dangers of the seas excepted) to cause to be published, such communications as I shall receive for that purpose and as I shall deem worthy of publication; this being a matter, which, from the nature of the case, must be left wholly to my judgment.

TO GENTLEMEN, IN ENGLAND, WHO MAY WISH TO BE SUPPLIED WITH AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.—My Plan of opening and keeping up a LITERARY INTERCOURSE between England and America embraces the object of securing the facility of persons in the two countries respectively coming at the current publications of the other country in a mode more regular and speedy than any that has hitherto been practised. Orders will, therefore, be received in *writing*, addressed to me, as above, for any particular American Publications *old or new*; or, for the new publications generally, or those of a specific class, of that country. So that such order may be confined to a particular work; to all new works on law, or on medicine, or on theology, or on political economy, or on government and domestic politics, or on mathematics, or on mechanics, or on any branch of the arts or sciences, &c. &c. or the order may embrace *all new publications* of whatever description they may be. The orders thus received will be transmitted to my corres-

pondent in the United States; and, when the publications arrive in England, they will be delivered to the Gentlemen who have ordered them, they paying for them at the rate of 25 per centum higher than the retail price in America, and no more in any case whatever. I, of course, include *Booksellers* amongst the Gentlemen who may wish to be thus supplied; and I shall think myself extremely happy to be able, by the activity which I hope to give to my correspondence and intercourse, to furnish them, upon any occasion, with the means of re-publishing a valuable American work at a period earlier than they would otherwise be able to do it.

TO GENTLEMEN, IN AMERICA, WHO MAY WISH TO BE SUPPLIED WITH ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS.—Every thing said under the last head may be considered as repeated under this, with the mere change of the names of countries; and with this alteration as to the channel of application, that Gentlemen in the United States will please to give their orders, for the present, solely to Mr. JOHN MORGAN of Philadelphia. In all cases the Orders should be in *writing*, and as specific as possible. I hope I need scarcely add, that, in case any gentlemen should think proper to leave to me the work of selection, it will be performed to the best of my judgment. As to the publications to be imported, where orders somewhat discretionary are given, I shall spare no pains to obtain the aid of good judges in America. One of the particulars of an Order might be not to exceed a *certain sum*.—The main thing appears to me to be to insure *speed* in the execution of orders; and, it is my intention to make all considerations of convenience, expence of shipping, &c. give way to this great object; and, on no account, to suffer the execution of an Order, however small, to linger a single day beyond the first, on which it can *possibly* take place. I expect shortly to receive ample *catalogues* of American books; and I am taking steps to send out to America English catalogues, and shall be glad to have sent to me, for the purpose here stated, the catalogues of any of the Booksellers in England, Scotland, or Ireland.

TO READERS IN GENERAL.—After a man has worked himself into a fondness for a project, he is, perhaps, the worst possible judge of its chances of success. But, as, in this case, I have, and shall have, no

publication of my own, nor any one in which I am, or can be, at all interested in the mere *sale* of, either to export or import; as I am not, and shall not be, a *bookseller*, a failure of success would produce a disappointment merely of those hopes which I entertain of contributing in this way also, towards bringing the *men of mind*, in the two countries, better acquainted with each other. Mine is a scheme for making people talk to each other across the Atlantic. I do not know when I have enjoyed so much pleasure as I felt yesterday upon opening a letter, sent me up from home. It is a letter from a gentleman at Nashville in the state of TENNESSEE. Nashville is situated on Cumberland River, which falls into the Mississippi at 1040 miles distance from the Gulf of Mexico. There are several chains of mountains between Nashville and Philadelphia, and the travelling distance is, I suppose, more than 1000 miles. Yet, this letter addressed to me at "*Bottle, near Southampton, England*," arrived safe in that village in less than two months from the day of its date. The object of the letter is to obtain the Register *regularly* in future, and also the preceding Numbers of it, for some gentlemen at Nashville, an object which it will assuredly accomplish, and by which accomplishment it will more than realize PORE's beautiful idea of the power of Letters, to "*walt a wish from Indus to the Pole*." Priests assure us, that, by faith, mountains may be removed, a fact, which, having no actual experience to the contrary, I am by no means disposed to deny; but, I have here before my eyes a proof, that mountains and wildernesses and seas are no obstacle to the powers of the mind, seconded by those of the press. There is, however, and always must be, considerable *delay* occasioned by sending to America the Registers which have been *printed here*. There is the time for printing; the time and expence required for *shipping*; the time which elapses, after shipment takes place, before the ship actually sails; and, which is more than all the rest, my pen here is confined by a tether much shorter than that which may be obtained for it by *sending some of its productions in manuscript to be published in the United States*. I have spoken of my intentions as to this matter before; but I will now be so explicit as to leave no room whatever for

conjecture. In a short time, two persons, will go out to the United States. Their business ~~there will be to receive orders for~~ books to be sent from England to America; to receive, when they arrive from England, the books so ordered; to receive from me, and to execute, orders for American books, to be sent by them to England; to receive and forward to me any written communications from Gentlemen in America; to publish any work which I choose to have published in America; but more especially to cause to be *printed*, and to publish, "*Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*," at NEW YORK. It is intended, that they shall publish the work in precisely the same form that it has in England; and that they shall cause the Numbers to follow each other *weekly*, if possible; or, at least, as regularly as the arrivals of the manuscript will admit of. Each Number will contain my own principal LETTER, or ESSAY, which will be first published in the corresponding Number in England, (beginning with No. .... Vol. 30) together with *Notes*, containing such *explanations or additional facts* as may be thought useful on the other side of the Atlantic. The rest of the American Register will contain matter wholly new, sent out in manuscript, in the charge of persons going to America, or of persons *sent expressly*. The publication will begin with the present year; and the title of the first Number of it will be in these words: "COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER. VOL. 30, No. . . . *Written in England, . . . . ., and published at New York, . . . . . 1816.*"—Some persons will wonder, and some will laugh, at the idea of such an undertaking. But, great as the labour must be, it being neither more nor less than that of writing *for the press*, nearly five pages of the Register every day of my life, Sundays included, together with that of making, at least, *two manuscript copies*, for fear of accidents, this is not more than a man may do, if he has but the will. The trouble and expence of sending out the manuscript, to say nothing of the sending out of the agents, or ambassadors, will certainly be considerable, and will compel me to seek compensation for these as well as a remuneration for time and labour by a price on the Register, much higher, in proportion to its bulk, than that of



publications in America generally. I cannot say, exactly, what the price will be; but, I imagine, that ~~it must be a quarter of a Dollar~~, with an allowance of ~~eight cents out of the twenty-five~~ to booksellers, or others, who may take any quantity, however small, to sell again. The paper and printing may cost about 7 Cents, the agency in America 2; so that there may remain about 8 cents for authorship and sending out manuscript. The Agents, or Publishers, at New York, will receive orders from Booksellers, or other *retailers*, only, and will not, except at their own office, sell to individuals, as it would be to make their employment too confused to suffer them to be retailers all over the country, and thus to hamper themselves with debts and credits, when the whole of their time will be required to discharge well the office of *Publishers*, and to be punctual and full in their correspondence with me. If, therefore, the publication should be thought worth the trouble of obtaining it from a distance, the Booksellers, in the different cities and towns, will have nothing to do but to write to the Publishers for the number of copies that they may want. The Publishers will, I hope, execute their orders with that regularity and speed, with which I shall enjoin them to execute every order, whether great or small in amount. They will receive all *letters* which gentlemen in America may wish to be forwarded to me; and, they will be strictly charged to be very attentive to every person, who may wish to make to me any communication of whatever kind. The names of the persons, to whom this business is to be committed, are Mr. HENRY COBBETT, my Nephew, and Mr. G. S. OLDFIELD.—I have wrought myself into a persuasion, that I am, by these means, able to render great services, not only to the people of America, but to the cause of freedom and happiness generally, not leaving my own native country out of view. To make known to America, and, through her, to a great part of the world, what is passing in England; what the conduct of her government really has been and is; what have been, and are, the effects which that conduct has produced upon the people here; what is our real situation; what is the true character, and what are the motives and views, of persons in authority in this country, whose power and influence

have had such weight in the deciding on the lot of other nations: to do this, and that, too, through the channel of such a press as that of America, appears to me to be likely to be attended with effects that cannot possibly be other than good. And if I am asked, why I presume to suppose, that *my* interference is necessary to this end, I answer, that, though I am well aware, that America contains many men, whose wishes are as good, and whose talents are far superior to mine; yet, that, from the local experience which I have accidentally acquired, and from that knowledge of all sorts of affairs in this country, which so many years of observation, conversation, and diligent inquiry and application have given me, I much doubt, whether any man, though of ten times the talent, destitute of these advantages, would be able to perform the task with so much effect as myself. Be this as it may, however, I shall certainly do much towards the accomplishment of my great object; for either my work will succeed, or it will sink under the competition of abler pens and more extensive knowledge. So that, be the result what it may, I shall have the satisfaction to reflect, that, if I have not been able to accomplish the object myself, I have, in some degree, at any rate, been the cause of its having been accomplished by others. —To those, who are disposed to insinuate, that I am about to act *unfairly*, in publishing, in another country, statements relative to men and things in this country, and relative to its foreign allies, I observe, that the *same press*, which convey my publications to the world, is always open to those writers who may choose to become my opponents, with this great disadvantage on my side, that, if I am answered, it must necessarily be several months before I can possibly put forth a reply. America contains thousands of fast friends of the English system; thousands of British subjects, not to mention some Americans, and these too, having portions of the press in their hands. To sling down the gauntlet under such circumstances is so far from being unfair, that it is an act against which common prudence would cry aloud, were not her lips sealed by reflecting, that Truth, if unfettered, must finally triumph.—Some persons may imagine, taking the past into view, that I am about to resort to the American press as the means of obtaining

*revenge*; and that I shall now give a loose to my pen, letting it run on wholly unrestrained by any considerations of decorum or of truth. In the first place, this would be to defeat my own object, for it would speedily excite disgust in the whole of that people, to whom I shall immediately address myself; and, in the next place it would justly expose the publishers to legal punishment. Therefore, those who expect that I am about to gratify the taste of the *foolish*, or the *malignant*, by the pouring forth of *abuse* and *calumny*, will find themselves (though, perhaps, not agreeably) disappointed.—In short, (and this is saying all in one single phrase,) of every essay, or article, that I shall authorize to be published, the stoutest partizan of the English system shall be *ashamed* openly to say: “*this ought not to be freely permitted to be published in England.*”——Having now fully and candidly explained my intentions, without the smallest reserve, correspondents and friends may, in future, save themselves the trouble of putting any questions to me on the subject; and if there be *others*, who have been making inquiries, whether by themselves or spies, as to whether I am “*having any thing printed to be sent to America,*” they may now either give up the chase, or direct their terriers across the ocean.

W. COBBETT.

TO THE  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

LETTER XII.

*A bold attempt of the OUT faction.—Impudence of their pretensions.—Cant about æconomy.—Vanity of the hope that things will come about.—Puzzle when Parliament meets.*

Peckham Lodge, 25th January, 1816.

SIR,—It is truly provoking, that, while all our attention is fixed upon the actions of you and your worthy colleagues; while we are waiting with such anxiety to see what you will do with the last-shilling men and their property; while we are watching Whitehall as eagerly as Cats watch the movement of the straws which hide their prey; while we are all eye and all ear towards you; while we are thus intent, it is provoking to the last degree to be intruded upon by the impertinent

OUT faction, who, like Polecats, or Weazles (being themselves vermin) would fain thrust in their noses, and partake in our sport, hoping, apparently, that, by making this shew of hostility to you, they shall induce people to believe, that *they*, good people! have had no hand in producing the present universal distress.

I am indignant at the conduct of these interlopers; these renegadoes from the system, who have really had more to do than you and your's in producing those evils, of which they now complain; and I am particularly offended with an article in the Morning Chronicle of the 19th instant, in which the writer (and I have a right to say it is Mr. PERRY) appears to regard the Pitt System, which is now developing itself in its consequences, as not at all belonging to *his faction*; and in which he would fain make the world believe, that *he*, Mr. PERRY, has *all along foreseen* these consequences. But, before I go any further I will insert the article, and, as you run your eye over it, you will, in almost every line, detect *plagiarist* as well as the partizan of faction.

“Whether we direct our inquiries to the North, West, East or South, precisely the same answers are returned. The Farmers are falling sacrifices to the heavy load of taxation, without the prospect of a better market for their produce. The Landlords finding a material diminution in their receipts, are quickly reducing their expences. Trade suffers from this; and many respectable establishments are turning off their men—and to add to these difficulties, the hard run upon the provincial banks, has produced the failure of several of them. In the midst of so general a stagnation, the only hope seems to be, that on the meeting of Parliament *something will be done.*” But in the name of common sense, what can be done? We now (too late) perceive the folly of not checking *in time the fatal paper system*, which as its advocates say, has enabled us to carry on the war to this “*glorious issue,*” or in other words, has tempted us to carry our efforts beyond our means—to reckon without our host. *We have now a practical proof of the great mischief with which it was foretold to be pregnant.* Having no reference to any standard of value, it has created a *fictitious price*, by which all our expend

What sinecure did they lay down? Was not the very first act of parliament, passed after they came into power, an act to enable this very Lord Grenville to hold a sinecure of £4,000 a year along with a place, with which the holding of that sinecure was, by law, incompatible? Who ever granted more pensions than they? Look at the list which they left behind them. It was they who raised the Income Tax from 6½ to 10 per centum, introducing into the law a clause to *exempt* the funded property of the king from the tax paid by all other fundholders. They also added to the yearly allowances to the Royal Family. They laid on numerous other new burdens upon the people. They refused to make peace, and avowed that they did it for the sake of Hanover. And yet, Mr. PERRY, their principal partizan, now affects to consider them as the friends of economy, and the enemies of the war and of the Pitt system!

Let us, Sir, plague ourselves with the "Whigs" no more, at present; but employ the little room we have left in a few observations on the vanity of hoping, that "*things will come about.*" This is now the fashionable phrase. The farmers and landlords know very well, that you cannot have the taxes to the amount of 60, and I know you cannot have them to the amount of 40 millions a year, unless wheat be much higher priced than it now is. They think, that you *must* pay the fundholders their interest in full, and that you *will* pay the army and navy and Royal Family, &c. as you hitherto have done. Therefore, they think, and have no doubt of the event, that you will, as soon as parliament meets, *do something to raise the price of wheat*, and of all other farm-produce of course, and that, thus, "*things will come about.*" The shop-keepers and tradesmen and all the rest of the community are of the same way of thinking as to the effect; but, as to the cause, they would cut your throat, if they dared, if you were to propose any measure for making corn and meat higher priced than they now are. This class of people think, that the farmer will, in a little time, be able to lay out as much money when he receives 6s. for his wheat, as he did when he received 16s. for it. And, if he does not do it, they will soon begin to think, that he ought to be

compelled to do it. The people in London seem to think, that you have surprising powers; and that you will "*find out something*" to put things to rights. You never will, no, not with Mr. Huskisson at your back, unless you call me to your aid; that is to say, unless you act upon the advice, which I have, long ago, given you and your predecessors. I repeat here for, perhaps, the five hundredth time: that, wheat must be 15s. a bushel on an average of seasons, gold must be above £5 an ounce, the guinea must be worth 29s. in paper money, the exchange must be 30 per centum against us all over the world; or, you cannot, for another year, collect 60 millions in taxes in Great Britain. I do not want to see your quarterly account of collections. I would not give a single penny to hear all the reports of all your taxing people. I know what *will* be, because I know what *must* be.

There is a story afloat, that Mr. Huskisson is to have your place, as being a more *able financier*. I have opinion enough of Mr. Huskisson's head to suppose that he must laugh heartily at this credulity. Just as if he could work miracles! Just as if he, any more than you, had the power of raising the price of wheat and of mutton! Yet, I must confess, that I shall look with great curiosity, for what he will have to say upon the subject; for, being in place, as he now is, he will be strangely puzzled to decide on what he shall say; and, still, it will be difficult for him to keep wholly silent. He, who must see clearly enough what is coming, will not like to expose himself to laughter, and yet he will have reasons for not going the full length in the way of avowing the real state of our case. The "Opposition," as they call themselves, will be as much puzzled. If they censure *the system*, they censure their own conduct in having supported it. They will be afraid of painting our situation in its true colours, lest they should offend the public; and yet they will itch to annoy you.—I must conclude, or I shall laugh out right!

I am, however, very seriously,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## REMEDIES.

MR. COBBETT,—As Aaron's serpent swallowed up all the serpents of the magicians, so the Remedy I proposed in my last Letter already threatens to swallow up all other Remedies. I do not like this. Nothing is now talked of but *this grand Remedy*; the whole country rings with it; all ranks, all ages, absolutely cling to the idea of *reducing the Interest on the National Debt*, as to the last the only plank that is now left us to save the last hopes of the kingdom,—as to the arc that is doomed to bear up the fortunes of the realm over the fearful deluge of National Debt! These simultaneous movements, when too violent and general, always excite the most painful apprehensions in my mind;—the impression made on me by a fatal instance of this nature, will never be obliterated: when the good ship the Nonsuch ran on a reef off the coast del Fogo, all hands hove out the long-boat, and instantly took to it; the boat upset, and *half the unhappy sailors sunk never to rise again*.—Had a few taken to the jolly-boat, a few to spars and hen-coops, the whole crew might have been saved! There is no occasion for imprudent precipitation; we must make good use of *all* our means. This measure is not like oil and honey to the Fundholder, however agreeable it may appear to others; no, Sir, he begins to contract the brow into something like a *brown study*, giving a certain protrusion to the under lip, and dropping the corners of the labial muscles into an expression which Lavater would not put down for *contentment*. Whatever importance I may attach to this Remedy, I must entreat the Public not to affix to it more than it merits. When a ship is shaken by a whirlwind it is not enough to attend to the helm,—the sails, the masts, every thing must be minded. The Samaritan who poured oil and bound up the wounds of the bleeding Israelite did well, it was a good thing; but had he done that, and that *only*, ten to one but the Jew might have perished on the road side notwithstanding.

I do not wish to make this Remedy appear less than it is; but to make it what it ought to be, I insist upon it that there are many *auxiliary* considerations which must not be lost sight of. *By reducing*

*the Interest ONE FIFTH*, we certainly open the door to Hope; but if we are fools enough to stop here, Hope will soon slam the door in our teeth; and she would serve us right. If when the Fundholder has submitted to this close cropping, he should behold no symptoms of cropping elsewhere; no corresponding retrenchments; *no cropping*, no *shaving* among ministers, judges, and maids of honour, &c. if the *onus* should be put exclusively on his back, do you think any of them would be in danger of running mad with joy? do you think a single soul of them would gird himself with a linen ephod, and dance with all his might as David did? Besides, without general œconomy, even this expedient would fall to the ground. I do not exactly approve of the idea suggested in your last Register, lopping off this branch, or that branch, if by lopping you mean *cutting right off*. I am for putting the pruning hook to every branch, and instantly pruning off, not only all the dead wood, but every twig that is useless or superfluous. Yes, I *would prune every branch*:—I hate to see those yew-trees which some of your booby 'squires absolutely convert into vegetable monsters by thus whimsically cutting this branch to the very stick, trimming that, lopping off some, and allowing *others* to shoot out in all the wild luxuriance of swelling foliage. That will not do. We must be consistent and rational. Whilst the Fundholder gives up a fifth of his income, it would be forming a very sorry estimate of the patriotism, disinterestedness, and public spirit of ministers, admirals, generals, and other great lords and dukes, to suppose they would not instantly press forward; I will not say to emulate, but to outdo, such an example, by a voluntary contribution of one fourth, or one half of their respective salaries, as the case may be.—I am not for *clipping* the hard earned shilling of the sailor or soldier. A man who honestly devotes himself to the service of his country for a bare subsistence, deserves his hire;—no, no: so when I call on the farmer to œconomise, it is by giving up all *superfluities*, gigs, pleasure horses, all varieties, wine, and fripperies; in fact, by “walking in that state of life unto which “it has pleased God to call him,” not by starving his ox, or putting his cart-horse on half allowance.

But though I would look on the sol-

diers' shilling as forbidden ground; I would not exclude the superior ranks of Admirals, Commodores, Generals, Field-M Marshals, Colonels, Quarter-Master-Generals, Adjutant-Generals, Barrack-Master-Generals, &c. &c. from the honorable privilege of drawing their purses as well as their swords, and contributing such part of their salaries as they thought fit (not exceeding three-fourths, except when they have private fortunes) towards the relief of their country. But this would not prevent my reducing the *Army* and *Navy* and the *Civil List*, to the lowest possible establishment. As to the *ARMY*, that national charybdis, that unfathomable gulph of illimitable expenditure, that mighty vortex wherein barracks, contractors, commissariats, barrack-boards, depots, boards of ordnance, medical boards, and all their concomitant legions of barrack-masters, staff-officers, clerks, deputies, assistants, assistant-deputies, &c. &c. whirl about in chaotic confusion, each bearing in its respective maw, thousands, tens of thousands, nay millions, of public money; as to the army, I say, it will give some work to the Land of Retrenchment. Not a regiment ought to be kept, horse or foot, regular or militia, beyond the *absolutely needful*. I think the absolutely needful may be reduced to a very few thousand men. How many thousand men do you count for the East and West Indies, Canada, the Cape, Ceylon, Gibraltar, St. Helena, Ireland, &c.?—*Oh, a great many thousand!*—So much the better; for I would much rather see these men employed, than disbanded by shoals and thrown upon the public, at a time when so many thousands are already out of bread. You will require many thousands you say? but I hope you do not mean to insinuate that they must be kept at the expence of this Country? We are too poor now to keep up troops for other people's profit! As for England properly so called, a few pieces of red cloth will, I think, be sufficient for our peace establishment. England, who is on such gracious visiting terms with Emperors and Kings; England, who is in a state of profound peace with all the world, can require nothing in the shape of a soldier on her peace establishment, except a few to recruit for regiments, on foreign service. And though Ireland may seem to demand a stronger military force to keep all quiet

and peaceable, yet perhaps a few conciliatory internal regulations that would speak to the sense of the country, that would go to the hearts, to the comforts of the lower orders, a few good regulations of this kind, a little lowering of the rents, would do more for Ireland, in my humble opinion, than all the invincibles of France or England, and soon render the presence of an army as unnecessary as the presence of an Archbishop. Then, Sir, a few beef-eaters, as a body guard for the Lord Lieutenant, would suffice. As for St. Helena, Napoleon being the state prisoner of Europe, whoever gives the guard, English, Dutch, or Swiss, the expence of the imprisonment ought to be general; every nation ought to pay its share, France not excepted. As for India, that *imperium in imperio*, that land of nabobs, palaces, rupees, and pagodas, which in point of territory and population so much exceeds this country, how can we look at that quarter of the globe without astonishment—without a sigh? In a former age, when the principles of commerce were not so well understood, when paralysing monopolies were the fashion of the day, the Crown vested the exclusive right of trading to India in a company of merchants,—for what sum is now of no consequence. India, ruled by her own Rajahs, rich, populous, peaceable and happy, received us without suspicion, and generously gave us a piece of ground to build a *Factory*. From this slender rudiment has arisen that enormous Colossus of Oriental greatness, which sword in hand actually strides over the prostrate continent of Asia! Yes, Sir, from that humble origin this company of merchants have erected themselves into a *Company of Monarchs*, whose regal Representative, the Governor-General, armed with the sovereign powers of life and death, REIGNS as the *great Bahaudhur of the Eastern world!* Well, I should like to know whether or not India, with all its pomp, wealth, and grandeur, is able to subsist that portion of our army required for the maintenance of the Company's conquered provinces? If she cannot, there must be a radical error somewhere. The paltry consideration paid for the charter, comparatively speaking, is nothing. India ought to maintain all its Establishments, and have a considerable surplus revenue. But if civil servants are paid like princes,

in order that they may sport, loll, shrub, smoke their bookahs, and bathe in rose-water, and otto of roses,—if like nabobs they cannot move without a retinue of Hindoo footmen before and behind, with torches and silver spears and shields, if that is the case, the pruning hook must be carried even there also, *and cut them to the quick!*—And why should the Cape of Good Hope, abounding in corn, wine, and cattle, be a burthen to this Country? I hope it is not. Ceylon, too, with all its cinnamon and pearls, ought to throw some money into the Budget. However, all I mean to infer from this at present, is simply that England, instead of being at any expence, *ought to receive considerable returns from these countries.*

The West Indies, the grave, the *Golgotha* of Britain, do not, I trust, throw any expence on this country, *besides the great expence of lives?* From Barbadoes to Jamaica (for, I suppose, we are half sick of the very name of St. Domingo), every one of the islands ought certainly to defray the entire cost of those troops required for their respective security. I know the duties on sugar form one of the cardinal items on the revenue book: but these duties fall on us remember, and not on the sugar planter. The wealth of these planters almost exceeds belief:—this wealth would soon fall into other hands, if the military did not give it security. It would be an insult to the liberality of these men to suppose that at a moment like this, they could even wish to exonerate themselves by throwing the expence of protection on the mother country. At a moment when, like the old man in the fable, we are almost ready to faint under our load, it would be a species of matricide in these colonies to superadd to all our evils, *the evil of paying for their protection!* If then all these stations, the inhabitants of which are, I believe, exempt from the mass of taxation under which we are now staggering, have the means of supporting their respective establishments, the army estimates, so far as immediately concern this country, may assuredly be brought down to a very moderate sum. In reducing the army, I would also *improve* their dress. I do not admire too much show and tinsel; it adds nothing to the respectability or efficiency of an army. Worsted lace and brass ornaments add as little to the

appearance of Englishmen, as to their valour. I would have a plain red jacket, and a plain cap; and as for lace, and nonsense, I would give it to the Turks. Every means of saving, if it gives but £100,000, enters directly into my plan. From the army, I naturally turn to the NAVY—I would now haul up every ship of war, sell all the smaller rates to the merchants, keeping only a few sloops afloat, to hold pirates in check. And as so many discharged seamen could not find employment on the sea, I would put as many as possible upon works of public utility, and pension those who could not be employed, provided they had served a certain number of years, and had no way of getting their bread, except by throwing themselves into the work-houses, which are already full enough! This principle of retrenchment must go a step or two farther, it must go through the CIVIL LIST. Here, Sir, nothing must continue in the shape of expenditure, but what is *essentially necessary*: retrenchment must march at a steady pace, through the great walks of the state; neither friends, nor favour, nor interest must turn aside the hand of retrenchment; it must be considered as the healing hand, as the hand, and, I believe, under providence, the only hand, that has the power of saving this realm.

Then, indeed, the fundholder will feel perfectly reconciled to the remedy I have applied to his pocket; the farmer will return cheerfully to his plough, and the tradesman to his counter. As to the *Sinking Fund*, though I am not of opinion that it would be wise to carry its operation to an extent of many millions, until things assume a more prosperous aspect, yet I agree with you that to abandon it altogether, even at this pinching moment, would be down right madness. Not that I read in the face of this fund, the vaunted annihilation of the National Debt; but because unluckily it is now become a necessary evil, necessary to keep up the value of the capital of the fundholders. When all ranks and conditions of men heartily pull together for the salvation of old England, the business will already be half done. Nor will the fundholder feel very severely the proposed diminution of his income: to convince himself of this, let him compare his bakers' and butchers' bills for 1812 and

1815. To be sure it is a sad thing after twenty years war and glory to be *pinched* so confoundedly at last! Though the Edinburgh Review will tell you, and the farmers may believe it if they please, that a good load of honour is ten times better than a paltry load of corn, and glory better than competence and plenty. However, the only good I would wish you to derive from the past, would be to open your eyes a little, and make you set up the last twenty years as a tremendous beacon to all future generations. Though, perhaps, even that is unnecessary. Ah, you blockheads! you will roar out for war again, will you? And pray what does *Le Desiré*, or the Pope, or Ferdinand care for you now? Does Louis care a *sous* for your prostrate bushels? How many pipes of claret and burgundy has he already sent you, to *cheer up your spirit*? And would his Holiness treat you with a single *Bull*, or issue a single *dispensation* in your favour to the amount of a single sixpence? "Call now, if there be any that will answer you, and "to which of the saints will ye turn?"

B. R.

## OFFICIAL PAPERS.

## COMMERCIAL CONVENTION WITH AMERICA.

*(Concluded from page 96.)*

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, James Madison, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered the foregoing Convention, have, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, accepted, ratified, and confirmed the same, and every clause and article thereof, subject to the exception contained in a Declaration made by the authority of his Britannic Majesty, on the 24th day of November last, a copy of which Declaration is hereunto annexed.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have signed the same with my hand.

Done at the City of Washington, this 22d day of December, A. D. 1815, and of the independence of the United States the 40th.

(L. S.) JAMES MADISON.  
By the President. JAMES MONROE.  
Secretary of State.

## DECLARATION.

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's *Charge d'affaires* in the United States of America, is commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to explain and declare, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention, concluded in London on the 3d of July, in the present year, for regulating the commerce and navigation between the two countries, that in consequence of events which have happened in Europe subsequent to the signature of the Convention aforesaid, it has been deemed expedient and determined, in conjunction with the Allied Sovereigns, that St. Helena shall be the place allotted for the future residence of General Napoleon Bonaparte, under such regulations as may be necessary for the perfect security of his person; and it has been resolved, for that purpose, that all ships and vessels whatever, as well British ships and vessels as others, excepting only ships belonging to the East India Company, shall be excluded from all communication with, or approach to that Island. It has therefore become impossible to comply with so much of the 3d article of the Treaty as relates to the liberty of touching for refreshments at the island of St. Helena. And the ratifications of the said Treaty will be exchanged under the explicit declaration and understanding, that the vessels of the United States cannot be allowed to touch at or hold any communication whatever with the said Island, so long as the said Island shall continue to be the place of residence of the said Napoleon Bonaparte.

(Signed) ANTHONY ST. JOHN BAKER.

Washington, Nov. 24, 1815.

## AMERICAN FINANCE.

*Mr. Dallas's Report on the State of the Paper-money.*

The delicacy of this subject is only equalled by its importance. In presenting it, therefore, to the consideration of Congress, there is occasion for an implicit reliance upon the legislative indulgence.

By the Constitution of the United States, Congress is expressly vested with the power to coin money, to regulate the value of the domestic and foreign coins in circulation, and (as a necessary implication from positive provisions) to emit bills of

credit; while it is declared by the same instrument, that, "no state shall coin money, or emit bills of credit. Under this constitutional authority, the money of the United States has been established by law, consisting of coins made with gold, silver, and copper. All foreign gold and silver coins, at specified rates, were placed in the first instance, upon the same footing with the coins of the United States; but they ceased (with the exception of Spanish milled dollars, and parts of such dollars) to be a legal tender for the payment of debts and demands in the year 1800.

The constitutional authority to emit bills of credit, has also been exercised in a qualified and limited manner. During the existence of the Bank of the United States, the bills or notes of the corporation were declared, by law, to be receivable in all payments to the United States, and the treasury notes which have been since issued for the services of the late war, have been endowed with the same quality. But Congress has never recognised by law the notes of any other corporation; nor has it ever authorised an issue of bills of credit to serve as a legal currency. The acceptance of the notes of banks which are not established by the federal authority, in payments to the United States, has been properly left to the vigilance and discretion of the executive department; while the circulation to the treasury notes employed either of borrow money or to discharge debts, depends entirely (as it ought to depend) upon the option of the lenders and creditors to receive them.

The constitutional and legal foundation of the monetary system of the United States is thus distinctly seen; and the power of the Federal Government to institute and regulate it, whether the circulating medium consists of coin or of bills of credit, must in its general policy, as well as the terms of its investment, be deemed an exclusive power. It is true, that a system depending upon the agency of the precious metals, will be affected by the various circumstances which diminish their quantity or deteriorate their quality. The coin of a State sometimes vanishes under the influence of political alarms; sometimes in consequence of the explosion of mercantile speculations, and sometimes by the drain of an unfavourable course of

trade. But whenever the emergency occurs that demands a change of system, it seems necessarily to follow, that the authority which was alone competent to establish the national coin, is alone competent to create a national substitute. It has happened, however, that the coin of the United States has ceased to be the circulating medium of exchange; and that no substitute has hitherto been provided by the national authority.

During the last year, the principal banks established south and west of New England, resolved that they would no longer issue coin in payment of their notes, or of the drafts of their customers, for money received upon deposit. In this act, the Government of the United States had no participation; and yet the immediate effect of the act was to supersede the only legal currency of the nation. By this act, although no State can constitutionally emit bills of credit, Corporations erected by the several States have been enabled to circulate a paper medium, subject to many of the practical inconveniences of the prohibited bills of credit.

It is not intended, upon this occasion, to condemn, generally, the suspension of specie payments—for appearances indicated an approaching crisis which would probably have imposed it as a measure of necessity, if it had not been adopted as a measure of precaution. But the danger which originally induced and perhaps justified the conduct of the banks, has passed away; and the continuance of the suspension of specie payments must be ascribed to a new series of causes. The public credit and resources are no longer impaired by the doubts and agitations excited during the war, by the practices of the enemy, or by the inroads of an illicit commerce; yet the resumption of specie payments is still prevented, either by the reduced state of the national stock of the precious metals, or by the apprehension of a further reduction to meet the balances of a foreign trade, or by the redundant issues of bank paper.—The probable direction and duration of the latter causes, constitute, therefore, the existing subject for deliberation.—While they continue to operate singly or combined, the authority of the States individually, or the agents of the state institutions, cannot afford a remedy commensurate with the evil; and a recurrence to the national authority is



indispensable for the restoration of a national currency.

In the selection of the means for the accomplishment of this important object, it may be asked—1st, Whether it be practicable to renew the circulation of the gold and silver coins? 2dly, Whether the State Banks can be successfully employed to furnish an uniform currency? 3dly, Whether a National Bank can be employed more advantageously than the State Banks, for the same purpose? And 4thly, Whether the Government can itself supply or maintain a paper medium of exchange, of permanent and uniform value, throughout the United States?

1st, As the United States do not possess mines of gold or silver, the supplies of those metals must, in a time of scarcity, be derived from foreign commerce. If the balance of foreign commerce be unfavourable, the supply will not be obtained incidentally, as in the case of the returns for a surplus of American exports, but must be the object of a direct purchase. The purchase of bullion is, however, a common operation of commerce; and depends, like other operations, upon the inducements to import the article.

The inducements to import bullion arises, as in other cases, from its being cheap abroad, or from its being dear at home. Notwithstanding the commissions in South America, as well as in Europe, there is no reason to believe that the quantity of the precious metals is now (more than at any former period) insufficient for the demand throughout the commercial and civilized world. The price may be higher in some countries than in others; and it may be different in the same country at different times; but, generally, the European stock of gold and silver has been abundant, even during the protracted war which has afflicted the nations of Europe.

The purchase of bullion, in foreign markets, upon reasonable terms, is then deemed practicable; nor can its importation into the United States fail eventually to be profitable. The actual price of the gold and silver in the American market would in itself afford for some time an ample premium; although the fall in the price must of course be proportionable to the increase of the quantity. But it is within the scope of a wise policy, to create additional demands for coin, and in that way to multiply the inducements to import and

retain the metals of which it is composed. For instance, the excessive issue of bank paper has usurped the place of the national money; and under such circumstances gold and silver will always be treated as an article of merchandize; but it is hoped that the issue of bank paper will soon be reduced to its just share in the circulating medium of the country; and consequently that the coin of the United States will resume its legitimate capacity and character. Again; the Treasury, yielding from necessity to the general impulse, has hitherto consented to receive bank paper in payment of duties and taxes; but the period approaches when it will probably become a duty to exact the payment either in treasury notes, or in gold and silver coin of the United States. Again; the institutions which shall be deemed proper, in order to remove existing inconveniences, and to restore the national currency, may be so organized as to engage the interests and enterprise of individuals in providing the means to establish them. And finally, such regulations may be imposed upon the exportation of gold and silver, as will serve in future to fix and retain the quantity required for domestic uses.

But it is further believed that the national stock of the precious metals is not so reduced as to render the operation of reinstating their agency in the national currency either difficult or protracted. The quantity actually possessed by the country is considerable; and the resuscitation of public confidence in bank paper, or in other substitutes for coin, seems alone to be wanting to render it equal to the accustomed contribution for a circulating medium. In other countries, as well as in the United States, the effect of an excessive issue of paper money to banish the precious metals has been seen, and under circumstances much more disadvantageous than the present; the effect of public confidence in national institutions; to recal the precious metals to their uses in exchange, has also been experienced. Even, however, if it were practicable, it has sometimes been questioned, whether it would be politic again to employ gold and silver for the purpose of a national currency. It was long and universally supposed, that to maintain a paper medium without depreciation, the certainty of being able to convert it into coin, was

indispensable; nor can the experience which has given rise to a contrary doctrine be deemed complete or conclusive. But whatever may be the issue of that experiment elsewhere, a difference in the structure of the Government, in the physical as well as the political situation of the country, and in the various departments of industry, seems to deprive it of any important influence as a precedent for the imitation of the United States.

In offering these general remarks to the consideration of Congress, it is not intended to convey an opinion, that the circulation of the gold and silver coins can at once be renewed. Upon motives of public convenience, the gradual attainment of that object is alone contemplated; but a strong, though respectful, solicitude is felt, that the measures adopted by the Legislature should invariably tend to its attainment.

2d. Of the services rendered to the Government by some of the State Banks during the late war, and of the liberality by which some of them are actuated in their intercourse with the Treasury, justice requires an explicit acknowledgment.—It is a fact, however, incontestibly proved, that those institutions cannot at this time be successfully employed to furnish a uniform national currency. The failure of one attempt to associate them with that view, has already been stated. Another attempt, by their agency in circulating treasury notes, to overcome the inequalities of the exchange, has only been partially successful. And a plan recently proposed, with design to curtail the issue of bank notes, to fix the public confidence in the administration of the affairs of the Banks, and to give each Bank a legitimate share in the circulation, is not likely to receive the sanction of the Banks. The truth is, that the Charter restrictions of some of the Banks; the mutual relation and dependence of the Banks of the same State, and even of the Banks of different States; and the duty which the directors of each Bank conceive that they owe to their immediate constituents upon points of security or emolument; interpose an insuperable obstacle to any voluntary arrangement, upon national considerations alone, for the establishment of a national medium through the agency of the State Banks. It is, nevertheless, with the State Banks that the measures for restoring the na-

tional currency of gold and silver must originate; for until their issues of paper be reduced, their specie capitals be re-instated, and their specie operations be commenced, there will be neither room, nor employment, nor safety, for the introduction of the precious metals. The policy and interest of the State Banks must therefore be engaged in the great fiscal work, by all the means which the Treasury can employ, or the legislative wisdom shall provide.

3d. The establishment of a National Bank is regarded as the best, and perhaps the only adequate resource to relieve the country and the Government from the present embarrassments. Authorised to issue notes which will be received in all payments to the United States, the circulation of its issues will be co-extensive with the Union; and there will exist a constant demand, bearing a just proportion to the annual amount of the duties and taxes to be collected, independent of the general circulation for commercial and social purposes. A National Bank will therefore possess the means and the opportunity of supplying a circulating medium of equal use and value in every State, and in every district of every State. Established by the authority of the Government of the United States; accredited by the Government to the whole amount of its notes in circulation; and intrusted as the depository of the Government with all the accumulations of the public treasure; the National Bank, independent of its immediate capital, will enjoy every recommendation which can merit and secure the confidence of the public.—Organized upon principles of responsibility, but of independence, the National Bank will be retained within its legitimate sphere of action without just apprehension from the misconduct of its directors, or from the encroachments of the Government. Eminent in its resources and in its example, the National Bank will conciliate, aid, and lead, the State Banks, in all that is necessary for the restoration of credit, public and private. And, acting upon a compound capital, partly of stock and partly of gold and silver, the National Bank will be the ready instrument to enhance the value of the public securities and to restore the currency of the national coin.

4th. The powers of the Government to supply and maintain a paper medium of

exchange will not be questioned; but for the introduction of that medium there must be an adequate motive. The sole motive for issuing treasury notes has hitherto been to raise money in anticipation of the revenue. The revenue, however, will probably become, in the course of the year 1816, and continue afterwards, sufficient to discharge all the debts, and to defray all the expenses of the Government, and consequently there will exist no motive to issue the paper of the Government as an instrument of credit.

It will not be deemed an adequate object for an issue of the paper of the Government, merely that it may be exchanged for the paper of the Banks, since the Treasury will be abundantly supplied with bank paper, by the collection of the revenue, and the Government cannot be expected to render itself a general debtor, in order to become the special creditor of the State Banks.

The co-operation of the Government with the National Bank, in the introduction of a national currency, may, however, be advantageously employed by the issues of treasury notes, as long as they shall be required for the public service.

Upon the whole, the state of the national currency, and other important considerations connected with the operations of the Treasury, render it a duty respectfully to propose,

“That a National Bank be established at the city of Philadelphia, having power to elect branches elsewhere; and that the capital of the Bank (being of a competent amount) consist of three-fourths of the public stock, and one-fourth of gold and silver.”

All which is respectfully submitted.

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary of the Treasury.

Treasury Department, 6th Dec. 1815.

**PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain; and COURSE OF EXCHANGE with Foreign Countries, during the last Week.**

**BREAD.**—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drms, varies at from 8½d. to 10d.  
**WHEAT.**—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 6s. 6d.—The Sack of Flour, weighing 28lbs. 5½s. 6d.  
**MEAT.**—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 7½d.; Mutton, 6½d.; Veal, 10d.; Pork, 6d.  
**WOOL.**—Segovia, 4s. 6d.; Soria, 4s. 3d.; Seville, 2s. 10½d.; Saxony, 1st. 7s. 9d.; Ditto 2d. 6s. 3d. Bohem, 1st. 5s.; 2d. 3s. 3d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, None.—From France, None.—From India, None.—From Spain, 552 cwt.  
**BULLION.**—Gold in bars, £4 2s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 3d. per oz.—Silver in bars, none.—N. B. These are the prices in Bank of England paper.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.  
**ENGLISH FUNDS.**—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 6½.  
**BANKRUPTCIES.**—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 49.

**COURSE OF EXCHANGE.**

LONDON.		Friday 5.		LONDON.		Friday 5.	
Amsterdam	37	6	B 2 U	Bilboa	36		
Ditto at Sight	37	0		St. Sebastian	34		
Amsterdam	11	9	C.F.	Corunna	34		
Ditto at Sight	11	6		Gibraltar	32		
Rotterdam	11	10	2 U.	Leghorn	40		
Antwerp	11	12		Genoa	46		
Hamburg	34	6	2½ U.	Venice	25		
Altona	34	7	2½ U.	Malta	48		
Bremen	34	7		Naples	41		
Paris 1 Day's Date	24	20		Palermo	116	per oz.	
Ditto	24	40	2 U.	Lisbon	59½		
Bordeaux	24	40		Oporto	59		
Frankfort on the Main	141		Ex. Mo.	Rio Janeiro	64		
Madrid	35½		effective	Dublin	16½	per Cent.	
Cadiz	34		effective	Cork	16½		
Barcelona	34						

Printed and Published by and for Wm. COBBETT, Jun. No. 192, Strand; where all Communications (post paid) addressed to the Editor, are requested to be forwarded.

TO THE  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

## LETTER XIII.

*We cannot sit down to supper yet.*

London, Jan. 30, 1816.

SIR,—Before this will come from the press, some part of your measures, relative to the distresses of the country will, in all likelihood, be made known. You have, I am sure, long ago, felt, that the difficulties of peace far exceed those of war, and that you have found my opinion, so clearly given at the time when Napoleon was banished to Elba, was correct. I then said, in answer to the *COURIER*, that we *could not go to supper*. “The play is over,” said he, “and now let us go to supper.”

“No,” said I, “we must not sit down happily to supper, ’till we have paid for *the play*.” From this text I preached a ~~long~~ political sermon, the main object of which was to prepare my readers for the sufferings that awaited them by showing them the consequences of peace, and, during this sermon, I observed, that the affairs of the nation, that the taxes, the currency, the expenditure, the scale of living, the minds, the habits of the country; that all these were wrought up to a war pitch; that, as long as war and a war currency were kept up, the machine went smoothly on, the velocity of its motion keeping it from experiencing any considerable damage from impediments. But, that as soon as we began to be in a state of *real peace*, it would require uncommon skill in our rulers and almost supernatural fortitude in the people to prevent some very serious and destructive shock.

Let it not be called *egotism*, Sir, if I remind you and the public of these things. I have a clear right to do it; and, it is my duty to do it, too; because, by showing, that I have been so correct in my anticipations, I establish my claim to reliance on the soundness of my opinions, as to what is in future likely to take place. When my worthy neighbours of Southampton

were clamouring against the Corn Bill, and were formally “*resolving*” in town-meeting, that “*peace and cheap corn*” ought to be companions; when the City of London, with their Lord Mayor leading the way, were doing the same; when all the trading part of the nation seemed to be bent upon the project of having cheap bread, and of enjoying, as they called it, “*good times*” in their “*turn*,” the farmers, as they said, “having had *their good times during the war*,” when all their noise and nonsense was raging throughout the land; then, I told my neighbours and the City of London, that they were acting upon a gross error; and that, *if their wishes were gratified*, they would most assuredly *be ruined*; unless the expences of the Debt and of the Government were reduced to something nearly what they were in 1792, a reduction which none of the clamourers against the Corn Bill ever proposed.

And is not that prediction verified? Are not the people in trade *ruined*? Is there any branch of trade, or any individual in any branch, that does not grow smart under the effects of *cheap corn*? I too opposed the corn-bill, but expressly upon the ground, that it would be unnecessary, if the taxes were reduced, and for which reduction to the standard of 1792, or nearly that, I prayed in my petition. Was there ever an instance of such delusion! The Corn Bill passed; and, from that day to this, corn has been growing cheaper and cheaper: and, what completes the upsetting of all shallow brains, as the corn has become cheap, the people in trade has become distressed. In short, it is now clear, that this great good; this “*blessing*” of peace, *cheap corn*, has thrown all men’s affairs, their debts, credits, ~~stock~~ in trade, dealings and contracts, into the utmost confusion.

The “*distresses of agriculture*” is the fashionable phrase. But, the distress is felt every where, by all trades and all professions, by every creature who is not paid out of the taxes, or who is not, in some way or other, supported by fixed

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yearly payments. And that this must be the case, as long as corn continues cheap, or, until some thing be done effectually to alter the relative situation of the *Debtor and the Creditor*, is now, I think, become clear to every man of common sense.

Yet, the danger from *dear corn* was equally great. Already had a very large portion of the people of fixed incomes and of the land owners quitted the country, and gone to the continent, in quest of cheap living. It was calculated, that 40 thousand families had gone previous to the return of Napoleon from Elba. Not for the purpose of *travelling*; not, as formerly, for the purpose of *spending money*; not with a view to act the character of the "*Mi Lord Anglois*;" but, for the purpose of *living cheap*. These persons were tax-payers in general. Their taxes were left to be paid by others. The manufacturers were fast following them. The evil was so severely felt, that there now stands a notice of a motion in the House of Commons to impose an additional tax on the property of those persons who shall live out of the kingdom.

This was one source of danger from the continuation of high prices. But, if the high prices continued, it was quite certain, and it must have soon become notorious to all the world, *that the Bank never could pay its notes in specie*. Peace was come: the only remaining pretext for the non-payment was removed; the act, authorizing the Bank to refuse payment was about, and is now about, to expire. If the gold and silver continued at a high price, the Bank *never* could pay. In a little time this would have become too manifest all over the world to be disguised by any possible means. The Bank Notes would have been, as they were before Napoleon's return from Elba, at a discount at Calais, and, of course, all over the Continent, of more than 30 per centum. Thus would the Bank and its Paper have stood a mark for all the commercial world to gaze at.

This rock of shame and discredit we have shunned and edged away from by a vast diminution in the quantity of paper-money; but, in so doing, we have got foul, as sailors call it, of the rock of low prices and consequent falling off of taxes, while the Debts and Expences of the government continue the same, and while, instead of an increased external com-

merce, that commerce is greatly diminished.

To get us safely off this rock is now, Sir, the task, which you have to perform; and, if you do perform it, leaving us safe and well, at the end of two years, dating from the 1st of this month, I will say, that you are the most able financier and statesman that ever breathed the breath of life. But, give me leave to stipulate a little. If the Bank do not pay in specie before the end of the two years, or, at least, if the guinea get to be worth more than 22s. in paper-money. Then I shall not allow that you have got us *safely* off this rock, seeing that, in that case, we shall still be in danger of splitting on the other. Then again, if you make any deductions from the interest of the Debt, or impose a tax on the funds heavier than on landlords' rents, I shall be so far from allowing that you have brought us safely off the rock, that I shall insist upon it, that you have wrecked us. This same conclusion will, of course, apply, to such a change in the Sinking Fund as would, in effect, annihilate the *capital* of the Fundholders.

Well, then, Sir, do I not offer you very fair? You will find nobody, or hardly any body, to say, that there is a necessity for diminishing the interest on the Debt; or, that there is any necessity for issuing paper-money so as to raise the value of the guinea compared with the paper-money. Not one person out of a hundred thousand, perhaps, thinks either of these measures at all necessary. It is the general, and almost universal opinion, that you will be able to carry us through without either of these measures. And yet, if you do carry us through; if you do get us safely off the rock, and keep us safely off, 'till the end of the two years, I will laud you to the skies; I will have your picture in every room in my house; I will call you *Nicholas the Great*, and will never mention your name without pulling off my hat, or making a low bow. I will not be so prophane as to say that you have wrought *miracles*; but, I will always allow you to be the first of created beings.

But, then, on the other hand, if the guinea should mount up again over the paper, after having spread about ruin so profusely by its recent fall; or, if the interest of the Debt should experience a di-

mination, I shall claim the right of imputing to you a full share of the work of producing the wreck; for, be it remembered, that you became, at a very early period, a partizan of the system of Pitt; that you defended and eulogized that system; that you did your best, at any rate, to assist in causing that continuation of the war, which finally produced a thousand millions of debt; and that, having supported this system with your vote and your pen for about twenty years, you have, at last, as a reward for your zeal and your services, become the successor of the "great statesman," with whom it originated, and who has left it behind as a legacy to that country, who so gratefully paid his own private debts, and who erected a monument in honour of his memory. Therefore, Sir, we are not, if you should fail, to look upon you as having your present task *unfortunately* imposed on you. You have it not only by your own free choice; but you have, as far as you were able, been the cause of creating the necessity for the performance of it. Waiting now with greatly increased anxiety for the development of your plans, I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

SIR ROBERT WILSON  
AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN FRANCE.

London, 31 Jan. 1816.

Such things have been doing, and are doing, in France, that I have, for my part, been afraid to trust my pen in any observations relating to them. But, this affair of SIR ROBERT WILSON must have a word or two.

The story is this: that the three English officers, so often named, assisted LAVALLETTE in his escape, after he had been condemned to die as a *traitor to Louis*. And, it is added, that one of them, at least, confesses the act, and pleads in *justification*, that LAVALLETTE was condemned contrary to the stipulations of the convention, signed by the Duke of Wellington, and in consequence of his agreeing to the terms of which convention, he obtained, with the loss of English lives, possession of Paris.

There are persons in England, and I am afraid they form a very great majority of John Bull, to say, that these gentlemen ought to be hanged up, at once, as trai-

tors. The rage of honest John against all that is not attached to the principle of divine right seems now to be unbounded. His language is: "Our officers had *no business with the matter*. If the man was "innocent, or guilty, it was *no business of theirs*. They had no right to interfere in the concerns of a foreign government, or nation."

Now, this doctrine in a moral point of view, to be good for any thing in this case, must be good in all cases whatsoever. Suppose, then, that Sir Robert Wilson had been in France, when the Duke of ENGHEN was in prison, previously to his being shot, and had aided him in escaping. Would he have merited to be hanged for that act? Suppose, he had assisted in getting Louis XVI. out of prison and in saving his life. Would he have merited punishment for that? Would those who now join in condemning him and his gallant associates, have called, as they do, for his blood? Suppose a Frenchman had been in England, and had contrived an escape for the brave Sidney, who fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of the restored Stuarts. The tyrants of the House, and their base abettors, might have thirsted for such Frenchman's blood; but would not the English, who reversed the act of attainder against Sydney, have applauded the act? Yet, they could not have applauded it, if they held the doctrine of the TIMES and COURIER news-papers, which makes the crime consist in the having *interfered* in the affairs of a foreign government and nation. Suppose an Englishman residing for purpose of trade, or being on a mere visit, in Algiers, and suppose him to see one of the corsairs of our friend, the Dey, bring in a captive; and, to go the whole length, suppose that captive to be his own father, taken in an American vessel. The capture has been made according to the laws of Algiers; the captive is sold according to the laws of Algiers; he is worked and flogged by the purchaser in due conformity to the laws of Algiers. But, the son, nevertheless, assists the father in his escape; places him out of the reach of the tyrant; and is afterwards imprisoned himself for having so done. Would the son deserve punishment for this? Would any body in England cry out for his being put to death for this act? Common humanity recoils with horror at the idea; and yet, what would this be but violating

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the law of Algiers? What would this be but *interfering* in the affairs of the government of Algiers?

Thus, we see, then, that this doctrine of *non-interference* is not worth a straw. We see that, in a moral point of view, such an act may be not only innocent; not only blameless, but highly meritorious; and that, therefore, loyal John, in his outrageous zeal for "*legitimacy*," has rushed on to condemnation without much, if any, consideration as to the justice of the case.

Whether LAVALETTE's was one of those cases, which would justify such an act as that imputed to Sir ROBERT WILSON and his associates, I dare not here pretend to decide. But, this much is very clear, that those who pretend, that the Convention, in virtue of which our general got possession of Paris, without risk to him or his army, was *not binding on Louis the Desired*, place themselves in a most awkward dilemma. These same writers have constantly maintained, that we and the allies obtained possession of France, of her fortresses, her pictures, &c. by *right of conquest*; that, in virtue of this right we disposed of the two latter; that, in virtue of this right we imposed a tribute on the French; that it was we who put the king on the throne, who kept him there, and who had a full and clear right to dictate to him whom he should have for ministers and what measures of internal government he should adopt. But, now, behold, when the business of shedding blood comes in question, these writers choose to consider the *Desiré* as *perfectly independent of us*; as acting upon his own sole authority and from the *dictates of his own will*; as having assumed that authority of himself; as having supported it, wholly unaided by us; and that, *therefore*, the Convention made by our general, was not at all binding on a king so powerful in his own resources and so entirely independent of us.

It is nevertheless true, that there is an English army in and near Paris; and that German armies are in readiness at no very great distance; and, do these writers really affect to believe, that, if the *Desiré* had, in good earnest, been *left to himself*, he would have been able to bring either the brave Labedoyere or Ney or Lavalette to trial? They talk of the "*Chamber of Peers*" having condemned Ney; but, have they the impudence to pretend,

that the Chamber of Peers would be able to call Ney before them, if the foreign troops had not been in possession of Paris? And, if their impudence does not bear them this length, how can they pretend, that these condemnations are to be considered as proceeding from the free-agency of the French government, and that the Convention made with the French army was not to be considered as binding on the king, or on any one to be set up by the power of those who signed that convention?

It is in vain to enter into any further discussion of this matter *here*. We are compelled so to beggar our feelings on topics relating to the affairs of France, that to speak of them is to do injustice to the cause of truth and freedom. But, it may not be amiss to point out how ridiculous a figure the "*loyal*" protestants make, now that they would appear to commiserate the fate of their brethren in France. At the time when it was the fashion to meet, to pass resolutions, and to subscribe against Napoleon, they were amongst the loudest. At that very time, they were reminded of how much religious freedom they owed to Napoleon. They were reminded, that it was only the new order of things in France and Spain that stood between that freedom and the restoration of all the cruelties of Popish bigotry. Still they persevered; and their cry was: "*any religion is better than no religion at all*." They were told, that with the Bourbons all the Bourbon persecutions would return. And, now that they have returned, they are putting forth their feeble voice in affected strains of compassion! They are imploring our government to interfere with the Bourbons in France to spare the blood of the protestants! Would it not have been better not to have laboured so zealously for the return of the Bourbons? Aye, but if the Bourbons had not been restored, *France* could not have been degraded and beggarred! But, why no feeling for the "*patriots*" in *Spain*? The ruin, the cruel persecution of these men seem to excite no compassion, though they were *our allies* against the French. They are now left, without any compassion from these "*loyal*" protestants, to enjoy the full benefits of the Inquisition. Why do they not implore our government to interfere with Ferdinand? What a scene of inconsistency and hypocrisy it is, take it all together.

WM. COBBETT.

## MR. BIRKBECK'S LETTER,

*On the laughing at the Farmers: with Mr. Cobbett's remarks thereon.*

I think, Mr. Cobbett, that those superior persons who are so witty upon the farmers in their calamities, and indulge their good humoured spleen in ridiculing us for having imitated them, though at a humble distance, during the late season of hollow prosperity; I think, Sir, that they ought to have set us a better example, or to have shewn us that hereditary estates and superior education give an *exclusive* title to luxury, extravagance, and folly. They must suppose us to be either more or less than men: and I fancy they lean to the latter opinion. They call us obstinate fools, and hardly give us credit for common sagacity in the management of our land; yet they expect of us that we should know the value of money better than themselves, notwithstanding their prodigious experience in the abuse of it. I question if there ever was a meeting of clergy at a visitation, or of gentlemen at a bench club, or of shop-keepers at a corporation dinner, or even of merchants and bankers at a city feast; that they did not (if the conversation happened to sink to a theme so low) stigmatize the farmers as a set of ignorant boobies with intellects barely superior to the cattle they drive. And now, forsooth, because they have occasion for the money which we have spent in a rough copy of their own extravagance, they turn upon us, and politely abuse us because we are not philosophers. But, Sir, the public has no right to complain of the improvidence of farmers. Have we not returned what they are pleased to call our inordinate gains through every channel of circulation? We indulged, it is true, in a little port, or perhaps madeira, at market, and sometimes produced a bottle to a friend at our own table: we might call in the taylor or the mantua-maker rather oftener than heretofore: but why should the wine merchant or the draper murmur? or the fundholder, or the placeman? If we blazed away with our helmets and broadswords, volunteering ourselves from our farms and our families, should the *loyal* blame us for this? Especially when *invited* by our landlords, being tenants at will, to give proof of our heroism, and dependence.—Some of us, however, in spite of bad ex-

ample, have saved a little, and in defiance of your cautionary hints, Sir, have trotted up to town once a year with our savings, to have them inscribed together with our names in the great book. In very many instances, a great part of our extraordinary receipts has been returned again to the soil, in those improvements of cultivation which patriots are commending so loudly whilst they overlook or despise the improvers. Hoarding has been out of the question: few would be so simple as to hoard bank notes. One solitary article of expence, which we shall not repeat of, although it is a constant theme of insolent reproach, is the education of our children. Ignorant ourselves, we may sometimes have been led, as in other things, by bad example, and have mistaken show for substance: but we are not such fools as your ghostly friend insinuates: we did not send our sons to excisemen nor our daughters to discarded —. Abuse divided among so many, seems to light no where, and is disgraceful only to its author, who, of course, conceals himself: but I wonder, Sir, that you admit these nameless gentry. Possibly *their names* would do as well as *my strictures*. Publish which you please.

Your's,

M. BIRKBECK.

Wenborough, Jan. 23, 1816.

In the foregoing letter, Mr. Birkbeck has made common cause with all the crowd of *Yeomanry Cavalry*. If this discovers little self love, it displays a much better quality; namely, *generosity*. Mr. Birkbeck must, however, be aware, that my correspondent "from the shades below," with whom he appears to be angry, never meant to include within the range of his sarcasm, every man in England who happened to be engaged in agricultural pursuits; and, at any rate, before Mr. Birkbeck took the imputations to himself, it was natural to expect him to show, that farmers *in general* were of the same description as he is, as to talent and extent of knowledge.—I have received from Philadelphia a copy of this Gentleman's "*Notes during a Tour in France*," which work has been republished in that city, and which copy I shall beg him to accept of, as I shall, I am sure, thereby gratify the gentleman who has had the goodness to send it to me.—Now, if Mr. Birkbeck can show us any other of the farmers who have



written books like this, my correspondent will readily except them, I dare say, from his censure. But, until he can do this, or, at least, can show, that the farmers in *general* are men of enlightened minds and *liberal principles*, my correspondent will hardly allow it to be quite fair in Mr. Birkbeck to use the word *we*, when defending their general conduct and character, which *general* conduct and character he must, from the tenor of his own sentiments, most heartily despise; and, indeed, which general conduct and character he has, in his work, above-mentioned, virtually condemned. When we speak of a large class of any community, we must always be understood as speaking with *numerous exceptions*; and thus, of course, I understood my correspondent. I look upon his sarcasm as levelled at the gross mass, and, in this light, it certainly is just. —When Mr. Birkbeck says, “*we* did not send our sons to school to turned-off ex-cisemen, and *our* daughters to discarded mistresses,” he takes a rather unfair advantage; for nobody would ever suppose that *he* acted thus. But, is he prepared to show, that boarding schools in *general* are such as sensible men and good fathers would send their children to? And, is he, besides, prepared to show, that the sort of knowledge, acquired at such schools, is at all calculated to be useful, generally speaking, to the cultivators of the land? Mr. Birkbeck will acknowledge, I believe, that the farmers must now *come down*; that it will be impossible for them any longer to live in the style that they have lived in. And, is it not, then, a misfortune to their children to have been taught to indulge in such lofty notions? True, that the parents were misled by the false glare of a hollow system; but this is not to exempt them from being laughed at by those who have always been warning them against the final effects of that system; and though my correspondent may not (for I do not know any thing of him) be one of these, I myself am one of them, and, therefore, I have a fair right to laugh as much as I please, and to publish, or hand over for publication the laughter of others, especially when I reflect, that to these farmers, in a great measure, the evils I lament are owing. If, indeed, they, or even any *considerable portion of them*, had ever shewn any marks of disapprobation of the system, the case would have been wholly different. But,

it is notorious, and it is particularly well-known to Mr. Birkbeck, that the farmers in general, and almost unanimously, were loud and incessant in their cry for continuing the war against Napoleon until his exile to Elba, and that they stigmatized as a traitor every man who disapproved of that war, or who, in the slightest degree, defended the acts or character of Napoleon. It is also notorious, and particularly well-known to Mr. Birkbeck, that, upon the news of the landing of Napoleon at Cannes, the farmers at their market-dinners, filled and drank bumpers to his health and success. It is also notorious, that the farmers were equally loud and incessant in their approbation of the war with America, and that they lamented its termination. Now, if these facts be true, and, I believe, no one will attempt to contradict them, we have, I think, a pretty good specimen of the *principles*, derived from that *education*, of which Mr. Birkbeck speaks, and that too, somewhat exultingly. Nay, it is notorious, that the farmers are *now*, even *now wishing*, expressing their wishes for, *war*. For war with *any body*, no matter whom. What, then, are we to be censured, and that, too, by a real friend of peace and freedom, for laughing at the humiliation of this class, merely because he himself happens to be engaged in the same business as they! If a single farmer had said to Mr. Birkbeck: “Come on, let us pay any taxes for the sake of keeping on war against Napoleon, who is such an enemy of our country, that the man who does not wish his destruction is a vile traitor and ought to be hanged and quartered;” and, if the same man, in 18 months afterwards, had said to him: “Come fill up a bumper: let us drink health and success to Napoleon, because that health and success will occasion a new, long, and bloody war, which war will fill our pockets by making our corn high-priced again.” If a single farmer had, in so many words, said this to Mr. Birkbeck, would not the latter have turned from him with horror? Would he not have regarded him as a most vile and sordid and cruel wretch, wholly destitute of sentiments of justice and all feelings of compassion? And yet, what would this have been more than hearing from the lips of an individual, in few words, the general sentiments of the farmers in gross? And has not any one a

right now to indulge in sarcasm on this mass, whether he write from above ground, or "from the shades below?"

WM. COBBETT.

#### EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

Several persons, and some of them of great respectability, have written to me requesting advice upon the subject of emigration to the United States of America. I have before publicly stated, that I wish to give no one particularly, any advice touching this matter; and that I never shall, upon any occasion, urge any one, be he who he may to emigrate. But, to convey correct information, through the channel of the press, upon this matter, as well as upon any other of general interest, I regard as my duty; or, at least, I shall take pleasure in doing it; in short I like to do it; and I will do it as often as I think proper. In pursuance of this intention, I now proceed to observe, in the way of general advice or information, that, no one ought to think of going to America to *live upon his means*, as it is commonly called. House rent, wearing apparel, horses, servants wages, carriages, and every thing, except mere articles of food, are at a higher price in America than they are in England.—As to a farmer, if he can land in America with a clear thousand pounds in his pocket, and has a couple or three sons, from ten to sixteen years old, who had good education, that is to say, have been bred up to all sorts of farming work, and if the father be still able to work for ten or a dozen years himself, and has no idea of making his sons excisemen or custom-house officers; such a farmer may do very well in America. But, if he has been used to guzzle at market, if his big belly makes him breath short, or if his sons (if he has a dozen of them) have been to boarding school he would starve in America if he began farming there with twenty thousand pounds.—Those who go to that country, must, to better their lot, go with a resolution to work at something or other. They must be physicans, surgeons, lawyers, (and pretty *sharp* ones), merchants, shopkeepers, artizans, manufacturers, or something or other that is useful in society. There are all sorts of religions in America; but, as there is in this case very little real bodily labour to be performed, the labourers already there

are, I imagine, equal to the harvest. At any rate, I would not advise any clergyman of the Church of England, who has got a good living at home, to go to America in search of a better. I have no idea of a worse speculation than this.—Now, as to any advice to persons who are disposed to go to America to work, the cases are so various that it would be difficult to offer any advice at all, likely to be of much use. It may, however, be generally observed, that all persons who are feeble, whether from age or from natural debility, will not become stronger by crossing the Atlantic; and that all such persons, together with fools, drunkards, profligate persons, may as well stay to starve and be despised here, as to go to starve or be despised there.—A correspondent has asked me, whether he can take out gold free from danger from seizure by the custom-house or other officers;—what is the value, in the American currency, of a bill for five hundred pounds on Philadelphia;—what is the value of an English guinea at Philadelphia;—what is the state and security of the American Public Funds.—As to the first, any gold coin, not of the *English mint*, or at least any foreign coin, may legally be taken out of the country.—In answer to the second question, the bill of five hundred pounds sterling will at the present rate of exchange, be paid there in about two thousand Spanish dollars. It may be a little more or a little less according to the rate of exchange.—The third question requires no answer, it being illegal, and certainly wholly useless, to take the guinea out to America;—as to the fourth question, the state of the American funds will be seen by a reference to the three last Registers. The common interest in those funds is six per cent; and my opinion is, that the security is perfectly good.—But, the questions which I have most frequently put to me, turn upon the value of real property; the circumstances attending new establishments; the sums required to form new settlements; the nature of the soil; the bulk of crops, and the like. To answer all such questions; or to give any such general account, would not only require a volume in point of bulk, but would also require a great deal more knowledge than almost any man, though living upon the spot, can be supposed to possess. But, I can state some few facts which may

serve as a sort of basis whereon to form a judgment on some of these matters. For instance, a farm, with a good house and out-buildings upon it, with a good orchard and the whole well fenced in, with a due proportion of ploughing land and meadow, and within the distance of thirty miles from Philadelphia, is worth, upon an average, about an hundred dollars per acre, in the fee simple, being freehold, and tythe free, until an established church shall rise up in that country. Some such farms are not worth nearly so much and some a great deal more, according to the goodness of the land and the nature of the situation.—This I take it, may be a pretty far average account of the price of land all along the Atlantic coast.—Further back in the country, unless in the immediate neighbourhood of considerable towns, the lands must be cheaper, or, rather, of lower price. But the new States, which are called the Western States, and which lie between the mountains and the Mississippi, are at present the grand scenes of adventure and enterprise. In speaking of these, in order to give the reader some idea of the state of things in these countries, I will insert an extract here from a new work, just published in America, entitled, a *Picture of CINCINNATI and MIAMI COUNTRY*, by DANIEL DRAKE. I will first take his account of the town of CINCINNATI, and then his description of the agriculture, soil, &c. of the surrounding country.

Cincinnati is built upon one entire and two fractional sections, numbered 18, 17, and 12, in the fourth township and first fractional range, as surveyed by the patentee, John Cleves Symmes. The two first of these, viz. the entire section No. 18, and the fraction No. 17, lying between it and the river, were sold by the patentee to Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, whilst they were still a wood. Not long after this purchase, Denman transferred to Robert Patterson and John Filson, of Kentucky, an undivided third part each, making them joint proprietors with himself; but Filson being killed by the Indians, before complying with the terms of this bargain, his interest reverted to Denman, who sold it to Israel Ludlow, of the same state with himself. A plan for the intended town was then designed, and in January 1789, Mr. Ludlow executed a survey of that part which extends

from Broadway to Western Row. The proprietors then proceeded to sell the lots, and in conformity to a previous arrangement, the purchasers received their deeds directly from J. C. Symmes. In the ensuing year the patentee laid out several blocks of lots on the fraction No. 12, lying east of the first town plat. In the year 1808, the reservation around Fort Washington was divided into lots by the Surveyor General, acting under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and sold at public auction by the Register and Receiver, on the 2d of March. In addition to the original owners, several persons have since divided out-lots, or tracts adjoining to the first town plat, and are therefore to be considered as proprietors.

#### PLAN.

Philadelphia seems to have been the model after which that portion of this town first laid out, was planned. Between Broadway and Western Row there are six streets, each 66 feet wide, running from the river north  $16^{\circ}$  west, and lying 396 feet asunder. These are intersected at right angles by others of the same width, and at the same distance from each other; except Water and Front streets, and Second and Third streets, the former of which are nearer, and the latter, on account of the brow of the *Hill*, more distant. Not a single alley, court, or diagonal street, and but one common, was laid out. The blocks or squares were each divided into eight lots, 99 by 198 feet, except those lying between Second and Third streets, which made ten lots each; and those between Front and Water streets, the size of which may be seen by a reference to the frontispiece. The out-lots, 81 in number, contain four acres each, and lie chiefly in the north of the town. This plan was not deposited in the public archives for record until the 29th of April, 1802. The streets in that part of the town laid out by John C. Symmes, are but 60 feet wide. Those intersecting the river run north  $44^{\circ}$  degrees west, and lie at the same distance from each other as the streets in the original town; but the cross streets are nearer, and hence the lots of this quarter are shorter. The plan of this survey was not recorded by the proprietor till the 12th of September, 1811. The reservation of the General Government was surveyed so as to connect the plats just

described. The different subdivisions will be best understood by a reference to the engraved plan.

The donations by the original proprietors are, a tract between Front-street and the river, extending from Broadway to Main-street, for a public common; and a square west of Main-street, between Fourth and Fifth streets. The south half of this was conveyed to the first Presbyterian Congregation; and the other to the Commissioners of the county; an amount in each case, nearly equal to the value of the ground, being paid.

#### PRICES OF LOTS.

For several years after the settlement of this place, the lots along the principal streets were sold for less than 100 Dollars each. They gradually increased in price until the year 1805, when, from a sudden influx of population, they rose for a short time with rapidity. Their advancement was then slower, till 1811; since which the rate of increase has been so high, that for a year past the lots in Main, from Front to Third streets, have sold at 200 dollars per foot, measuring on the front line; from thence to Sixth-street, at 100 dollars; in Broadway, Front and Market streets, from 80 to 120; and on the others, from 50 to 10, according to local advantages. Out-lots and land adjoining to the town plat, bring from 500 to 1000 dollars per acre.

#### GRADUATION AND DRAINING OF THE STREETS.

One part of the town being elevated from 40 to 60 feet above the other, it has long been an interesting question, whether the streets running from the river should be graduated to a steep or gentle ascent. The latter method has at length been adopted, and Main-street rises by degrees from Second to Fifth-street. The earth and gravel at the intersection of Third-street on the brow of the *Hill*, and beyond it, as far as Fifth-street, being hauled and washed down to raise the surface below. The angle of ascent varies, by estimation, from 5 to 10 degrees. Broadway, Sycamore and Walnut streets, are partly completed on the same plan. To the constant change of level which the streets have undergone for many years, from the descent of gravel into the *Bottom*, is to be ascribed the want of pavements

and side-walks, which the town so strikingly exhibits. Preparations are making for the pavement of Main-street, from the river to Fourth-street, the ensuing year; which will no doubt be followed by a general improvement of the town in this respect.

Concerning the points at which the water falling on the town plat should be discharged into the river, there are two opinions. The first and most natural is, that it should be conducted down Second-street, and emptied into the river below the town, through the same ravine which formerly carried it off. The other opinion is, that each street running to the river should be so graduated as to convey its own water. But the obvious injury which the banks, the beach and the water would sustain, from the discharge of these sluices of filth immediately opposite the town, together with the enormous expence attending it, seem to be procuring for the other method a general preference; and it is probable that all the gutters west of Broadway will be discharged into a common sewer in Second-street, along which in an open canal the water now indeed runs.

It has been already stated, that the north-west part of the bottom is occasionally inundated by great floods of the Ohio. To prevent this, it has been proposed to throw up a *levee* along the western border of the town plat. The cost of this could not be very great, as it would not have an average height of more than six feet, nor exceed two hundred yards in length; and having no current to stem, it need not be very strong. No measures, however, have yet been taken to effect this important object.

#### MATERIALS FOR BUILDING.

Cincinnati is eligibly situated for obtaining these. The beds of Licking and the Ohio afford excellent limestone, which, however, can only be quarried when these rivers are low. Marble of a fine quality can be brought by water from the cliffs of Kentucky river; and freestone of a grey colour and good texture is already freighted, for a small sum, from near the intersection of the Big Sandy and Scioto with the Ohio, where inexhaustible quarries exist. The clay of the lower part of the town makes excellent brick, about five millions of which are annually used in

this place. The lime afforded by the common limestone is dark coloured, but the silicious limestone pebbles, which are abundant in the alluvial grounds, make lime of a fine quality and pure white. Oak, ash, poplar, walnut and other native timber trees, squared or sawed into boards, plank and scantling, are brought to market in waggons, boats or rafts, and delivered on moderate terms. But the Allegheny mountains furnish the most valuable, and must long continue to afford the most abundant supplies of timber. From those mountains, the white pine, either in the form of logs, boards or shingles, is annually floated down in immense quantities, and sold in all the towns on the Ohio, at a lower price than domestic timber.

The different kinds of masonry, carpentry, painting, papering, and Venetian blinds, are executed in a firm and handsome style.

#### BUILDINGS.

On the plat of Cincinnati, there is at this time (July 1815) nearly 1100 houses, exclusive of kitchens, smoke-houses, and stables. Of these, more than 30 are of stone, 250 of brick, and about 800 of wood. Six hundred and sixty contain families; the remainder are public buildings, shops, warehouses and offices.—The great proportion of frame houses seems to be owing to the vast emigration within a few years—a wooden house can be erected in a shorter time than a brick, and at seasons when brick-work cannot be done. The dwelling houses are generally two stories high, and built in a neat and simple style, with sloping shingled roofs, and Tuscan or Corinthian cornices. Several have lately been erected with an additional story, and exhibit, for a new town, some magnificence. A handsome frontispiece or balustrade occasionally affords an evidence of opening taste; but the higher architectural ornaments—elegant summer-houses, porticos, and colonnades, are entirely wanting. Very few of the frame houses are painted, which is the more remarkable, as the timber of which they are built is so perishable as to require seclusion from the weather.

#### PUBLIC AND MANUFACTURING EDIFICES.

The first Court House in this place, stood on the eastern end of the public

ground. It was erected in the year 1802, and burned down early in 1814, while a company of soldiers were using it as a barrack. It was built of limestone, on a plan furnished by Judge Turner, in the form of a parallelogram, 42 feet in front by 55 in depth; the height of the walls, including a parapet, being 42 feet. It had a wooden cupola, with four projecting faces, arched and balustraded 20 feet high, terminated by a dome, and resting on a basement 20 feet square. From the ground to the top of the cupola was 84 feet. A couple of two-story wings, to be made fire-proof for the purpose of public offices, and connected with the body by corridors, formed a part of the *design* which remained to be executed.

Since the conflagration of this edifice, the commissioners of the county have sold out, on perpetual leases, the whole of the public ground; and accepted of a lot near the intersection of Main and Court Streets; in the centre of which they are now engaged in the erection of a second court house, 56 by 62 feet; with fire-proof apartments for the different offices of the county.

The new Presbyterian church is a very spacious brick edifice, measuring 68 by 85 feet. Its eastern and narrower front looks towards Main-street, and is cornered with square turrets crowned with cupolas. From the rear is an octagonal projection, for a vestry. The roof is of a common form. The height from the ground to the eaves is only 40 feet, to the top of the cupola 80, which is less than either side, including the towers, and hence the aspect of the building is low and heavy. The stair-cases are in the basements of the turrets, and are entered without passing into the house. The inside will be divided into one hundred and twelve pews, and five capacious aisles.

The Baptist church, in Sixth-street, is a handsome and commodious brick edifice, 40 by 55 feet, well furnished with doors and windows, ornamented with a balustrade, and finished inside with taste.

The Methodist church, in Fifth-street, is a capacious stone building, one story high.

The Friends meeting-house, near the western end of the same street, is a temporary wooden building.

The Cincinnati Lancaster seminary, on Fourth-street, in the rear of the Presby-

terian church, is an extensive two story brick edifice, built, with some alterations, on a plan furnished by Isaac Stagg. It consists of two oblong wings, extending from Fourth-street, 88 feet deep. Near the front, they are connected by an apartment, for stair cases, 18 by 30 feet, out of which arises a dome-capped peristyle, designed for an observatory. The front of this intermediate apartment is to be decorated with a colonnade, forming a handsome portico, 12 feet deep and 30 feet long. The front and each side are ornamented with a pediment and Corinthian cornice. The aspect of the building is light, airy, and might be considered elegant, were the doors wider, the pediments longer, and divested of the chimnies, which at present disfigure them. One wing of this edifice is designed for male, the other for female children; and between them there is no connecting passage, except through the portico. The lower stories are finished entire, and calculated for the reception of 900 children. Each upper story is to be divided into three apartments, two in the ends 30 feet square, and one in the centre of 25, with a sky light, and the appurtenances of a philosophical hall. When completed, the whole building can receive about 1100 scholars.

Cincinnati has three Market houses—the two older are supported by a double, the newer one by a triple row of brick pillars. The latter extends nearly the whole distance from Broadway to Sycamore-street, being upwards of 300 feet in length. The others are both shorter and narrower.

The buildings of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, on the bank above Deer-creek, are numerous and extensive; the main edifice is 150 feet long, from 20 to 37 feet wide, and from two to four stories high.

The most capacious, elevated and permanent building in this place, is the steam mill, erected in the years 1812, 13, 14, under the direction of William Green, an ingenious mason and stone cutter, on a plan furnished by George Evans, one of the proprietors. It is built on the river beach, upon a bed of horizontal limestone rocks, and in high floods is for its whole length exposed to the current. The foundation is 62 by 87 feet, and about 10 feet thick. Its height is 110 feet, and the num-

ber of stories nine, including two above the eaves. To the height of 40 feet, the wall is *battered*, or drawn in; above, it is perpendicular. The cornice is of brick, and the roof of wood, in the common style. It has 24 doors and 90 windows. The limestone with which it was built were quarried at various places in the bed of the river, and measure in the wall 6,620 perches. Besides this, it swallowed up 90,000 bricks, 14,800 bushels of lime, and 81,200 cubic feet of timber. Its weight is estimated at 15,655 tons. Through the building there is a wall dividing each story into two unequal apartments—the one designed for manufacturing flour; the other for receiving wool and cotton machinery, a flax seed oil mill, fulling mill, and several other machines.

It is equally creditable to the prudence of the superintendent and the temperance of the labourers, that during the erection of this house, not one serious accident occurred.

#### PRESERVATION FROM FIRE.

The means of accomplishing this, are few and inefficient. They are not therefore introduced on this occasion for imitation, but admonition. In the year 1808, the Select Council purchased a fire engine, and an association called the *Union Fire Company*, comprising nearly all the men in town, was formed. The engine proved indifferent, and the organization of the company still worse. For two years it had not had a single meeting. A second fire company was lately organized, which it is reported, intends to do some good. In 1813, a tax was assessed for the purchase of another engine, but it has not yet been obtained. The ordinances of the corporation require each house to be furnished with a fire bucket, but this requisition is disregarded by the majority. They also require every male citizen, between the ages of 15 and 50 years, to attend on the cry of fire; a provision finely calculated, if enforced, to augment the rabble which infest such places. A more important requisition, considering the absence of those companies, is that each drayman shall furnish at every fire at least two barrels of water. Bonfires, and all other conflagrations on the streets or in lots, are expressly but not successfully forbidden.

(To be continued.)

## REMEDIES.

MR. COBBETT,—I desired the Fund-holder, in a former letter, to compare his baker's and butcher's bills for 1812 and 1815, in order to reconcile him, in some measure, to the attack I found myself reluctantly compelled to make upon his pocket, *for the public good*. I am not sure that the law of Moses would bear me out in this expedient; but of this I am sure, that neither Moses nor Aaron were ever so critically circumstanced as we are; and I doubt whether his provident father-in-law, Jethro, was ever in such a cruel dilemma. But after all, I am for carrying every thing fairly and above board; I would have no back-staircase work; I scorn the very semblance of delusion too cordially, to conceal or shuffle off, under the above comparative statement of 1812 and 1815, *the real bearing of the case as it actually stands*. It is true indeed, that at 4 per cent. the mere Fund-holder would have been on nearly the same footing in 1815, as he was *cæteris imparibus*, at 5 per cent in 1812; but I will not be understood to mean that he would have been, or would be now, as well off as he was in 1792. The Fund-holder who in 1792 had £500 per annum, by my proposed expedient will be reduced to £400: and under this defalcation of £100 per annum, it must not be denied that he will besides find his taxes *more than doubled upon him*, and every article of consumption, from the spectacles on his nose to the save-all on his candlestick, every thing in short, except bread for himself and forage for his horse, *at least 40 per cent. dearer!* So that the man who has the same £10,000 in the 5 per cents. to day, that his father had in 1792, *has fallen*, in the scale of society, *51 degrees below his father*; and stands precisely on the same level, and no higher, as the man who before the war possessed £4,750!! Does this sketch appear to you surcharged? Do you see any thing caricatured about it? Do you think the shades too hard, too gloomy, too much after Vandyke? Ask the Fund-holder himself, and if he does not answer in the negative, I will eat him. To be sure the Edinburgh Reviewer, who absolutely seems to me to review political objects through a Scotch pebble, may give you a *beggarly crust*, gentlemen and ladies of the Funds, and like Peter in the Tale of the Tub, swear

by the sandy beard of his saint, that it is *roast beef, plumb pudding, and good bodied port*, but I say unto you, the proof of the pudding is in the eating; and I should conceive most of you begin to be pretty much of my opinion by this time! However, try this crust as it is, pray examine it a little, bite it, chew it if you please—well? Aye, sure enough it is a crust indeed, and nothing but a crust, and a cursed hard crust too! Gentlefolks, I require no oath, the mere length of your visage, the rising of your shoulder blades are in my eyes “confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ.” Yes, you begin to find in spite of Scotch logic, that a *crust is neither beef nor port!* However, there is no help for that now; besides, as many among you have been almost as clamorous as the Gripum's for the causes which have brought you to it, I would advise you to chew away with all imaginable patience, *feasting your mind* now and then with the remembrance of that GLORY which shines around every one of us as though we had been rubbed over with phosphorus. And, after all, Solomon, who was almost as wise as any of you, expatiates very admirably, if I mistake not, on the excellence of a crust of bread, giving it the preference, on some occasions, to roast pork—no, not roast pork, but you can easily refer to the passage when you are at leisure for such profitable studies. Even if every article of consumption from homely linsey-woolsey, home-made bread, and small beer, to the more dainty luxuries of sparkling champaign, splendid equipages, jewellery and tokay, should instantly return to the prices of 1792, yet not only the farmer, the fund-holder, the shop-keeper, but every man in England, except those servants of the crown, great officers, placemen, &c. whose salaries and allowances generally keep pace, and *a pretty smart pace too*, with the progressive advance of war prices, would at this moment find himself at *least 30 per cent. poorer than in 1792*. But this, even this is impossible, so long as the increased duties on malt, sugar, tea, candles, salt, &c. shall be continued. How impossible?—How! because taxes direct and indirect have multiplied upon us as grievously as the lice multiplied as a curse upon the ill-fated Egyptians; with this difference in favour of Pharoah's people, that *they were plagued only for a season*, whereas, if I err not, the taxes will plague

us and our children unto the third and fourth generation, and later too, if we should chance to stumble upon some other glorious war, either against those rebellious Republicans of the new world who had the impudence to break with us, merely because we insisted on their drinking a *little wholesome tea out of English tea-pots*, or against some of our dear friends of the old world, for the next hundred years. What! a century? Yes, Sir, a century; and if any of you should be unfortunate enough to live till then, though I presume you will not live on clover, I must request you not to forget to have this letter at hand, and get one of your great grand-daughters to read it over to you, and if you do not *even then* feel a twitch, a still sneaking pinch from this National Debt, which now sits brooding like the nightmare upon the body of old England, you may make a bonfire of this volume, and do with me as Elijah *did with the prophets of Baal*.—There is *one consolation*, and if we are wise enough to keep a steady helm and clean sail, as the seaman terms it, this consolation may roll on, increasing like a snow-ball: I mean, Mr. Cobbett, seriously, that if we should continue in a state of peace with all our neighbours for the short period of only one century, and be lucky enough to find demands abroad for our manufactures, and prudent enough to make economy the order of the day, the fashion of the day, *if we can do all this*, then I believe we shall be enabled to strike off three or four millions annually, and thus by little and little prune down the gigantic monster of Public Debt which the foul fiend of war has engendered on the unresisting body of public credit. And though it is not likely that you or I or any of your readers should so far exceed the limits prescribed by the Psalmist to human life, as to derive, *personally*, much benefit from the gradual operation of this diminution, still, as Horace says on another occasion, it may be brought down to a single penny. *When that time comes*, then I hope, nay, *I can affirm positively*, there will be something like a Jubilee, not a cold, *ex-officio*, unmeaning Jubilee of gas, lamps, sham fights, fiery serpents, and tallow candles—but A JUBILEE OF THE HEART—A NATIONAL JUBILEE!

There exists in almost all societies, a kind of reciprocal natural sympathy between the various orders of the state, not

altogether unlike that which subsists in the human body, I say in almost all, because there have been instances to the contrary; we have heard of princes who could coolly play a jig upon the fiddle whilst their dearly beloved subjects were roasting alive like lobsters; and really felt no more than if the poor devils had been dancing instead of burning! However, without multiplying instances, which might be easily done, I may venture to say that in the comparative pauperism of farmers, land-holders, fund-holders, &c. *there are some classes who will sympathize very sincerely and very feelingly*, I mean shop-keepers, inn-keepers, &c. Alas, Sir, on Sunday morning when these honest people, retiring from the bustle of this wicked world into the back-parlour, begin quietly to pile up their copper into shilling heaps, their silver into pounds, and their pound notes by themselves, in order to calculate the profits of the week; *aye, Sir, it is then, it is here that you will see the strong, the secret, the genuine workings and yearnings of this sympathy*. What a picture for the politician! what a falling off! *usque quo Domine!* ejaculates Mr. Traffic, *how long will the poor farmer continue penniless? his orders for spices, mould candles, tea, coffee, lump sugar, &c. no longer cover the leaves of my day-book! all is vanished! even the land-holder becomes as a rara avis! let me see—one, two, three, four,—why! Jeremiah, two years ago the proceeds of the week amounted to more pounds than the last week hath brought in SHILLINGS!! confound that war—I tell thee, Jeremiah, if things do not mend, and that speedily, I must look out for a place—in the GAZETTE!*—Yes, it must come to that, Jeremiah, I assure thee.—This is sympathy—I do not say it proceeds exactly from the soul, but it springs from a much stronger principle, it springs from SELF INTEREST directly through the pocket! Now, I would like to know how this heavenly sentiment operates upon ministers, and principal officers of state, and others in authority? I dare say it must operate very poignantly. Do you think it preys upon their consciences very acutely? do you believe it haunts them by night and by day? or that any of them have really wrapped themselves up in sack-cloth and cinders yet! As to the effects of this feeling upon the lower orders, they



generally appear in *vulgar growling and grumbling*; together with *real or pretended want of work, great idleness, consequent demoralization and much BEGGARY!* The fact is, that whoever expects this country to be what it was twenty-three years ago, what it was before the enormous accumulation of Public Debt, OR WHAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN AT THIS DAY, had we remained at peace, might just as well have expected to see green fields and smiling vineyards on the plains of Sodom, after the sulphureous tempest of hail which blasted every green leaf, or that Lot's wife would have displayed the same heart and soul, and womanly curiosity, after she became a lump of salt, as she possessed in so eminent a degree before her strange metamorphosis! Now, Sir, I have endeavoured to trace IN CHARACTERS OF TRUTH, on the ever-during page of your *National Register*, the principal features of our real situation, not through a gloss darkly: and this I have done with a view of inspiring my countrymen with that **FORTITUDE**, without which no man can bear up under the pressure of the times. Whether the war was just or unjust, is now of little moment to you or to me, so far as regards consequences, the burden is the same. I here repeat, that the only way left us, is to *reduce the expenditure as much as practicable*, and then to lay on the taxation upon the different orders of the community according to their means. This is the only staff, the only stay now left us—**THE SHEET ANCHOR of Old England!** Even when this is done, let no man dream of sleeping on a bed of roses—far from it, the whole country, for many years to come, must consider itself merely in a state of *convalescence*, after an almost miraculous escape from an alarming and dangerous disorder. We must, therefore, be content to live *quietly and soberly*, be satisfied with a mutton chop, and think no more of those barons of beef, hams, and turkeys, which, in better days, were wont to smoke upon the board. We must learn, at once, to come down according to our means; remembering, always, however much the opinion of the great may militate against the fact, that “handsome is who handsome does,” and that even a nobleman may venture to walk to Court, without being eternally

disgraced! *Every man, in every rank, must come down a little*—this is an irksome task; it goes sadly against the grain; but come down a little he must! From the Beggar to the Prince, every soul must feel it his duty to sacrifice some gratification for the good of his country. The Duke and the Lord will, no doubt, claim the foremost place, and be the first to set a salutary example! The Landholder will ease the Farmer a little, though, at the moment of doing it, he himself groans under the weight of increased taxation—that will be his sacrifice. I am sure the ladies of the bed-chamber, maids of honour, &c. yielding to the pressure of the times, will readily dispense with every thing like *salary*, in consideration of the *honour* they enjoy. The Farmer, in lowering, still more, the price of his produce, must come down with it; whilst *his Lady* silently passes from the drawing room into the kitchen, and the young *Miss Cheatum*,

Soon, side by side, with downcast eyes and sobs,  
To market take the long forsaken way;  
The town now all before them, where to sell  
Butter and eggs,—Necessity their guide!

and, piling up their carpets, harps, velvet pelisses, tambours, and satin petticoats, make a *bonfire* of the whole, thus offering up the *vanities* of the last twenty years, as an expiatory sacrifice, at the shrine of Common Sense, to the frowning manes of their repudiated ancestors. The Soldier will gladly give up “the bravery of his tinkling ornaments.” The poor man must come down a little too, and, giving up the *useless* articles of bread and beer and meat, try how *potatoes*, that favourite vegetable of your's, will agree with his stomach! They have been reduced to this diet in Ireland a great many years already: to be sure the lower Irish do look rather lank and hungry; they do not shew much corporation; however, that is nothing, nothing at all when people are used to it. You remember the story of Sir John D. about the clown sewing up the mouth of his ferret; who being reprimanded by some person, *who foolishly imagined it hurt the poor animal*, very coolly replied, “*Odds zooks, Sur, that be nothing—why hur likes it—don't you zee how hur snubs it—ees, ees, hur likes it!*” Should a few thousands go

off into fluxes, what then? To be sure our great grandfathers will look rather strange in the other world, when they find us reduced to potatoes; and our dear grandmothers will turn up the white of their eyes at a fine rate when they behold all this. After all, *potatoes are better than acorns!* I cannot dismiss this topic without a few words *en passant* on the subject of the PROPERTY TAX. To peruse half the encomiums that have been lavished upon this Tax, one would be almost tempted to consider it as the *Summum Bonum*, as a *mighty Blessing*, which, through the medium of a heaven-born Minister, Providence had bestowed on this Island, for the comfort and happiness of the people! According to others, it has been a scourge in the hands of Ministers, a sore evil upon the land. Without strictly enquiring into the merits or demerits of this Tax, I would only ask any body to shew me what good it has done for this country? This simple Tax, mind you, has taken out of our pockets more than 200 millions—Where is all that money gone to? *what good has it done?* Up starts Mr. SHALLOW, with eyes sparkling like tinder for the glory of Government, and a mouth full of zeal for that *snug little matter of 75l. per Quarter*, *What, good Sir? why, a vast deal of good*, exclaims Mr. Shallow:—*in the first place, has it not prevented 200 millions being added to the National Debt?* Indeed! wonderful! what else, Mr. Shallow?—*Why, Sir, it has enabled us, with a few other taxes, to subsidize our dear Friends and Allies with that liberal profusion which is so much admired by other nations—it has further empowered us to reward merit at home, Sir, hem, Sir, I say at home, Sir, though I scorn to speak of number one—Yes, Sir, it has enabled us, thanks be to God for it, together with other taxes and loans, which a wise Government have heaped upon us, to build up that proud monument of Public Credit, the GLORIOUS NATIONAL DEBT, Sir, which towers above all Debts, overshadowing the whole kingdom:—it has enabled us to replace the heroic, the martial, and most Christian Son of St. Louis, himself more than a Saint, Sir, Louis Le Bon, Louis Le Desire, upon the most christian throne of those most christian Ancestors, Sir, who—but I am out of breath, Sir—*

Enough! enough! Let me complete your panegyric, Mr. Shallow—those most glorious Ancestors, you would have said, had not excess of zeal deprived you of breath, who, for ages, most christianly kept this Island in war and trouble,—those christian Ancestors and relatives who most piously assisted those unsanctified Americans to discard their poor old Mother, for merely exercising a *little authority* over them—and, to give a finish to this christian picture, most religiously and christianly played the devil with us whenever, and wherever, we would let them! And now, Mr. Shallow, I beg you to believe, that your unanswerable arguments in favour of this Grand Tax, would have completely convinced me, had I had any doubt on the subject, that the sooner it ~~is~~ <sup>meets</sup> a natural death, or is knocked in the head by the hand of Parliament, the better. B. R.

#### USE OF SPIRITOUS LIQUORS.

Mr. COBBETT,—I was much pleased with the comparative statement in your last Number of the Wages of Labourers in America and in England, and the Prices of the principal necessities of life in the two countries. I say I was pleased with this statement,—because it tends pretty clearly to shew,—that there is at least one country in the world in which the quantity of human wretchedness cannot be very great. It also shews that the amount of human misery must be infinitely less in America than in “this great and happy country.” There is, however, one article in the statement which I object to; not to its correctness, but to the wisdom of inserting it. The article I allude to is the one which states, that an American labourer’s wages will purchase him in America, at least six times the quantity of rum that the wages of an English labourer will purchase here. Now, I think, I am too well acquainted with your correct judgment on all subjects, to suppose that you can mean seriously to say, that this is a very great advantage on the side of the American. On the contrary, Mr. Cobbett, is it not quite clear that it would have been infinitely better for mankind

if such a thing as Spirituous Liquors had never been known; for, can any one doubt but that they have occasioned the commission of great crimes, and have been the cause of great misery? In my

opinion, Sir, a wise and benevolent government would, *if possible*, totally prohibit their use.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
Jan. 15, 1816. A. B.

**PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain; and COURSE OF EXCHANGE with Foreign Countries, during the last Week.**

**BREAD.**—The Quarters Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, varies at from 8½d. to 10d.

**WHEAT.**—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 6s. 7d.—The Sack of Flour, weighing 280lbs. 5s. 6d.

**MEAT.**—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 7½d; Mutton, 7½d; Veal, 8½d; Pork, 6½d.

**WOOL.**—Segovia, 4s. 6d.; Soria, 4s. 3d.; Seville, 3s. 10½d.; Saxony, 1st. 7s. 9d.; Ditto 2d. 5s. 9d. Bohem, 1st. 5s.; 2d. 3s. 3d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, None.—From France, 15.—From India, None.—From Spain, 825 cwt.

**BULLION.**—Gold in bars, 44 2s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 3d. per oz.—Silver in bars, none.—N. B. These are the prices in Bank of England paper.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

**ENGLISH FUNDS.**—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; shut.

**FRENCH FUNDS.**—The price of the FIVE Per Centa, in gold and silver money;

**BANKRUPTCIES.**—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 48.

**COURSE OF EXCHANGE.**

LONDON.	Friday 2.	LONDON.	Friday 2.
Amsterdam .....	37 8 B 2 U	Bilboa .....	36
Ditto at Sight .....	37 2	St. Sebastian .....	34
Amsterdam .....	11 10 C.F.	Coruna .....	34
Ditto at Sight .....	11 7	Gibraltar .....	32
Rotterdam .....	11 11 2 U.	Leghorn .....	49
Antwerp .....	11 12	Genoa .....	46
Hamburgh .....	34 6 2½ U.	Venice .....	25 50
Altona .....	34 7 2½ U.	Malta .....	48
Bremen .....	34 7	Naples .....	41
Paris 1 Day's Date .....	24 40	Palermo .....	116 per oz.
Ditto .....	24 60 2 U.	Lisbon .....	59½
Bordeaux .....	24 60	Oporto .....	59
Frankfort on the Main .....	141 Ex. Mo.	Rio Janeiro .....	64
Madrid .....	36 effective	Dublin .....	15 per Cent.
Cadiz .....	34½ effective	Cork .....	15½
Barcelona .....	34		

Printed and Published by and for WM. COBBETT, Jun. No. 192, Strand; where all Communications (post paid) addressed to the Editor, are requested to be forwarded.

TO THE

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

LETTER XIV.

*Monuments.—Distresses of the Country.—*  
*—Flourishing trade.—Income Tax.—*  
*Hawking Farmers.—Mr. Huskisson.*

London, 7 Feb. 1816.

SIR,—Well, you have met! “The wisdom of parliament” has been resorted to; and, now let us see what that wisdom will be able to accomplish. In the proceedings of the 5th inst. long and flowery harangues appear on the subject of the intended *Monuments* to commemorate our glorious exploits. Some appear to be for two monuments; some for three; and some for a magnificent church into the bargain, or, perhaps, instead of the other two. But, to lay out two or three millions upon these things (equal to a year’s revenue of the United States of America) appears to have been the unanimous desire of all present. But, Sir, ~~what~~ overlook, in this grand commemoration, the merits of the old Lady in Threadneedle Street? Had she nothing to do in the bringing of the Prussians and Hanoverians to Waterloo? Had she nothing to do in arming the bands of La Vendée against Napoleon? Had she nothing to do in smoothing the way to Paris? Had she nothing to do in bringing forward the million of armed Germans against the two hundred thousand armed Frenchmen? Is no column to be erected to the memory of her exploits? The bold talker, Pitt, said (when he proposed that sinking fund, which Mr. SPOONER, at the Meeting of the Bath Society, called a “political humbug”) that all he desired was, that, at his death, his name might be inscribed on a great pillar erected to “public credit.” Now, pray, Sir, do not forget this broad hint. Do not, in your bustle, forget the merits of the “Great Statesman, now no more.” The blessings of his great system are now pouring forth upon us. We are *feeling* them. And, therefore, it appears to be rather unjust not to erect a Monument of the sort here spoken of.

There were some parts, however, of our wars, which were, in those speeches, passed over in silence, and especially the war with America. Yet that war was of great consequence. The *Morning Chronicle* allowed, that the affair at Washington was “the most brilliant dash of the whole war.” General Ross merited, you know, a monument, and also General *Pakenham*! Why, then, not even mention this part of the war? This war seems to have been of so little consequence as to have been already *wholly forgotten*, though the peace has not been made more than thirteen months. As a complete proof of which I need only cite a sentence from the speech of Mr. Banks, who, in speaking of the feats of the Navy since the battle of Trafalgar said: “Of that meritorious branch of our service, it might be said, in the language of the great Roman, *Ubi triumphat non esse habiturus*. Where was it to triumph, when there was no enemy to encounter?” Now, Sir, it is very certain that the affairs between the Java, the *Guerrero*, the *Macedonian*, the squadrons on Lakes Erie and Champlain; and the frigates and squadrons of America, have all taken place since the battle of Trafalgar. It is perfectly notorious, that the Navy have yielded, in various instances to the “bits of bunting;” and, therefore, that it has made a shift to find out enemies since the battle of Trafalgar. Yet does this fact appear to be wholly overlooked, and, indeed, as I said before, to be forgotten; and America seems to be no more thought of than any one of the little isles of Sky. Lord Castlereagh did, indeed, just name America, incidentally. He was observing upon the rapid movements of the army; and, said, that, when he arrived at Paris, “he saw there a regiment, which had been at the battle of Thoulouse, which had afterwards been in America, and, within the space of fifteen months, they were then, in July last, at the gates of Paris.” This regiment “had been in America.” What to do there his lordship did not say. He did not say whether they had been at Chipec.

F

wa, at Fort Erie, at Plattsburgh, at Baltimore, or at New Orleans; and, indeed, though one cannot help being pleased with the amiable naïveté of the expression of his lordship, I really wonder why he mentioned even the name of America.

So much, Sir, for *Monuments*; but, I could not help being struck with the sequel of the proceedings of the day above-mentioned. "*Monuments of Glory*" was the first head, as it stood in the report; and "*Distressed state of the Country*," to be moved on by Mr. Western, was the second! Only a few months ago I published my work, or, rather, re-published it, called, "*Paper against Gold, and Glory against Prosperity*." How curious, that even in the proceedings of parliament, the aptness of this title should so soon have been recognized! Mr. Western will, I dare say, do as much justice to his subject as any man can; but, I defy him, because I defy any human powers, to paint the distresses of this country in their true light; I defy any tongue or any pen to do them justice, or to describe, even by partial instances, the distress, the misery, the distracted state of mind of a very large portion of the community.

This brings me back to the first day's proceedings, the report of which I shall publish entire, as I find it in the *Morning Chronicle* (always the best reporter), because this day's proceedings open upon us with a new era in our domestic affairs. The humble tone of that day, on the part of you and your colleagues, was something new. You would fain have followed in the strain of Sir Thomas Ackland, the mover of the address, but you *felt* that it was not the strain that took with the hearers. You, however, Sir, did make one bold assertion, if the reporter be correct. You said, that the *cost* of the war had been great, but, that the Englishman, who, if he had his choice, would not prefer our present augmentation of *glory*, accompanied with its cost, to the state of 1792, must be a base wretch. Now, Sir, I certainly do most deeply lament that we went to war in 1792 against the French, and in 1812 against the Americans. If we take all the events, and the results, of both wars into view, I do not think that we gained one particle in point of glory. As to our gains in point of character for *good faith*, I do not presume to judge of that. But, on the

other hand, I know well what our pecuniary losses are. I knew, that, before the war, our taxes amounted to no more than 13 millions a year, and that they now amount to more than 70. I knew, that 60 millions a year are looked upon as necessary to the peace establishment, 44 millions of which are wanted for the national debt. I know that, before the war, the 3 per cent funds were at 96, and that now they are only at 60, though wheat was as dear at that time, or, very nearly as dear, as it is now. I know, that the paupers cost before the war, little more than *two* millions a year; that, in 1805, they cost more than *five* millions a year; and that, at this time, though the food for them is not but very little dearer than it was before the war, they must cost *eight* millions a year, if not more. I know all these things, Sir, and, knowing them, I do not think myself a base wretch, merely because I do not prefer our present state to the state of 1792, when all was peace, confidence, prosperity and happiness. So you see, Sir, that, upon this as well as other points, men may differ in opinion. You think our present state better than that of 1792: I do not.

During the Debate before us the *distresses of the country* formed the chief topic. No one spoke, it appears, very plainly; some feeble efforts were made to rally the spirit of the House round the standard of *glory*, but the feeling kept constantly leaning towards the subject of *distress*. Your noble colleague, on the whole of whose speech I cannot remark here, seemed to imagine, that the distresses of the country had been *exaggerated*. By whom? Not a pen, except mine, has moved on the subject of those distresses. I, indeed, have made some feeble attempts to paint them; but, it has appeared to be the chief object with the rest of the press to *disguise them*, or, at least to palliate their nature. It was easy to see, that these distresses would come in *peace*. It was easy to see, that we could not live and carry on commerce in peace, and, at the same time, pay 44 millions a year on account of the debt of the nation. It was easy to see, that the paper-money must, in peace, soon depreciate to a mere nothing in value; or, that wheat must come down to five or six shillings a bushel. It was easy to see that it would be impossible, in peace, to keep up a par of exchange and to have corn so dear as to

enable people to pay 60 millions of taxes. It was easy to foresee, that, when we came to settle down in peace, either the interest of the Debt, or great part of it, must, in a few years, go unpaid, or, that the farmer and landlord must lose all their property, unless the paper-money was kept in a depreciated state, which could not be consistent with the commercial interest. It was easy to foresee, in short, that one part or another of the community must be reduced to the very verge of utter ruin by the effects of the war, felt in peace. But, Sir, though all this must have been foreseen by thousands of persons, not one single writer, or speaker, *foretold* any such thing, except myself; and, it is very well known what execrations were heaped upon me for so doing. And I must confess, that I do feel great gratification to see my language now beginning to be held by those, who have so long been abusing me for the use of that very language.

One gentleman is reported to have said, that, unless great and substantial reductions of expenditure took place, he was afraid that parliament must, at last, *break faith with the public creditor*: another, that the fund-holder was now receiving, in reality, *double the interest of the money that he had lent*, and that something should be done to *equalize the burdens of the fund-holder and the land-holder*: another, that ruin and confusion in all money affairs overspread the country. It was cheering to me to hear this, because, in time, one gets tired of standing quite alone. But, still, most of the gentlemen seemed to be of opinion, that the *distress was temporary*. It may be so; but, I can assure them, that it can be rendered temporary only by the issuing of great additional quantities of paper-money. I can assure them, and it is not being very presumptuous now to expect, that they will attend a little to what I say, that this is the *only* way of rendering the distress of short duration, and, indeed, the only way of preventing its being much greater and more general than it now is, Mr. LOCKART, in the Tuesday's debate, being perfectly right when he said that the distress was only just begun. Yet, far be it from me to wish to see such issues of paper-money. The distress must come, in one shape or another; there must, I am convinced, be great suffering in this nation; and, I agree with Mr. MARRIOT, that such suffering

is *wholesome*, though, perhaps, we may not have the same notion respecting what is *political health*.

As to the *cause* of the distress there does not appear to have been any one, who ventured much upon that ground, except your noble colleague, late from the country of Louis le Desiré; and even he seems to have thought the ground very tender. What he is reported to have said, however, is this: "that every man of any knowledge must know, that the *transferring of large masses of capital from the affairs of war to those of peace* must necessarily create temporary inconvenience and distress." Now, for my part, at the hazard of being set down for a person of no knowledge, I will frankly declare that so far from my having anticipated any distress from this cause, I do not understand what his lordship could mean. Nay, it appears to me, that, if great masses of capital had been transferred to the affairs of peace from those of war, we should have seen new enclosures taking place in *increased number*, and the *rents and price of lands rise*. Just the contrary of this is notoriously the fact. I could easily see, indeed, that the distress arose out of that diminution of the paper-money, which was rendered necessary in order to get exchanges to pay, in time of peace; or, in other words, that the war had by creating an immense Debt, rendered distress inseparable from peace. But, this was a view of the matter, which no one, as yet, besides myself, has thought proper publicly to take.

However, amidst all this gloom, we are bidden to be gay upon the subject of our Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenue, the state of which both the speech of the Regent and that of your noble colleague tell us is *very flourishing*. As to the cause of the increase, for this one year, in the amount of Manufactures exported, Mr. BARNES has, in the second day's debate, fully accounted for that in the singular circumstance of a *triple supply to America*, which, of course, will not occur again, and which supply, being perhaps, in great part on mere speculation, will only serve to fill the Treasury of the Republic at the expense of English adventurers. This agrees exactly with the accounts that I have from that country, and, I am fully persuaded, that you will soon find it to be but too true. As

to Commerce, Mr. BARING said, and every merchant and shop-keeper knows, that, whether external or internal, it never was in so distressed a state in the memory of the oldest man living. Indeed, Sir, how is it possible to be otherwise, when the stocks in trade were laid in, for the most part, when wheat was 15s. or 20s. a bushel, and are to be sold out with wheat at 6s. a bushel. It is useless to seek for particular facts as to trade and commerce. The eternal principles of trade tell us, that, under such a change it *must* suffer equally with agriculture, and that, from the same cause, manufactures *must* suffer in the same degree. But, Sir, there was one branch of *exports*, which your noble colleague appears to have thought unworthy of notice: I mean the self-exportation of *persons*: the *rich* to the Continent of Europe, in search of cheap living and low taxes; and *useful* to the Republic in search of high wages and other things which I need not here describe. Yet, this was an important item in a question of national prosperity. The *Customs*, it was acknowledged, had fallen off a little and also the war taxes a little; but, that the *Excise* had *increased*. Mr. BARING remarked on the wonderful circumstance, and expressed his happiness by anticipation, if it should prove to be *true*. It may, however, all be very true, and yet afford no ground for rejoicing; for, it is well known, that the *receipts* by government in the quarter ending the 5th of January 1816, correspond, not with the *collections* made, or *duties become due*, in that quarter, but in quarters previous, *before the grand cause of distress begun to operate*. However, we have the statement now upon record, and a short time will put its correctness to the test; or, at least, the soundness of the inference grounded upon it. The receipts of next July will tell us, whether, in January, our revenue was in "*a flourishing state*."

That the *Income, or Property, Tax* is intended to be continued at 5 per centum is really a matter of surprise with me, who always thought, that it would be continued at 10 per centum. And I now think, that, unless the petitioners pray for *some reduction of expenditure*; some large and *specific* reduction, at the same time, that they petition against the Income Tax, they will act a very *inconsistent part*, to say the least of their conduct, to describe their

conduct in the mildest terms. When they met the last time to petition against the continuation of this Tax, we were at war with America, yet the petitioners would nowhere agree to say a word against that war. They approved of your continuing that unfortunate war, but not of your calling upon them to continue paying for war! At our meeting in Hampshire, where the petition was brought forward and supported by Lord NORTHAMPTON, Sir Wm. HEATHCOTE, Mr. PORTAL, and other great landholders, I proposed an amendment, which was seconded by Mr. HUNT of that county, and, in which amendment we prayed for the reduction of the army and other branches of expenditure to the standard of the last peace, urging, as a ground for this amendment, that it was mere cavilling, mere factiousness, to cry out against the Income Tax, and to call it a "*highwayman's tax*," as Mr. PORTAL had done, unless we accompanied our prayer for its repeal with some prayer for such a reduction of expenditure as would enable the Ministry to pay their way without that tax. This proposition, though urged with great force of eloquence and with the most conclusive reasoning by Mr. HUNT, was finally rejected by the Meeting, though I cannot help thinking, that the noble Earl then present (and for whom I always shall, I am sure, entertain great respect), as well as the other persons, who voted against us, will now have the justice to call to mind, that I, so long ago as the day of that Meeting, assured them, that *they must always continue to pay the Income tax*; or, that *Loans must be made in time of peace to help pay the interest of the Debt*; or, that a *deduction must be made from the interest then received by the Fund-holder*. I appeal to my Lord Northampton, to Sir William Heathcote, to Sir Charles Mill, to Mr. Portal, Mr. Poulter, and to every gentleman then present for the correctness of this statement. They have now found my opinion right; they now must see that one of the three must take place; and, I do think it in the highest degree inconsistent to petition against the continuance of the tax, unless we are prepared to call for *peace loans*, or for a *partial sponge*.

While, therefore, I cordially agree with Mr. Brougham, as every man must, in his description, on the first day of the session, of the nature and operation of this tax;

while I admire his eloquence and especially his boldness upon that occasion, and look upon the latter as a symptom that he has no desire to become a Lord Chancellor or an Attorney General, I must still say, that I do not see the use of such descriptions, however just, unless the describer be prepared to show, that, by *specific* reductions of expenditure, which he proposes, the Ministers will be able to square their accounts without this tax. The uneasiness that the people feel under this tax; the weight of payment; the direct interference which it gives the taxgatherer in their concerns; the *personal* attendance on taxing-men that it demands in case of appeal. All these, and many other things that might be named, makes it very popular to speak against it. But, it never should be spoken against unaccompanied by the observation, that it has been the purchase money of that prodigious stock of *glory*, which the nation has acquired; that, without this tax Napoleon would not now be at St. Helena and the great Duke at Paris; that, without this tax "the cause of legitimacy," so highly prized by John Bull, would not have prevailed; that the Bourbons would still have been in exile; that his Holiness, the Pope, would still have been out of his predecessor, St. Peter's, Chair; that the Jesuits would still have been kicked about like dogs; that the Holy Walls of the Convents would for ever have lamented the loss of their good cheer; that the pious Ferdinand would have remained absent from his country; that the Inquisition would have continued exploded; that the Protestants of France would, to this day, and, perhaps, for ever, have been compelled to live under the laws of the Bonaparte's; that Governor Strong and the Cossack Priests of new England would never have had occasions for jubilee processions; and, though last not least, that the burning of "the proud capitol of Washington" would never, perhaps, have given the Morning Chronicle an opportunity of recording "the most brilliant dash of the whole war."

The Income Tax is hated by every body, except those who live on the taxes. Therefore the opposition to it is popular; but, if the Fund-holder were told, that his interest cannot be paid in full, without the collection of this tax; and, if the farmer were told, that the Fund-holders will

pay the sum in this tax, which you cannot get from them in any other way, I think, that the opposition to it would not be quite so popular. However, let the grumbling go on. It is of little consequence; for what is not paid in Income Tax will be paid in some other tax, or the dividends will go unpaid.

The *howling of the farmers* makes a great noise; and, I see, that, in the new vocabulary, they are called *agriculturists*. This is one of the fine words, which have risen up with the Cattle show gentry, though I would stake my life that, take the hundred first farmers you meet with, they neither know the meaning of the word nor the pronunciation of it. They are a people who always cry out the moment they are hurt. They are fully equal to the Fox in cunning; but, they do not at all resemble that gallant animal in suffering themselves to be torn limb from limb, and expiring without even a wince. They do howl most melodiously to be sure; but, it is not without cause. They are, as a body, upon the point of ruin, and have been only sustained by the hope, that "*zummut would be done*" when parliament should meet. They will now find that "*zummut*" is to be done in reality. They will see that the Income Tax, at 5 per centum, is to be paid by them in peace; that all their assessed taxes are to be continued; and that, in short, their present happy lot is not to be of a mere transitory nature. They will be plunged into despair; and though Jacobins may be inclined to laugh at them, they are too numerous a class to be abandoned to the relief afforded by rope and rats' bane. Therefore, it seems to me, that some consolation ought to be administered to them. In a *cheap* way, of course. In a way consistent with principles of economy. I should recommend them to be supplied with *Moore's Almanack* for the current year, where they would gather what the configuration of the planets "portend" for them, and imbibe at the same time, some very religious and loyal sentiments. But, they take care to supply themselves with this useful work, in order to know one month what sort of *weather* they shall have next month. A small tract, on cheap paper, containing a faithful account of the sufferings of the people of France, since the restoration of the Bourbons, describing all the burnings, guttings of houses, hangings



and shootings, with a little wood cut at the head of it representing the killing of Marshal Ney: such a work would be of great use in soothing and consoling their minds. The provincial papers convey to them a good deal of consolation of this sort; but, if done in the style of Moore's Almanack, and put into the form of a book, it would be a vast deal more efficacious. They would con it over during the winter-evenings, and on Sunday afternoons. A similar tract on the subject of our achievements in America, such as the affairs at Frenchtown (which merited punishment for its name), at Hampton, at Alexandria and at the River Resin, having a frontispiece representing the flames consuming the buildings at Washington, with the motto: "the *most brilliant dash of the whole war*," would amuse and please, and console them for their sufferings. Then, as there must be drawings and engravings of the stupendous monuments about to be erected, I do not think it would be deemed extravagant if each of them were to be furnished with a copy. Their wives and daughters would be delighted with these "*pranks*," as they call all pictures; and could hardly grudge a quarter's taxes on account of them. This would be carrying consolation into every house, and that, too, at a cheap rate. The Londoners are amused with the sight of Napoleon's coach, his shirts, his towels, his bidet, his hat, his sash, his wash-hand basin, &c. &c. The Londoners saw the temple of victory; and the defeat of the Americans on the Serpentine River. The Londoners saw the life guards, the other day, come in from conquering France, with the Duke of York at their head, who had been to meet them at Blackheath. The Londoners see all the fine things; and why should not the farmers enjoy a few of them? In short, Sir, my notion is, that the *press*, which has done so much in urging on the war, may now be made most efficiently useful in producing tranquillity of mind, under the burdens that the war has left behind it.

As to the country gentlemen and nobility, not one of whom, with the sole exception of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, has *opposed the war* for more than 12 years last past, they will now, no doubt, cheerfully bear all the burthens that the war has entailed upon them. It would be to offend them, I am sure, to suppose, that they will

grudge any thing that may be demanded of them for the purposes of faithfully paying the public creditor, and of maintaining the exalted situation we have attained in the scale of nations.

All being thus *willing* to pay taxes, the only difficulty will be for them to obtain the *means*; and, I dare say, if you were to apply to that old friendly-society gentleman, Mr. George Rose, he would put you in the way of contriving *saving banks* for the farmers and their landlords as well as for labourers, which latter he has, with his usual success, already organized. The farmers might deposit their (tw) pences and the landlords their shillings, to lie and "accumulate at compound interest," to form a purse for them "in case of sickness, or of old age." I am sure they have upheld George for a great many years: I do not know why he should not now come to their assistance. Besides, George has written pamphlets, the object of which was to convince this "thinking" people, that it was absolutely necessary, not only to their temporal, but to their *eternal*, safety, that they should give their money to carry on war against the Republicans of France and Napoleon. He is, therefore, bound, I think, to come to our aid and consolation in this moment, when the triumph of his cause has actually plunged us into distress.

The public are disappointed, and I more than any body else, that Mr. HUSKISSON has not given us *his* opinion of the state of things. I should like to have him on the opposite side of my table, at this moment, and to ask him this plain question: Do you think, that 40 millions a year can be collected, during the three next years (this included) if wheat continue at 6s. a bushel? I should like to put this one question to him; and if he answered in the negative, as, I think, he would, I should then ask him how he would go to work to *raise* the price of wheat? And, if he said, that he had no means of doing this, I should ask him how he meant to carry on the concern? He would, I believe, confess, between him and me, that such exertions, as this nation has been making, must in the end, produce *feebleness*; and, I think, that he would further confess, that, out of this feebleness, would grow, or be very likely to grow, greater danger from without than we have ever known at any period of the late wars.

As to the intended *discussion* on the *distressed state of the country*, it is impossible for me to know *what* it will produce; but, there can certainly be no benefit attending a mere *display* of those distresses. They are known and felt in every family, which does not live upon the taxes. It cannot, therefore, be of any use more to paint them in speeches in parliament. And yet, give me leave to say, that I do not believe, that such discussions can lead to any practical result of any real utility, unless there be some measure proposed for taking off at least 20 millions of the taxes now paid. Mr. COKE, on the first day of the session, complained, that the farmers had *no market* for their grain. This was a mistake to be sure; for they can always sell it for *something*. They have always a *market*; but, it is *high price* that they want; and, I defy any human power to give them this, without augmenting the quantity of the paper-money. When the low price was imputed to the *importations from abroad*, the remedy was easy, supposing the importations to have been the real cause and the only cause. The remedy was applied, but it was soon found to be useless, because the far greater part of the cause of low price did not consist in the importations. The cause that *now* operates is a very different one indeed. It is general and powerful, and must be durable, unless removed by new issues of paper. It is strange that Mr. COKE should not see this cause; and, if he does see it, that he should content himself with merely talking of the *evil*. If Mr. Western does not do more than this, he may as well do nothing at all; for, as to a mere display of the distresses of the country, it will be perfectly useless. Great, however, are the *expectations* from the result of that day's proceedings. The farmers think that *summut* is yet to be *done* for them, and so do the shop-keepers. I should not like to have excited such expectations, unless I were resolved to lay all *bare*, and to propose, in the most distinct terms, a return, through thick and thin, to the expences of 1792, when wheat was nearly as dear as it is at this hour, and, perhaps, as it ever will be again. Mr. WESTMAN may be assured, that *nibbling* will do no good. It must be a *bite*, and a bite, too, that will make the teeth meet, and even take out the piece. It must be, not the snap of a well-bred spaniel, but

the unrelenting grip of a bull-dog. This is too harsh, you will say. Well, then, the thing may as well remain as it is; for we are past all help from barking and snapping.

WM. COBBETT.

REGENT'S SPEECH,  
AND COMMON'S DEBATE ON THE 1ST FEB.  
1816.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to express to you his deep regret at the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.

"The Prince Regent directs us to acquaint you that he has had the greatest satisfaction in calling you together, under circumstances which enable him to announce to you the restoration of Peace throughout Europe.

"The splendid and decisive successes obtained by his Majesty's arms, and those of his Allies, had led, at an early period of the campaign, to the re-establishment of the authority of his Most Christian Majesty in the capital of his dominions; and it has been since that time his Royal Highness's most earnest endeavour to promote such arrangements as appeared to him best calculated to provide for the lasting repose and security of Europe.

"In the adjustment of these arrangements it was natural to expect that many difficulties would occur; but the Prince Regent trusts it will be found that, by moderation and firmness, they have been effectually surmounted.

"To the intimate union which has happily subsisted between the Allied Powers, the nations of the Continent have twice owed their deliverance. His Royal Highness has no doubt that you will be sensible of the great importance of maintaining in its full force that alliance, from which so many advantages have already been derived, and which affords the best prospect of the continuance of peace.

"The Prince Regent has directed copies of the several treaties and conventions which have been concluded to be laid before you.

"The extraordinary situation in which the powers of Europe have been placed, from the circumstances which have attended the French Revolution, and more especially in consequence of the events of last

year, has induced the Allies to adopt precautionary measures, which they consider as indispensably necessary for the general security.

"As his Royal Highness has concurred in these measures, from a full conviction of their justice and sound policy, he relies confidently on your co-operation in such proceedings as may be necessary for carrying them into effect.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*—The Prince Regent has directed the Estimates for the present year to be laid before you.

"His Royal Highness is happy to inform you, that the Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenue of the United Kingdom are in a flourishing condition.

"The great exertions which you enabled him to make in the course of the last year, afforded the means of bringing the contest in which we were engaged to so glorious and speedy a termination.

"The Prince Regent laments the heavy pressure upon the country which such exertions could not fail to produce; and his Royal Highness has commanded us to assure you, that you may rely on every disposition on his part, to concur in such measures of economy, as may be found consistent with the security of the country, and with that station which we occupy in Europe.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*—The Negotiations which the Prince Regent announced to you, at the end of the last Session of Parliament, as being in progress, with a view to a Commercial Arrangement between this Country and the United States of America, have been brought to a satisfactory issue. His Royal Highness has given orders, that a copy of the Treaty which has been concluded shall be laid before you; and he confidently trusts, that the stipulations of it will prove advantageous to the interests of both countries, and cement the good understanding which so happily subsists between them.

"The Prince Regent has commanded us to inform you, that the hostilities in which we have been involved in the Island of Ceylon, and on the Continent of India, have been attended with decisive success.

"Those in Ceylon have terminated in an arrangement highly honourable to the British character, and which cannot fail to augment the security and internal prosperity of that valuable Possession.

"The operations in India have led to an Armistice, which gives reason to hope that a Peace may have been concluded on terms advantageous to our interests in that part of the world.

"At the close of a contest so extensive and momentous as that in which we have been so long engaged in Europe, and which has exalted the character and military renown of the British nation beyond all former example, the Prince Regent cannot but feel, that under Providence he is indebted for the success which has attended his exertions, to the wisdom and firmness of Parliament, and to the perseverance and public spirit of his Majesty's people.

"It will be the Prince Regent's constant endeavour to maintain, by the justice and moderation of his conduct, the high character which this country has acquired amongst the nations of the world: and his Royal Highness has directed us to express his sincere and earnest hope, that the same union amongst ourselves, which has enabled us to surmount so many dangers, and has brought this eventful struggle to so auspicious an issue, may now animate us in peace, and induce us cordially to co-operate in all those measures which may best manifest our gratitude for the Divine protection, and most effectually promote the prosperity and happiness of our country."

Sir THOMAS ACLAND, after some preliminary observations of an apologetic nature, said he thought he might safely state, that for five and twenty years the House had not heard a Speech from the Throne that gave them such satisfaction as the one which had just been read, and which gave them an assurance of peace throughout Europe, indeed he might almost say throughout the whole civilized world. He regretted that his Royal Highness had been prevented from making his appearance in Parliament, and giving himself that assurance and receiving those congratulations, to which, from the proud situation of the country, he was so justly entitled. [Hear, hear!]  
—The sound of Peace was one of which had long been nearly a stranger to our ears, and if when the documents should be laid before the House, disclosing the particulars of the arrangements, it should appear that these arrangements were of a nature to add to our honour and national glory, he hoped the



address of congratulation which he intended to submit to the House would not be found too warm for the occasion. The object for which the Allied Powers had been contending during the last two years was peace, and peace alone. It was in this spirit that the Allies first appeared before the gates of Paris, and demanded a renunciation of those principles which for more than twenty years had desolated the face of Europe. In that spirit they came in the right of conquerors to that haughty city; and the only severity which they inflicted on the conquered, when they had power in their hands, was to remove the man, who was the author of so many disasters, to the French themselves, as well as to Europe. The situation in which that man was then placed had allowed him to avail himself of the facilities which it afforded him of exciting fresh disturbances, and of renewing the military principles which had been put down. The conduct of the Allies to France was the fairest that could possibly be—they had met on fair and equal terms her who had never in her days of success offered fair and equal terms to any of her opponents—they had only demanded back from her the conquests which she had made from her neighbours. He was proud that this country had taken the lead on that occasion. Not only was this lenity observed, but when it was necessary soon after to assemble a Congress to heal the breaches, and repair the disorganization occasioned by the conduct of France, she was invited to meet the other Powers, and to assist in repairing those breaches of which she had been the cause; and the different Sovereigns went to Vienna in good faith, and with the intention of enforcing all those restorations which justice demanded. But they had not long sat, when Bonaparte burst again from his retreat, and again rekindled the flames which it had already cost so much blood to extinguish. He entered France with a sort of military ovation, availing himself of the surprise and apathy of the people. Europe saw this return with the indignation which it deserved, and followed up that indignation with measures of corresponding energy. The Allies renewed hostile operations—this country joined heartily in the cause—it felt that if it did not, all the exertions of twenty years would be thrown away and lost. When the question came

last Session before the House, a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Grattan we believe) had advocated the cause of Europe in a speech distinguished for the most brilliant eloquence,—he had put his shoulder to the wheel,—and he recollected the effect which that speech then produced on the House. The result was fortunate. A fearful anxiety, and almost a gloom had prevailed during the preparations; but thanks to Almighty God the same success which had already crowned the just efforts of the Allies, was again vouchsafed to them on the plains of Waterloo.—It seemed as if it had been the struggle between the good and evil principle; and as if the evil principle had put forth all its power in one great effort. He was not saying too much, perhaps, when he stated, that there was only one man, and the troops of one nation, which could have stood the shock of that day, in which all the former achievements of our great commander were surpassed. What was the result? The King of France was again restored to his capital, and it afforded again the hope of peace to Europe.—Bonaparte, as was usual with him in danger, retired from it, and abdicated; and the first opportunity which we had of seeing him again was on our own shores,—not as a conqueror, but begging admission into our country, and claiming our protection.—It was a painful sight, when we considered what he then was, and what he might have been;—to see him supplicating admission into that very country which he had so much reviled. He could not but congratulate his Majesty's Government on the course which they had then pursued. The enemy was in their power, and they had treated him with all the kindness which he was capable of receiving; but while they treated him with kindness, they had not neglected the safety and security of Europe—or allowed the existence of any thing which might possibly waken, in the fallen Chief or his associates, the hope of violating the peace of Europe, which they had already so often disturbed. Such was the course of events up to the period when they last met; and the Speech of his Majesty informed them of what events had since taken place. The terms of the Peace had been arranged and secured, and subsequent measures had been entered on for securing the repose of Europe; and they were also informed, that those prin-

ciples of moderation and firmness, and those precautionary measures, for which we were peculiarly indebted for the success of our armies, were to be adhered to. There were some circumstances arising out of the communication, deserving of their notice and of their congratulation. Having a person to deal with desirous of peace, and whom we had as yet no reason to suspect of bad faith—having some degree of certainty of securing the object of our wishes, a spirit of moderation and firmness ought peculiarly to have guided the conduct of his Majesty's Government and the Allies—the spirit which we had shewn before ought not to have deserted us. But experience had shewn us the propriety of not leaving France in the possession of more power than was consistent with the repose of Europe, and of taking such precautions as would enable us to repel any aggressions which France might be again induced to make. We had shewn Europe that the cause of justice, for which we had fought, did not desert us in the hour of success: We had shewn this in depriving the French of the statues and pictures of which they had unjustly rifled others. The French themselves prized them as a remainder of their trophies, which the Allies had not had courage to take away—they were taken away now for ever [hear, hear!]  
—this was due to those from whom they had been taken—it was due to the French themselves, to prevent them from having before their eyes a constant temptation to disturb the world. We ourselves had nothing to get—we stood there, as we had often done, the friends of the Fine Arts, and of the weak—[hear, hear!]  
—and it did not appear that of all those stores of art, there was one piece which had come into our possession. That we might have obtained some of them, if we had even hinted a wish, there can be little doubt; but this we had properly disdained [hear, hear!]  
This was indeed a most gratifying circumstance; and France had indeed, to speak in the language of our great Commander, received a great moral lesson, which would not soon be forgotten. It was scarcely necessary to remind the House, that we had claimed nothing for ourselves beyond what we had at the Treaty of Paris. It was gratifying, after all was done, to think that all our measures were merely for safety, and not for aggrandizement. When, therefore, I call

on the House to concur with me, in an Address of Congratulation, I think I may say that a more glorious æra never occurred in the annals of this country. The only period which could properly admit of comparison, was that proud one to which Englishmen were accustomed to look back with exultation—during the reign of Queen Anne. We had been fighting on both occasions in the cause of Europe—we had been opposing the same system—and we had now a General who, if he did not surpass, was certainly at least equal to him who in the former period gained such honour to his country. What we had obtained then fell short of what was desired. Yet there was one good omen for us—a peace of moderation had been followed by a tranquillity of 25 years. Better terms might have been obtained in that war some years before, than those which were at last obtained; but no Member could point out a period when we had an opportunity of removing that military principle against which we combated before the time when the Treaty was signed. There was one point more to which he would allude. At the peace of Utrecht we obtained in the Assent Contract a monopoly of the Slave Trade. It was hardly necessary to contrast our conduct at this time. Our exertions for Africa had been at length successful, and Ministers had obtained a recognition from the French Ministry of an entire and unqualified abolition of the Slave Trade. In calling on the House to concur in voting an Address of warm congratulation, he believed he was speaking the sense of the country in general. He wished to call the particular attention of the House to that part of the Address which mentioned the difficulties and distresses of the country, in consequence of those struggles which had at length been so successful. We could not fairly judge of the difficulties and distresses of the country as connected with that cause, except we considered, at the same time, the dangers and difficulties from which we had been delivered, in consequence of those struggles. Supposing matters had turned out otherwise—supposing victory had been on the side of France—that we had had an apparent peace and a real war—we should have been in the same distress, only in all probability, twenty times worse than that we are now in. We ought to consider what

would have been the alternative if we had made peace, for the benefit of the Ruler of France, and not ourselves. We ought to consider with respect to our distress, that unless it had been increased by any misconduct on our part—that if it was such as could not have been avoided, it was not the part of wise men to complain, because the great blessings which they had obtained were accompanied with some evils. What other country was in a more enviable situation! Was France the object of our envy? or Prussia and Saxony? Even Austria and Russia were so situated with respect to their finances, that we had reason to congratulate ourselves that we were not as they were. What was the state of this country at the end of the American war? Could Ministers then have come down to the House and tell them, as had been done that day, that the revenue and commerce of the country were in a flourishing state? And yet what had been done by an enlightened Minister in the short space of ten years? Then, like wise men, we ought to bear in mind that we should soon recover from any temporary distress. But if there was cause for not despairing of our situation, and looking at the darker side of the picture, there was, at least, cause to look into that situation with the utmost attention. It was with the House and his Majesty's Ministers to recollect what exertions the country had made during the last twenty-five years; they had borne the pressure in an unexampled manner—they had borne it, because they believed their duty to their country required it, and because they had hopes that on the return of peace they would be at rest. They had shewn great confidence in the measures of those who had conducted matters to such a successful result. He thought his Majesty's Ministers would admit that they had a claim to all attention. He said this without meaning to impeach the sincerity of Ministers, and believing that they would give us all the relief in their power consistent with our security. This was the feeling of the country, and Ministers would not do their duty if they did not act in such a manner. There were many persons in the country in great and serious distress: whether the cause was temporary or not, if it admitted of a remedy, that remedy ought to be adopted. Many persons had been entirely thrown out of employment, from the

removal of the capital at the disposal of Government. Many of those who had exerted themselves in the cause of their country, were now labouring under great difficulties.

*"At tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictæ.  
Hanc mihi me spern ferre tui: audentior ibo  
In causâ omniæ."*

The Honourable Gentleman concluded by observing, that he thought he could not discharge his duty better to those who sent him there, than by calling on the House to congratulate his Royal Highness on the state of security in which the country was now standing; and he accordingly moved an Address, re-echoing the Speech of his Royal Highness.

Mr. METHUEN rose to second the Address. We were not now called on merely to congratulate the Prince Regent on the gallant conduct of our troops, but to congratulate him on the prospect of a lasting and glorious peace. The Honourable Gentleman panegyricised the conduct of the Duke of Wellington. By him the genius of Napoleon had been defeated—he had placed us in a situation which was, perhaps, the proudest in our annals. We had now the reward of our exertions. By our example Europe had been recovered, and our enemy was indebted for existence to that very Britain whom he had so often reviled. We had witnessed a gratifying and signal interposition of Providence; but while it was impossible to mistake this interposition, we were at the same time called on to do justice to the firmness and prudence of the Noble Lord to whom the affairs of the country had been entrusted. It was a gratifying thought that this country had become the rallying point of justice and legitimacy. Nor was it in Europe alone that the rage of tyranny had been overthrown; the Kingdom of Candy had also been delivered by us from a sanguinary tyrant. What Englishman did not consider the sacrifices of the country amply repaid by the result? But now that our dangers were past, Government ought to do all in its power to relieve the pressure of the public burdens. Let them keep a strict watch over the public resources and over their application.—The agriculture of the country would soon rise from its present state of depression—a depression which by no human circumstances could have been prevented.

Mr. BRAND said, he should trespass but

for a short time on the attention of the House, because he felt himself placed in a peculiarly disadvantageous situation, from having to follow the Honourable Baronet who had opened the debate, in a speech as remarkable for eloquence as for moderation, which had been terminated by an Address conceived in a temper equally unassuming. [Hear!] As to the parts of the Address which he had been able to catch as it was read, there were more in which he should differ from the Honourable Baronet; and if that Honourable Baronet had put also into the Address some other sentiments which were contained in his speech, there would have been no occasion for some of the observations which he (Mr. B.) had to make. The Honourable Baronet had expatiated on the difficulties under which a large proportion of the community laboured, but he had inserted in the Address no pledge that an inquiry should be entered into as to the causes and the possible remedies of these distresses. This was an omission which he should propose to fill up, for he thought it necessary that on the first day of the Session a pledge should be given by the House, that it would institute the necessary inquiries. Another subject which was neither alluded to in the speech of the Honourable Baronet, nor in his Address, was one of great importance. While the Honourable Baronet had spoken of the energy and zeal displayed in the late war, and the advantage to be derived from the downfall of the tyrant, it was surprising that he should have been satisfied so long, to have been kept in the dark as to the arrangements and treaties which had been concluded in consequence of the cessation of hostilities. In this the house had to complain of his Majesty's Ministers, that at a time when measures of such vast importance to this country and to the interests of mankind had been determined on, that Ministers should have so long delayed to communicate them to Parliament. This conduct he was at a loss to explain; it seemed to him to be disrespectful both to the people and the Parliament. [hear, hear!] The arrangements of the Treaties he should not anticipate—they would be matter of future debate—but when a Treaty including points doubtful in national law, and arrangements which seemed hostile to the constitutional law of the country, they should have

been investigated at the earliest possible period. He should explain himself:—by these arrangements, the country was to keep up a vast military force, which was in contradiction, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit and meaning of the Bill of Rights. These arrangements included many difficulties in a financial point of view; for if a large foreign military force was to be kept up, a large domestic military establishment was necessary to supply its occasional deficiencies, and thus the Parliament of England was precluded from reducing in time of peace the standing army to those limits which it deemed consistent with economy and constitutional security. Thus much was sufficient to shew, that these foreign engagements were of such national and financial importance, and consequently should not have been withheld so long from Parliament. But, laying aside all considerations of foreign policy, they might turn their eyes to the lamentable state of embarrassment and distress in which the inhabitants of Great Britain were involved. [hear, hear!] By some persons this was considered a state which admitted of no relief; but he did not doubt, by serious application to the subject, by a rigid attention to economy in all the large branches of the public expenditure, that the taxes which were now so oppressive from their magnitude and the partiality of their operation, vast, immediate, and permanent relief might be afforded. [hear, hear!] Of an inquiry into the causes of the evils which all saw and lamented, a pledge should be that day given by the House. This was the great point in which he differed from the Mover of the Address, who, though he agreed as to the existence of the evil, left unconstitutionally the remedy to the pleasure of the Ministers, while he more constitutionally wished to leave it in the hands of the House of Commons. [hear, hear!] Those who had suffered most by the present distresses, had anxiously looked forward to the opening of Parliament for an expression of the sentiments of that House, and the opinion of well informed men as to the possibility of relief. He should therefore call for an expression of a determination to inquire into the subject, the effect of which in quieting the minds of the sufferers could hardly be calculated by those who had not witnessed the sufferings. He

should therefore propose an addition to the Address by way of Amendment to which he hoped much objection would not be made. The Amendment proposed by the Honourable Member was to this effect—"And also to represent to his Royal Highness that it was the duty of his Majesty's Ministers to have advised his Royal Highness with the least possible delay, to have convened Parliament for the purpose of communicating those important Treaties with the Allies and with France, which, after having been acted upon for several months, are now about to be laid before this house, and that the length of the late prorogation was the more extraordinary at a time when the unexampled domestic embarrassments as well as the important foreign relations of the country, required an early meeting of Parliament; and to assure his Royal Highness that this House will speedily undertake a careful review of our civil and military establishments according to the principles of the most rigid economy and a due regard to the public interests; and also at an early period take into its most serious consideration the present state of the country.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL animadverted on the unprecedented delay which had taken place in communicating the late Treaties to Parliament. In most former instances, Treaties of Peace had been communicated to both Houses within a month after they were concluded, and that of 1783 had been communicated within a few days. Yet, a Treaty by which we were to keep up an army unexampled in magnitude, and in consequence of which, the country was to be burthened with a tax most oppressive and unconstitutional in its nature, had not been brought before Parliament before months had elapsed. The contents of the Treaty they knew, as it were, by report, but the distresses of the country they had all witnessed. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) had not thought proper to meet the House till that late period. This, however, would appear less strange to those who had read the dispatches of the Noble Lord; when they saw in those documents, how his Lordship reprimanded some Sovereigns for misconduct, and nations for misbehaviour to their Sovereigns, it might be wondered how the Noble

Lord had condescended to meet the House at all. [A laugh.] It was strange, that in the speech which gave them an account of the affairs of Candy and Nepaul, that there was no allusion to the cause of the present distresses.—This was the more unaccountable, because during many years, when it was represented that the effect of such unbounded taxation would be in the end ruinous, the answer uniformly given had been a reference to the flourishing state of the country. But now, after glory on glory, and victory on victory, all this prosperity had vanished. The farmer could not pay his rent—the landlord could not pay his taxes—and from the lowest labourer of the land, to the Peer who stood next the throne, all felt that our prosperity was gone, except, indeed, those who were paid out of the public purse. The country was not quite satisfied with its trophies, and began to consider whether the situation which we had attained was worth all the past expenditure, and whether the object which it was the duty of every English Minister to seek had been obtained, namely, the reduction of France to such a state, that it could never again be formidable to this country.—It was to be remarked now, that after all our victories, France remained in the possession of as much territory, as she had at the time when William the III. thought it necessary to unite all Europe against her. At home, however, our condition was infinitely worse—and the country was threatened with a perpetual income tax. As to the slave trade, which it seemed was now abolished, no one rejoiced at its destruction more than he. But was the praise due to our Government? They would remember, that in the former treaty with France the slave trade was not abolished—and in the debate on the subject, the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) evinced the greatest tenderness for the feelings of the French on the subject, and spoke of the impropriety of forcing moral doctrines down men's mouths with the bayonet, [a laugh.] That trade was now abolished; How had this happened? Had the benevolent Louis succeeded in persuading his royal subjects they were in the wrong? No. A man who was loaded by abuse by all parties—and who no doubt deserved it all—had abolished by a stroke of his pen, this traffic—and it did not seem to



have made him a bit the more unpopular. He should be slow, however, to allow either our Government, or Louis, any praise on this head; they had looked blank and had acquiesced—but the good was done by their enemy. Another point at which he was astonished in the speech of the Honourable member (Sir T. Acland) was the expression of the established faith of the Bourbons! The singular good faith of the Bourbons! [hear! hear!]  
How many eloquent speeches had been delivered in that House against the bad faith of that very family—It might be said they had learnt morality in adversity; but in the very last year the bad faith of Louis XVIII. in the non-payment of Napoleon's pension, was the pretext though not the cause of his fall. The Secondor (Mr. Methuen) had made use of an expression still more unjustifiable—he had said he was glad this country had become the rallying point of legitimacy! Luckily it was but of late years that this country had assumed that title. He had a particular reason to rejoice, that the same opinion had not prevailed a century ago—his own family in that event must have stolen into obscurity, branded as traitors and stripped of all the honours with which the crown had laden them. But to take a wide view, what would have become of the family on the throne—our gracious Sovereign, instead of an imperial throne, would have been the possessor of a petty electoral sovereignty in Germany; instead of wielding mighty armies, and holding the balance of Europe, would have been at the head of a few companies of grenadiers in some paltry Germanic squabble. Such would have been the case, if the regular succession to the throne had not been disturbed by Act of Parliament. The praise of the principle of legitimacy, paramount and irresistible, could not fail to be offensive to the ears of the Prince, as it was to every friend of British liberty and our constitution.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER expressed his gratification at the eloquent manner in which the Address had been brought forward, as well as at the manner in which it had been received by both sides of the House. It was gratifying to him that those who often differed from him in political questions, now concurred in every word of the Address, and only proposed,

as an amendment, an addition to it. He therefore concluded that they agreed in its sentiments, and gave credit to his Majesty's Ministers for firmness, and the vigour and success of their measures. As to the objections which had been made to the conduct of Ministers in not bringing before Parliament at an earlier period the Treaties which had been concluded, he begged Gentlemen to look at the principal Treaty, and they would find it was concluded on the 20th of November, and that two months were allowed for exchanging the ratifications. The ratifications were, therefore, to be exchanged on or before the 20th of January, and about that time they were actually exchanged, with the exception of some articles which were not yet exchanged. The great delay complained of had been ten days, from which was to be deducted the time that was necessary for the conveyance of the ratifications to London from Paris, which was the place where they were exchanged. A further deduction was to be made for the time required for the printing of the papers. These papers would extend to a very considerable bulk, as they comprehended all the diplomatic arrangements of Europe, and amounted to no less than 16 or 17 Treaties or Conventions. If these were all printed and laid before the House within ten days after the Ratifications had been exchanged, he did not think any censurable delay could be said to have taken place. The next point to which their attention had been drawn by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Brand), was the internal situation of the country—a subject which had deserved and received much attention from his Majesty's Ministers. How successfully some of his Majesty's Ministers had laboured abroad, it was not necessary for him to say; [Hear!] but he might say, that those who remained at home had not been less busily employed. For himself he could say, that he had never spent a summer of less relaxation or more anxiety in his life. [a laugh] He would not attempt to palliate the distress which was felt, nor deny the necessity of inquiry; but the Speech, in his opinion, held out all the pledge which the country could desire; in recommending the utmost economy, consistent with public safety, and the high situation which we occupied in Europe, and which he hoped no one would wish us to relinquish. He

believed, indeed, that if we could be brought back to the state we were in before the war began, and on one side were placed all the dangers and difficulties which we had undergone, and the expence which we had incurred, and on the other the high station which we had attained, there was no British heart so base as not to chuse, 'our present glorious eminence, notwithstanding all it had cost us. As to the immediate causes of our present distress, there would be so many opportunities of recurring to the subject, that he should but lightly touch it. The intercourse between this country and the continent had been so long impeded, and such difficulties thrown in the way of our intercourse, that the prices of the necessaries of life had been affected by those difficulties, and the memorable scarcity of 1801 had struck such terror, that for many years we felt an apprehension of its recurrence. In consequence, the prices rose here to a height never known before, and a vast capital was turned to agricultural purposes on account of the encouragement then given. When our intercourse with the continent was renewed, the value of the agricultural produce, which the exertions which had been made and the capital employed had raised, was reduced to a level with the foreign markets. The large sums also which had been raised in loans during the last three years, must have had an effect. The amount of the sum thus borrowed within that time was 142 millions, of which 42 millions were liquidated by the Sinking Fund, so that an addition was made to the funded debt of 100 millions. Such a sum, withdrawn from the capital of the country, must have produced a derangement in the ordinary transactions of life which must have been felt. As to the remedies to be applied, undoubtedly economy would hold the first place; [hear, hear!] and he could assert that he had paid the utmost attention to that subject, and when the estimates were brought forward he hoped they would not be condemned in the gross, and that Gentlemen would investigate the items [hear, hear!] in all the branches of expenditure, so that it might be seen what were absolutely necessary to the interests of the country, and what could be dispensed with. He concluded by expressing his opinion that the Address was sufficiently explicit.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, he should concur

in the opinion which had been expressed as to the moderate spirit of the Mover and the Address, and giving all credit for talents both to the Honourable Baronet and Seconder; he should at the same time take that, as it was the first, opportunity of protesting against being held to entertain any opinion as to the principles which had been uttered by them. He had agreed to the Address because it pledged him to nothing. The Speech recommended an inquiry into the momentous subjects which had been brought that evening before their consideration, and in the event of their approving the conduct of the Government they were to express their approbation—this was all that those Members thought themselves bound to by the Address, who had only moved an addition to it. But there was one point in the Speech at which he had been surprised, which was the illusion to the prosperous state of the country in its arts, commerce, &c. An exception was made by the Right Honourable Gentleman as to a considerable class of the community. A very considerable class, indeed, it was—no less than the whole landed interest of Great Britain, whose distresses were unabated, notwithstanding our unparalleled victories, and our triumphs over all our enemies. As to the other subjects (commerce, revenue, &c.) they did not pledge themselves to any thing by agreeing to the Address. They merely received the assertions on the credit of the framers of the Address, who had the best means of judging, and who, on the subject of the revenue, had exclusively the means of judging. The House as to these subjects was in the dark, but the responsibility of Ministers was great, if they had put words into their Master's mouth which were not true. If it should, on inquiry, be found that not only a great exception must be made from the system on the score of our agriculture, but that bankruptcies prevail in an alarming degree, if not in the places connected with foreign trade, in the more important branch of commerce—in the whole home trade, the internal market of the country, Ministers would incur a very heavy responsibility; yet, he believed, it would in reality be found that the whole home market was at a stand—shops were seen without a customer, and books covered with debts, of which not one per cent. could be recovered; yet the war was at an end, after victories such as

could never have been expected. In the negotiations at Paris, it was our own fault if the terms were not such as were best suited to our manifold interests. The pressure, however, was greater than it had been in 1810 and 1812; no business was done, and if the reason was asked, it would be said the landlord received no rent—the tenant could sell no corn. If this turned out to be a part of that picture, of which a general sketch had been given, if out of the flourishing state of our commerce must be taken that lumping exception of the whole internal trade, in comparison of which foreign commerce was so inconsiderable that it might be considered merely the ornament of the system, a very heavy responsibility would fall on the framers of the Speech. In the speech of the Honourable Baronet he was surprised to hear a comparison of the present Peace with that of Utrecht, which had justly been considered the most improvident bargain ever made. The Assiento contract, indeed, was the only advantage which this country derived in that treaty from the victories of Marlborough and the councils of Godolphin. The comparison of that with the present Treaty on the subject of the Slave Trade was said to be advantageous to the latter. He was, therefore, led to believe that among the 17 Conventions, which they were to be presented with, would be found one in which Spain and Portugal had agreed to relinquish the Slave Trade. As Bonaparte had abolished the Slave Trade in France, all Spain and Portugal were bound to relinquish that detestable commerce. He hoped, therefore, to find not only, no Assiento contract, which would be felonious by the present law, but an abolition on the part of Ferdinand of this great and crying evil—an evil next in magnitude to the persecution, religious and civil—to his butchery and torture of his own subjects. [hear, hear!] This contemptible tyrant [loud cheers],—contemptible in every respect, but the portentous power of doing mischief, which he possesses in consequence of our having raised him to the throne, which he so meanly and unworthily fills—whose lightest crime was his usurpation of his father's

crown, [hear, hear!], was now the grand slave trader out of Europe, as he was the grand maker of slaves in Europe. He (Mr. B.) hoped, therefore, that we had insisted on the abolition of that trade; and that Portugal, whom we had also saved, and over whom we could exercise some influence, at least, had abandoned that dreadful traffic. Treaties to that effect were no doubt to be found among the 17 conventions.—The Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that he reserved himself for a future occasion, upon the detail of “the flourishing state of the revenue,” which was one of the topics of the Speech, and was again echoed in the address of the Honourable Baronet. But he (Mr. B.) could not help taking notice, in this early stage of the business of Parliament, of what had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman by way of intimation upon this subject of revenue. As one reward of our exertions in the late contest (as spoken of in the Address), and as an immediate consequence of what the Honourable Gentleman who had so eloquently seconded it, termed the breaking of the rod of enchantment, and dissolving the spell by which the nations were bound in slavery, he (Mr. B.) had unfortunately heard with more regret, than perhaps astonishment, that the most oppressive of any of the taxes that had been imposed upon the nation—the heaviest and most obnoxious of those burthens under which the country had groaned—that that most oppressive and tormenting Income Tax was to be continued. It was for this we were fighting, not only our own battles, but those of other nations. Our fortitude and perseverance had led to this happy consequence, that we were not merely to bear the other burthens which had been so heavily laden upon us, but we were to be borne down by this most tormenting of all taxes—a tax which was still more oppressive in the details than in the bulk: and this, it was said, was necessary, “merely on account of the flourishing state of the country.” [Hear, hear!]

(To be Continued.)

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

## LETTER I.

*Distresses of England.—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Remedies.—His account of the Revenue.—Standing army that we are to have.—Language of Yorke and Castlereagh upon this subject.—Real state in which we are with regard to the army.*

It is now my intention to Address to you a series of Letters upon the affairs of this snug and "*tight little Island*," being fully persuaded, that it will be useful to you and to the whole world, as far as they can be made to reach, to put you in possession of such facts as will enable you to form a correct judgment of the state of this country after its exploits against the Republicans of France and of some other parts of Europe. Whether you will look upon us with envy, pity, contempt, or hatred, it is impossible for me to say; but, you may be assured, that, excite what feelings I may, I will, as far as I am able, put you in possession of the *truth*, the *whole* truth, and *nothing but* the truth, respecting every thing, of which I have a competent degree of knowledge, relating to public matters, public men, and public institutions, in this country. I know as much about these subjects as most men; what I do not know myself I soon learn from others. You shall have it *all*.

I shall not publish, in *England*, the *whole* of what I write. That would be a great deal *worse* than *useless*. To you I will send the *whole*; but about the half of what I send you will not be published here, in "*the tight little Island*." The first part of each Letter will be published here; except some passages in it which would be "*worse than useless*" to appear in this country. The *remaining* part, together with the former part, will find their way to you; so that each Letter will make, when published in your country, one

whole and complete Register. I shall, perhaps find it necessary to step aside from this series of Letters, now and then, for the purpose of more immediately addressing myself to some person here, as will be soon the case with regard to the Editor or Whipper-in of the Quarterly Review, whose base publication must have particular notice taken of it. But, as the Letters will be *numbered*, they will form an unbroken series of developements, to be found, I will be hardy enough to say, in no other work that ever will appear in print.

Thus, then, here I start by calling your attention to the Report of a Debate in the Honourable House of Commons on the 12th instant, on the subject of our *distresses*, and of the other matters named at the head of this Letter. Of these *distresses*, I have already given you some feeble notion. It was acknowledged upon this occasion, that they *did exist* in reality. Some particular description of them was given; but, as there is to be a solemn and set discussion upon this object very soon, I shall not further notice it here, except just to beg your news-paper proprietors to bear in mind, that *our* base and prostituted press has, till within these few days, never said a word about these *distresses*; but, on the contrary, has been holding this country up to the *envy* and *admiration* of the world, as being, at the end of twenty two years of war, in the greatest prosperity, while it was covered with military and naval glory, seeming always wholly to *forget* all the events of the war with *your* country.

The *remedy*, proposed by our Chancellor of the Exchequer, is the subject, to which I now wish to call your sober attention. I will first quote his own words, premising only that the distress makes its appearance in the shape of comparative *low price* for farm-produce, in consequence of a diminution of the quantity of paper-money before in circulation. "It was not to be denied," he said, "that we were labouring under many embarrassments. Of these *embarrassments*, and the remedies which might be appli-

“ cable, he should now attempt some development. They had arisen from the circumstances in which the country had been long placed, and which had operated on the prices of all articles, especially agricultural produce, which had swollen to a rate quite disproportionate to the prices of all other commodities. The alarm of the scarce years of 1793, 1799, and 1800, had produced a general opinion, which was indeed well founded, that the agricultural produce of this country was inadequate to the consumption. At the same time, the uncertainty of supply from abroad was increased. That supply was sometimes stopped, at other times the price of grain was raised by the foreign powers, on whom our supply depended, in proportion to our wants, by the enormous sums exacted for licences and duties on the grain itself. Having been thus thrown back on our own produce, in years which were not remarkably abundant, the inadequacy of the supply was felt more strongly, and prices continued to rise in proportion. This spur to exertion in that branch of industry increased the agricultural produce to that degree, that it would soon have been fully equal to the wants of the country, had not the foreign markets been re-opened, and corn poured in in such abundance, as to distress the agricultural interest. When this was discovered, protecting measures were proposed, but those measures came after a large supply had actually been received from abroad, and one very productive harvest, together with this very superfluous stock, continued the depression of prices, or sunk them yet lower. In addition to these circumstances, the Government, who had been purchasers to a considerable amount, withdrew from the market. The Victualling-office alone had been in the habit yearly of purchasing 200,000 sacks of flour. The Commissary-General had often made considerable purchases. Whenever Government went into the market, the prices were raised in a greater proportion than if the same additional purchases had been made by individuals, because the payment of Government was sure, and its wants were known to be urgent and irresistible. When Government withdrew itself, and moreover, from motives of economy, threw back a considerable

“ rable quantity of stores into the market, a great fall in price was to be expected. Had Parliament before interfered by a Corn Law, much of the evil would probably have been prevented; but the measure which had been proposed had not passed, because the country was not prepared for the measure, and the House was not willing to press it. The Parliament had therefore foreborne, till in effect the blow at the agricultural interest had been struck. This blow was not felt by the agriculturists alone, but the suffering was necessarily extended to all who were concerned in its prosperity, especially those who supplied the various articles consumed in agriculture.— This distress would continue to be felt until the effect of the diminished prices of agricultural articles should have produced the same reduction in other commodities. Such were our embarrassments. The remedies which had been proposed were numerous—many were absurd, and many dangerous; and he should therefore forbear to trouble the House with an enumeration of them. There was one, however, which it was proper to mention, that of suspending the Usury Acts, which had been proposed by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brougham) with a view to the support of credit. If there was a prospect that our difficulties would long continue, and that there were not other more advantageous methods of relieving credit, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was not disposed to think lightly of this proposition (*hear, hear!*) But, as he had a remedy to propose which would answer the same end, without the same inconvenience, which might result from the suspension of the Usury Acts, he should not now avail himself of that proposition. The remedies which he had to propose might be divided into two classes—the first a diminution of taxation (*hear, hear!*)—the other a system of the measures for the support of public credit. This last was the most important and the most easy of remedies. To illustrate this remedy, he should make use of a vulgar idea, which might, however, serve his purpose better than a more laboured argument. Suppose by a magical operation every individual in the country should find a guinea in his pocket (*a laugh.*) This supposition was

"rather visionary (*a laugh*). But what would be its effects? Although more than twelve millions of guineas would be thus distributed in the country, no man would be much better able to pay a debt of 10l. than at present. The advantage would be momentary, there would be no relief from the difficulties in which we were now involved. The temporary relaxation from labour, &c. out of the question, it would be some time before this sum accumulated, so as to form a part of the active capital of the country. Now the effect would be far different, if this 12 or 15 millions were distributed among the Country Banks. Every man who could give good security would be accommodated, trade and agriculture would revive, and our present distresses would vanish. Though it was not his intention to give a guinea to every man, nor 15 millions to the Country Banks (*though this had been suggested*) yet from the operation of these two methods of employing a given capital, the different effects of taxation and borrowing might be conjectured. If a tax, to the amount of a guinea on each person, were imposed on the country, supposing it wisely distributed, the effect would not be distressing; but the present distress would be much augmented by taking a sum to the same amount by way of loan from the capitalists. If, therefore, no money were borrowed this year, and a sum of 14 millions were swept away by the Sinking Fund, a great capital would thus be thrown back into the country, which must have a most beneficial effect on public credit."

Now, when you have read this attentively, I must request you to keep in view this fact; that the average price of wheat has fallen from 15 or 17 shillings a bushel to an average of rather less than 6 shillings a bushel; and that all the taxes of the country have continued undiminished, I must also request you to keep in view, that these taxes far exceed the annual rent of all the land and houses. I must further request you to keep in view, that Gold, which is now about four pounds an ounce in our paper-money, was sometime ago, nearly six pounds an ounce in this same paper-money. You will see, then, very clearly, that the distress of the farmer and trader arises simply from this cause, that,

they have now, in fact, more than double as much taxes to pay as they had when wheat was 15 shillings a bushel; because the nominal amount of the taxes being the same, the farmer must now give the taxgatherer more than two bushels of wheat, or the price of them, instead of the one bushel, or the price of it, that he gave to the taxgatherer before this reduction of price took place.

If this be clear and sound reasoning, you must, of course, see, that this Chancellor of ours has but a very confused notion of the causes of the distress; and, as to his remedy, let me beg of you, for decency's sake, not to give way to those emotions which it seems so manifestly calculated to excite. The remedy of reducing taxes would, indeed, be efficacious; but, that he does not intend to adopt, except as far as to take off about seven millions out of seventy, and, to make up for this, he borrows, without any vote of the House of Commons, and yet perfectly legally, six millions from the Bank. So, you see, the use that a National Bank may come to in time. Not that I believe that there would have been the least difficulty in prevailing upon that Honourable House to vote for such a loan. I know it too well to doubt, for a moment, of its readiness to come to such a vote. But, the fact is as I have stated it.

The diminution of taxes, then, is not what this gentleman looks upon as a remedy for the distresses that now overspread this triumphant country. He relies upon an operation; a grand operation; a wonder-working operation of capital, thrown into and about this nice little, tight little Island. As I read his speech, I really thought, he was going to propose to give us all a guinea each; and, at last, I thought, till he explained himself, that he meant to distribute fourteen or twenty millions worth of Bank notes amongst the Country Banks, that they might lend them to the farmers, and thus, by raising the price of wheat, enable the farmers to pay the taxes. This would have been a real remedy for us; but, it would have lowered the value of the paper-money; it would have raised the price of gold; it would have turned all exchanges against the country; and, then, we should have been drifting back again to the other rock.

What is it that he means, then? How

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does he mean to throw fourteen millions of money about the country, or to get it into the hands of the Country Bankers? He means, he says, to raise fourteen millions *in taxes*; that is to say, to keep the *sinking fund* in operation; that is to say to do no more than was done last year; that is to say, to raise fourteen millions in taxes to purchase up stock from individuals, that those individuals may lend the amount of their stock to the farmers and traders, or purchase with it, the property of the farmers and land-owners and traders. This is his *grand operation*. This is his *remedy*. I will leave you to admire his *illustrations*, which appear to have nothing in nature or in art equal to them; and, now, let us leave him and his illustrations aside, for a few minutes, and apply a little common sense to this grand and wonder-working scheme.

You know, because, all the world knows, that prices depend upon the *quantity of money in circulation in the whole of a country*. Now, then, will this notable scheme *add* to the quantity of money in circulation? It is certain, that the purchasing of fourteen millions worth of Stock of individuals will enable those individuals to lend money to the landed people, and, finally, to purchase the land itself. This is very certain. In this way the scheme, if it could be carried into effect for any length of time, would assuredly operate. But, how it is to *relieve* the landed people it is quite impossible to conceive. The fourteen millions may be *thrown* about the country; some of it may fall amongst the farmers; but, be it kept in mind, that the fourteen millions must *first be collected in taxes*, and that, too, observe, from the very people, principally, amongst whom it is to be *thrown*, but thrown only in the shape of money *lent* to them, or exchanged for their *property*. Was there ever in the whole world such a scheme of *relief* as this? The farmer and trader want high prices to enable them to pay the taxes; and the minister proposes to *relieve* them, not by the raising of prices, but by continuing to tax them, and to pass these taxes into the hands of fundholders and others who receive taxes, that these may *lend them* to the distressed payers of taxes.

It must be clear to every man of common understanding, that it is the *low price*

of farm produce, compared with the expences of raising it, which expences consist chiefly of taxes, that has ruined the farmers and traders, and that is now ruining the manufacturers. So far from pretending that his scheme will raise the price of farm produce, the schemer says, that other goods will, in time, *come down* to the scale of wheat and meat; and yet he seems to expect, that the people will be able to pay as much money in taxes when wheat is 6s. a bushel as they were when wheat was 15s. a bushel. This is the grand point. Upon the ability to collect taxes every thing hinges belonging to this government; every thing, abroad as well as at home. Upon the *ability*, I say, and upon that *alone*; for, as to any *will* or *inclination* about the matter, we shall see how that question stands by-and-by.

The *revenue*, therefore, and its *flourishing* condition, is a topic of great importance. The Chancellor tells us, that the commerce and revenue are in a most flourishing state. I will here again give his own words.—“We were now in a *peculiar crisis*. At the close of a long contest, in which we had struggled so successfully for our own honour and safety, and for the honour and liberty of Europe, in which we had added so largely to our naval and military glory; we could not immediately *sit down and repose ourselves*, as if we had enjoyed uninterrupted peace. But he should show by reference to facts and documents, which would soon be before the House in an official shape, that our resources were as entire as could be expected by the most sanguine, and that if we did not immediately enjoy all the benefits which might be expected from the opening of foreign ports to our commerce, it was only necessary to exert a small portion of that firmness and *perseverance*, which had been so often recommended to the House by his predecessor and himself, and which had never been recommended in vain, to bear the nation *triumphantly* through all its difficulties. The statement which he should make, would naturally divide itself into two branches. The first was the state of the Finances in the present year, together with his opinion as to the causes and probable remedies of our present difficulties. The next branch was the amount of the Supply, and the

"Ways and Means to meet it, which would be proposed in a more advanced period of the Session. He should first give a comparative statement of the revenue of the last compared with that of the present year, which would throw some light on our present situation, and the probable prospect for the future. A Right Honourable Gentleman had expressed doubts whether the general statement of the produce of the last year's revenue, if minutely examined, would be as favourable as it at first appeared to be. He should therefore give some of the principal heads, comparing the produce of the last with that of the preceding year. The produce of the Customs in the year ending Jan. 5, 1815, was 11,059,000*l.*; that of the year ending January 5, 1816, was 10,487,000*l.* It was, however, to be remembered, that in the latter sum was not included the amount of the war duty on tonnage and exported British goods which had usually produced between 6 and 700,000*l.* which would raise this year above the preceding, which had exceeded all former years. The Excise presented a still more favourable result. The produce of 1814 was 25,145,000*l.*; that of 1815, was 26,582,000*l.* being an increase of 1,400,000*l.* beyond all preceding years. This increase, too, did not arise from any new taxes, except an additional tax on Licences, which perhaps had produced 2 or 300,000*l.* The Stamp Duties of 1814 amounted to 5,618,000*l.*; those of 1815 to 5,865,000*l.* On this head it was, however, to be recollected, that there had been a large addition to the duties on Stamps, to which the increased produce was in part attributable. The Assessed Taxes of 1814 were 6,412,000*l.* those of 1815, 6,214,000*l.* being a diminution of 200,000*l.* The Property Tax of 1814 was 14,218,000*l.* the produce of the same tax in 1815 was 14,318,000*l.* being an increase of just 100,000*l.* The Land Tax, on account of the constant progress of redemption, was subject to diminution. The produce of this tax in 1814, was 1,285,000*l.*; in 1815, it was 1,179,000*l.*—The total amount of the produce of the revenue in 1814, was 65,430,000*l.*; in 1815 it was 66,442,000*l.* This, it would be seen, was an increase of more than a million

"above a year which had also exceeded any former year. Thus much as to the revenue of the country; and on this head we might *rest satisfied* as to the prospect which was held out as to the *future productiveness of the taxes.*"

So, at the end of all this bloodshed, we have arrived at a "*peculiar crisis.*" We *cannot yet sit down and repose ourselves.* We yet stand in need of "*perseverance*;" and, if we do but *persevere*, we shall be finally borne "*triumphant*" through "*all our difficulties.*" There, you Yankee fellows! What do you think of that! If we have but a sufficiency of *perseverance*, it will bear us *triumphantly*; yes, sneer at, as much as you like, *triumphantly*, through all our difficulties!

To descend, however, from the height of that enthusiasm, to which the eloquence of the Right Honourable financier must naturally carry his readers, and to speak in plain language, what he means, in this passage, is, that if we will but continue to pay as heavy taxes during peace as we paid during the war, we shall still get along without any change of system, and without being absolutely starved to death, or destroyed by any convulsion from within or any invasion from without: his meaning is, that we shall finally *triumph* by *paying taxes*, over all the difficulties that now surround us. High, however, as is the compliment that our taxing Chief pays us, in thus boldly predicting our triumph, the value of the compliment is not half seen 'till we know what the *thing* is, over which we are to *triumph*; 'till we get a full view of the nature and extent of these said *difficulties*, by which, as the Chancellor acknowledges, we are now beset.

I, therefore, shall go into this part of the subject, a little, in this place. At the outset, I proposed to postpone the subject of our *distresses*, 'till the discussion on that subject had taken place in parliament; but, an unexpected occurrence has induced me to change my plan. I have, for more than a year past, been endeavouring to prepare this brawling and bragging and war-loving country for the miseries it now feels. Of this fact you, in America, are not unacquainted, because my divers essays, on the subject, have, I see, been published in your country. I have more *recently* described the *distresses* of the country. But, I being a *Jacobin*, the de-



scription given by *me* may be distrusted by the friends of "the *Bulwark* of Religion "and *Social* Order." For this reason I wished to wait to get this description from the lips of our loyal Honourable Housemen. Yet, a description from them, however, might possibly be looked upon as proceeding from party motives, or as being exaggerated by the reporter of their speeches. But, fortune has thrown into my hands, since I began writing this Letter, a description of this distress, under the hand of a most *loyal* and most *learned* gentleman, an *admirer* of *Pitt*, a *supporter* of the *war*, and one who *exults* at the *overthrow* of the *new order of things* in *France*. This person is a Mr. PRESTON, a Member of Parliament, a great Conveyancing Lawyer, second, I believe, in his profession, to no one in the kingdom; a man well acquainted with the tenures of all sorts of property; with the effects of all sorts of contracts; with the extent of the encumbrances and embarrassments of proprietors of every description; and having, perhaps, had the opinions of a great number of noblemen and gentlemen of large estates, before he sent to the press that pamphlet, of which some one has got me an early copy, and which pamphlet is to be looked upon as containing the result of the inquiries and the reflections of this man of such extensive information, aided by the advice and assistance of his numerous and widely-spread connections.

Well, readers of the Register, now what does this loyal gentleman recommend? Why he recommends what I recommended many years ago; namely, to LOWER THE RATE OF INTEREST, INCLUDING THAT OF THE FUNDED DEBT. And, without such a measure, he says, the country must go to utter ruin. Shall I not now, then, be permitted to exult a little? But, as I shall more fully notice this scheme of Mr. PRESTON in my next Letter, I will here check my inclination to laugh, sing, and dance, which inclination is naturally produced by this dawn of that broad day of light, which, in spite of all the efforts of a corrupt press, appears now to be forcing its way in upon us: I will here check this inclination, and will for the present, give you the picture of the present state of this country as drawn by the hand of this most *loyal* admirer of *Pitt*, the *Sinking Fund*, the *war*, and the putting down of

the new order of things in *France*. Here is the picture of "the *envy* and *admiration* "of the world."

"Whoever looks around him at the "present moment, and views the distresses in which the country is involved, "from the inability of a large part of the "population to answer the demands of "government;—whoever examines the "great change which has taken place in "the condition of a large part of the "community hurled from wealth to poverty; from affluence to distress; who "ever inquires into the fact, and finds "that taxes are levied from a considerable part of the people by means of legal "process; or whoever finds, as the fact is, the poor are increasing daily in number, while the ability of the persons "who are by law bound to contribute to "their maintenance is diminished—who "ever shall know, as the fact is, that "a large part of the community are in "want of employment though willing to "labour, and that their former employers "are unable to afford to pay their wages; "that even 50 men are to be met in different parishes asking for employment, "and urging it to be the interest of the "farmer, rather to pay them for actual "labour than to pay them in a state of "idleness from the poor rate, while the "farmer, though convinced of the justice "of the appeal, is totally unable to meet "this appeal to his interest; further, "that a large portion of that industrious "part of the community, the little farmers, (the favorites of the ancient system) "with their large families (the best hope "of the state, and most virtuous part of "the community) are ceasing to be farmers from necessity, and becoming pensioners on the poor rate, while in some "townships, the persons who formerly "contributed to the poor, are appealing "for relief on the ground of their own "poverty; and numbers of them obliged "to abandon the cultivation of their "farms, are become burdens on those "parts of the parish which alone are cultivated, thus taxing the industry of "their neighbours, and hastening them to "the same extremity of ultimate indigence—must admit there is something "wrong in the system, and that necessity, and not the spirit of complaint "and disaffection, imposes the duty of "examining into these evils, that they

" may be understood and fairly met.  
 " The person who supposes this picture  
 " to be overcharged will find himself mis-  
 " taken. As far as extensive and diligent  
 " enquiry and research, and communica-  
 " tion from different districts and from  
 " persons of the highest respectability  
 " residing in counties distant from each  
 " other, have afforded information to the  
 " writer of these observations, the picture  
 " is not coloured too high ! all these evils  
 " exist in a greater degree than he has  
 " painted them ; particularly in Ireland  
 " and in Wales, and some of the western  
 " counties, and even in Norfolk, and  
 " other improved districts. In some places  
 " the lands are actually deserted, and  
 " growing no other crop than weeds. In  
 " Huntingdonshire, it is said, that a circuit  
 " of 3000 acres is abandoned, and in  
 " other places, and in some not far distant  
 " from the Metropolis, the like occur-  
 " rences may be found ; and many pru-  
 " dent proprietors of the soil are con-  
 " tent to forgo their rents rather than  
 " suffer their farms to be untenanted and  
 " thrown out of cultivation, and the labo-  
 " rers deprived of employment, and the  
 " poor of their allotted means of support.  
 " Are these evils unexpected ? certainly  
 " not, by the writer of these observations.  
 " He anticipated and predicted them, and  
 " humbly endeavoured, as far as it was in  
 " his power, to lead the country to a dif-  
 " ferent result ! Are the community bene-  
 " fited by that cheap price of the necessa-  
 " ries of life they deemed so essential to  
 " their happiness and comfort ? It is con-  
 " fidently believed they are not. Our  
 " home manufacturers—our tradesmen—  
 " and various other classes of the commu-  
 " nity, are now convinced that they can-  
 " not ruin the agricultural interest, by  
 " reducing the prices of corn, and provi-  
 " sions below the expence of growing  
 " them ; or annihilate the rents of the  
 " proprietors of the soil without parta-  
 " king in their ruin ; and that cheap  
 " bread is no blessing to those who are  
 " deprived of the means of earning by  
 " their labour or their industry, that  
 " quantity of it which is necessary for  
 " the subsistence and support of life."—  
 " By the destruction of the circulating  
 " medium, a total inability to purchase  
 " exists, and a value depreciated by the  
 " reduction of the rental, is still further  
 " depreciated by the competition to sell !

" and who is benefited by this sudden,  
 " extraordinary, and unexpected change ?  
 " no one besides the *capitalist*, who can  
 " realize his money ; and how few are  
 " they ? and purchase land at the reduced  
 " price ; and the funded proprietor, the  
 " creditor of the public, who retains an  
 " income to the extent of more than one  
 " half of the rental of the kingdom, with-  
 " out any diminution, whilst the unfortu-  
 " nate debtor, in the shape of landed inter-  
 " est, is to be content with two third  
 " parts of that income which he possessed  
 " when he, *on the faith of the continuance*  
 " *of that income*, concurred so liberally in  
 " granting those supplies, which are now  
 " his bane and his ruin. The former sys-  
 " tem of circulating medium is so altered  
 " that it exists only in name. While the  
 " wealthy farmer supplied the country  
 " banker, and the banker supplied his  
 " needy neighbours, and still more the  
 " manufacturer, the surplus capital found  
 " its way to the metropolis, and to the  
 " principal cities and towns ; and there  
 " administered usefully to the purposes of  
 " commerce, by giving to tradesmen the  
 " benefit of that credit which their prop-  
 " erty and their industry justified. The  
 " change of the system, the revulsion from  
 " a state of extensive circulation to a pre-  
 " carious and scanty supply, has materi-  
 " ally injured men engaged in manufac-  
 " tures and commerce, and has produc-  
 " ed a succession of bankruptcies among  
 " bankers, and those dependent on them  
 " for a necessary supply, to keep up the  
 " circulation once put in motion. The  
 " patients who had been fed highly, could  
 " not bear to be reduced at once to so  
 " meagre a diet ; and whoever will make  
 " enquiries among commercial and manu-  
 " facturing classes of the community, en-  
 " gaged in the home trade, will soon learn  
 " that, with some few exceptions, this  
 " class of the community has gained no  
 " advantage by the change. The present  
 " unfortunate state of the country pre-  
 " sents the lamentable history of *Govern-*  
 " *ment* suing executions for taxes, and for  
 " balances in the hands of receivers, &c.  
 " *Bankers*, many of them receivers, are  
 " thus called on to pay the deposits with  
 " them : they again call on their debtors ;  
 " and the receivers are using the harsh  
 " process of extents in aid ; *Mortgagees*  
 " are enforcing their securities from the  
 " difficulty of obtaining interest ; and, as

"to bankers, from the necessity of having ready money, and needy or improvident landlords, are levying their rents by distresses!!! What a wretched and melancholy picture! at a period, too, when the extent of the stamp law, and the expence of litigation, have rendered it more wise to abandon debts of small amount, than to incur the loss of a suit to recover them. A debt of 20*l*. is no longer worth the certain extra expence beyond taxed costs, of recovering it. And, that modern production of mistaken humanity, the Insolvent Debtors' Act, enables the unrighteous or unprincipled debtor, to treat his creditor with derision and contempt."

Such, Americans; such, Englishmen; such is the picture which Mr. PRESTON gives of the "Bulwark" at the close of its struggle against the French Revolution and against the "successful example of Democratic Rebellion" in America. It is, indeed, only a *part* of the picture, which this gentleman has given the world, as I shall show in a future letter; and, indeed, as will be seen from the pamphlet itself, when it is republished in America, as I will take care it shall. So, you see, Mr. PRESTON, that you are in the high-road to fame as an author. I owe this to you, Sir. Gratitude demands it at my hands. I have stood, as a forlorn hope for a great many years. Quite alone; surrounded by the enemy; shot at from every battery, and from behind every bush; made prisoner of war in one instance and only escaped with the loss of all the cash in my pocket, with that of no small part of my baggage, and with paying a ransom into the bargain. How pleasant, therefore, is it to me to see myself, at last, joined by so respectable and zealous a combattant, come over a volunteer to me from the numerous battalions of the system! How cheering is now the prospect! Defection has manifestly begun in the enemy's camp. Come on, my lads! Repare to my standard. You shall be well treated, and shall have promotion according to you deserts. No corruption shall fill the posts under my command; and, as Mr. PRESTON, though not a very *able* co-adjutor, has led the way, I think myself bound to reward his zeal and valour by making him, at once, my Lieutenant General.

To return now to the Chancellor's account of the *Revenue*, who does not see,

that it is *impossible* for his *prospect* to be fair? Who does not see, that accounts made up upon receipts of many quarters of *back* assessments, *supposing them to be all correct*, can afford no rational hope for the future? Who does not see, that the export to America is never to be *repeated*? Who does not know, in short, if he knows any thing at all of the way in which these accounts are made up, what the whole of the statement is, and that, therefore, not a word more need be said respecting it.

But, I put it to any man of common sense, whether, if what Mr. Preston says be true; if his description of the state of property and of the distresses of the country be correct, it be possible to collect sixty-four or sixty-five millions a year in this country. If, as he observes at page 5 of his pamphlet, the country is now placed "in a condition, which makes *taxation* that to which the Writer DARES *not give a name*;" if this be the condition of the country *now*, what must it be under the *same* weight of taxes in a year's time? Thus far the farmers have been able, in general, to draw upon their saved money, their live-stock, and their credit, to pay the taxes. What are they to do when these are exhausted? How are they to pay the taxes then? If, even now, taxation be such as Mr. PRESTON *dares* not give a *name* to it; if it be a thing which he, a Member of Parliament, *dares* not truly describe; this, while it lets a dismal fact as to the present, to escape to the world, will enable that world to guess pretty correctly of what we have to expect in future.

This brings us to the question of the *standing army*, and induces us to read with great attention the report of the *Speeches of Yorke and Castlereagh*, as explanatory of the *real situation* of the tight little Island, or, rather, Islands, *with regard to that army*.

We must, therefore, when we have put these reported speeches upon record here, duly reflect upon their contents, and then make the observations that may suggest themselves. I will insert these speeches *entire*, to avoid the imputation of garbling, though a small part of each might suffice.

"Mr. YORKE protested against the language made use of by Gentlemen on the other side of the House, and more especially by the Gentleman who had spoken

“last. They wished to have it understood that the establishment proposed this year was a permanent establishment. Now, if he had understood his Right Honourable Friend, his proposal related merely to the establishment for the present year, and the permanent military establishment was to come afterwards under the consideration of the House. After such a war as that in which we had been engaged, it was utterly impossible in the first year to approximate any thing like a permanent peace establishment. Was this the case immediately after the conclusion of the American war? Mr. Pitt proposed his permanent peace establishment three years after the end of that war. He hoped that such an important subject as that of the army would be treated, when before the House, with all the discretion and coolness which it demanded. Hitherto the peace establishment has been formed on so narrow a scale, that most of the difficulties we had experienced in the beginning of the war, had arisen from the narrow establishment kept up in time of peace. What he wished was, not an extensive establishment, but one sufficient to defend our extensive possessions from the extensive dangers to which they were exposed. It was impossible, after the difficulties through which we had struggled, and considering the present state of moral feeling in the world, to have such an establishment as that at the end of the American war. Let any man look at our possessions, and say if it was possible to have such an establishment now as we had in 1790. After what had passed in Europe, it would be a long time before men's minds could be composed to a state of peace. The peace we had obtained was glorious—he hoped it would be permanent—and that the feelings of mankind would lead them to abstain from war; but the truest way to prevent war was to be well armed [Hear hear!]. Though the French army was at present disbanded, we could not say that it might not one day rise from its ashes; and were it not for the system of coercion now adopted, we might soon see it rise from its ruins. Of the 99,000 men, 25,000 was for England, and 25,000 for Ireland, and the remainder for our colonies. There was no

“part of the proposal so painful to him as that respecting Ireland, but in the present state of that country, he was afraid the whole of this amount would be found necessary. With respect to the colonies, he could not conceive that any considerable reduction could take place here.”

“LORD CASTLEREAGH wished to impress on the House what had been altogether lost sight of by Gentlemen on the other side of the House, namely, that the question of expenditure of the present year was totally unconnected with that of a permanent Peace Establishment, and that expence could not possibly be taken as a criterion of that of future years. It was only necessary to re-examine the statements of his Right Honourable Friend, to see that he had opened considerable branches of expenditure which could not recur in future years, and which were as much to be considered in the light of war expences as any of those of last year. It was not possible that this country, with its force spread over the globe, could be reduced at once to a proper Peace Establishment. Even with respect to the forces in France, for instance, a country at our very door, they had not been yet reduced so long as to enable them to discontinue the services of the Militia. It would still be some time before the Militia could be reduced, and it would require still an additional time to bring home the Navy. He was prepared, however, to admit with the Right Honourable Gentleman, that it was only in the Army that any great difference of opinion could exist, as to the proper extent of our establishments. With respect to the 40,000 or 50,000 men to be reduced, it was impossible that this reduction could take place without considerable time. He could point out 2,200,000 out of the 19 millions, for the expence of corps which would be discontinued, as soon as Government could be enabled. Another two millions ought to be taken for the Navy. If there were added 1½ million due to the Bank, two millions under the head of Ordnance, and one million of East India Debt, there would be found in all, at least between eight and nine millions, which was not connected with the public service of the year. He deprecated the principle that

“we were to be the only military power who should not act on the military principle of keeping up an army which should bear some proportion to that of other states. The Noble Lord stated, that it had been declared by Mr. Pitt, that he regretted nothing more than the low establishments which he had proposed to this country in 1792—a year when another great Statesman, Mr. Burke, had declared France to be blotted from the face of Europe. If the House reflected on all the strong measures to which they had been reduced, to obtain that army which had conquered peace for them, they would be cautious how far they proposed an undue reduction of our establishments. These establishments would give them such an army at the commencement of a war, as could not be obtained in this country without long and painful exertions. In 1802, after the peace of 1801, the force proposed for Ireland was 23,000, and that for Great Britain 47,000. In the state of that country, which was not politically but socially agitated, no great change in the establishment could well take place. That for Britain was considerably lower now than it was in 1802, and indeed it was lower than prudence required, were it not considered that the force in France was always at our command, or was at least an advanced guard of our army. But he would ask, could the same forces suffice for us now when our establishments were so many, as sufficed when they were so few? would they tear down establishments which had been reared at so much expence—the Ordnance, the Military Schools, the Dock Yards, &c.? Every thing in the country was totally altered since 1792, and we could not now return to our former state. We ought not alone to look at the question merely in an economical point of view, but to adopt a more enlarged and statesman-like determination. The internal duty of Great Britain alone required a force of between 13 and 14,000 men for dock-yards and garrisons, &c.; and a great part of our revenue depended on having such a force. If the House, therefore, were determined to feed, what he considered the worst features of the country, by hollow declamations about economy, they would lose more in the revenue

“than they would gain by any saving—  
“[Hear, hear, hear!] The House ought also to consider, that supposing the establishment 97,000, it never could be kept up to within a tenth of the nominal amount, and that the deficiency would of course have to fall on the service at home. They were to consider, too, that it was not merely the number of men—the pay had also been doubled since 1792—and the pensions, &c. highly increased. He deprecated any hasty conclusions on this subject, calculated to make the country feel that there was only one object necessary, a reduction of our taxation [hear! hear!] The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Brougham) who had claimed the reduction of all our war taxes, amounting to 24 millions, in performance of the pledge to the country, by proving too much, had proved nothing at all.—This measure would only involve the country in ruin.”

Thus, then, there is no disguise. The whole intention is plainly and boldly stated; and now we have only to observe upon the nature of that intention as thus exposed to us in the most frank manner. But, as such observations would be superfluous in England, they will be published only in America.

WM. COBBETT.

#### COMMON'S DEBATE ON THE 1ST FEB.

(Continued from Page 192.)

If this odious tax could be dispensed with—if there were any other means of going on without it, no man in his senses—still less would the Right Honourable Gentleman, on the very first opening of Parliament, intimate an intention of renewing it. Such an intimation surely could arise only from the consciousness of there being no other possibility of carrying on the financial affairs of the country. He (Mr. B.) however, did trust, that this early hint, which had been so plainly and unequivocally given of this intention of Government, would not be lost upon those Gentlemen who were Members of Parliament—at least those who had constituents—[A loud laugh, and cries of Hear, hear! from both sides of the House]: and he confidently hoped to hear of those steps being adopted which were taken last year, with such final and complete success, [Hear, hear!] and which, if followed this year, would perhaps have

restrained the Chancellor of the Exchequer from giving this notice. With respect to all the other burthens observed upon by his Honourable Friend near him, he could only say, that he most entirely concurred in those observations. He reserved himself, however, upon those various branches of the national finances, until they should be brought in detail under the consideration of the House. The Honourable Gentleman opposite supposed that there were no means of relieving the landed interest, because their affairs were so interwoven with the national prosperity, that it was impossible to separate them from other objects. But he (Mr. B.) could not help expressing a hope that the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite would speedily find that there were means of separating them, and that some seasonable relief would be afforded to the distresses with which so important a part of the community was afflicted. The Right Hon. Gentleman had alluded to some branches of the revenue which he intimated would undergo revision and retrenchment.—[Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer uttered some negative expressions.]—From the manner of the Right Hon. Gentleman, he must presume that the disappointment of his hopes upon this subject would be more general than he had expected. He had consoled himself with the thought, that the Right Hon. Gentleman would seriously set about a revival of some part of the revenue and finance, with a view to mitigate, as much as possible, the severity of those taxes now imposed upon the country. Was it then to be understood that not only half the Property Tax, but *all* the other War Taxes were to be continued? Was the country to understand from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that at a season when grain was almost a drug in the markets, and when corn was not only at the lowest price, but for which no price could be obtained at all; and when the most grievous burthens were imposed upon the barley growers, was it to be said, that under such circumstances the War Malt Tax was to be continued? Was it to be said that the landholders were still to pay 5 per cent. Property Tax, and endure, in times of peace, all the hardships to which they had been exposed in war? Was the Malt Tax at 38s. per quarter laid on during the war, still to continue during peace? If this were to be the state of things, he trusted

the House would not separate without hearing a notice from some of his honourable friends, who were conversant with this subject, for bringing the question of malt tax immediately under the consideration of the House. But there were other matters independent of the subject of reduction in the taxes, to which he hoped the attention of Parliament would be speedily called. If the amendment of his honourable friend were carried to night, the House would pledge itself speedily to take under its consideration the state of the country. He doubted not that one of the first objects of their inquiry would be those laws which prevented the exportation of some of the most important staple commodities of the country. He trusted also that the state of the usury laws would be brought under consideration with the like celerity; for there was no subject more deserving the interposition of Parliament. Most of those hardships and difficulties to which the commercial interests of the country had been exposed, derived their origin from the operation of these laws. There were various other subjects, unnecessary for him to allude to at present, which were equally pressing upon the notice of the House—he would only instance the state of the poor laws, as they respected the equalization of rates. All that he was desirous of urging upon the notice of the House at present was, the absolute necessity of redeeming their pledge, by immediately entering into that enquiry, which was of all others the most important—namely, into the state of finances,—and by thus shewing to the country that their condition was not absolutely hopeless—and that the promises of Parliament were not mere empty sounds without meaning. Before he concluded, he begged to allude to one part of the Honourable Gentleman's speech opposite, and the more so, because it formed a part of the Address under consideration. He meant that part which pledged the House to measures of economy. That part of the Address and Speech of the Honourable Gentleman must be taken to mean—such a rigorous investigation of the amount of our enormous establishments both at home and abroad, as would lead to this result; that our expences would be reduced to the smallest amount possible, consistent with our existence. For it was a robbery of the people of this country—

it was a cruel mockery of their sufferings, to tell them, after 25 years of distress and misery, and when the long looked for peace was at length arrived, that they were still to endure the expences of war, without the benefits of peace; and for what purpose? For the purpose of securing the cession of new islands, of appointing new governors, new secretaries, new clerks, of establishing new sources of patronage, new causes of alarm to the people, and new quarters from which danger may be portended to their rights. [Hear, hear!] The Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed a hope that when the estimates came to be laid before the House, Gentlemen would not content themselves with considering them *en masse*, but would turn their attention to items. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman concluded by cordially supporting the Amendment. [Hear, hear!]

LORD MILTON was anxious to state in a few words the grounds of his vote. If any thing could have induced him to support the amendment, it would have been the speech of his Honourable and Learned Friend who had just sat down. But it appeared to his lordship, as the House was at present situated, that the Address proposed by the Honourable Baronet contained all the pledges which it was necessary for the House to give. He agreed with his Honourable and Learned Friend, that the time would come when it would be necessary for the House to manifest its sentiments, not in speeches but in acts. The time would come when it would be necessary to enter into every article of expence and retrenchment: and it would well become the House, if those matters were to come under the consideration, not of one committee, but of several, which might sit up stairs; for indeed, the subject branched into so many multifarious ramifications, that it would be impossible for the House, sitting in a body, to take it into their serious consideration. One of his objections to the amendment proposed was, that it appeared to go rather too far, and to hold out pledges which it would be impossible for the House to realize. Nothing was more dangerous, and in his opinion more mischievous, for this House to do, than to hold out pledges for any of its solemn and deliberate acts, of which there was not a fair prospect of their being able to redeem. Speaking, how-

ever, as an individual, he did entertain considerable hopes, that by proper attention to these subjects, the expectations of the people might be much more effectually realized, than the House had reason to hope from what had been held out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Indeed, upon this subject he was rather jealous of a particular part of the Speech, to which the House as yet had not sufficiently adverted. He meant that expression of the Speech which talked of "the high station which we maintain amongst the nations of Europe." He should like to know what was the secret explanation which the Ministers might give of that sentence. Did they mean by that, that Great Britain was to become a great military Power—that she was to vie with Austria, France, and the other great military Powers of the Continent, in military strength and reputation? If that were the case, he must indeed say, that the present was a new era in the history of the country. It would be one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall the country, if she were to be held out as a great military power. That had not hitherto been our character, and he very much doubted whether, if we assumed that shape, it would be possible for us to maintain our liberties at the same time. [Hear, hear!]—He felt extremely anxious upon this subject, because it was impossible not to suspect that in a certain quarter, a peculiar love of these sort of establishments existed, which it ought to be the business of this House to check and controul. And he hoped when the time came, that the Honourable Baronet himself who had moved the Address, would lend his hand, not only towards an economical administration of the funds, but that he would interfere, as far as in him lay, to lessen this class of expences, which might be added to the burthens of the country. One was full as necessary as the other; and if the Honourable Baronet thought that he should satisfy his speech of to-night, by merely *adverting* to the economical administration of the supplies which this House might vote, he (Lord M.) apprehended the Honourable Baronet would not give that satisfaction to his constituents which he had expressed his desire to give, and which he was sure he felt as much as any Member of the House did. He had heard to-night, for the first time, that an intention

existed of continuing the Property Tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not indeed stated whether his plan was to have a limited duration. But the Right Honourable Gentleman would recollect that his declaration of to-night was directly contrary to the positive expectations he had held out last year. The declaration then was—"Only give us the Property Tax for one year, just to wind up the expences of the war, and we will be satisfied." He (Lord M.) wished now to know whether the Property Tax was to be given to wind up the expences of the war, or whether it was to be looked to as a source of permanent revenue? This was a point upon which he should wish to be informed, in order that the country might have the consolation of knowing the worst they had to expect. There were other subjects which might be discussed upon the present occasion, as growing out of the treaties; but as they had not yet been laid before the House, he thought the House would do well to satisfy itself fully upon these points; for he confessed enough could not be expected from the meagre Address which had been proposed and the still more meagre Speech uttered by the Honourable Gentleman. It was a notorious fact, that the Treaty of Peace between this country and France, and the other Treaties connected with it, had been signed two or three months, and the people of this country knew their contents only through the medium of the *Rhenish Mercury*. Such was the state in which his Majesty's Ministers placed the people of Great Britain! It had been thought a good thing to obtain peace; but much of the merits of the peace must depend upon the nature of it, the means resorted to for obtaining it, and the securities provided for its retention. He (Lord M.) would not admit the comparison between the framers of the Treaty of Utrecht and those of the Treaties alluded to; but in saying this he must not be taken to approve the Treaty of Utrecht. It had been said by the highest authorities that that was a Treaty disgraceful to this country. The Noble Lord concluded by voting for the Address, in preference to the Amendment, for the reason before stated, that he thought it not prudent to hold out pledges which could not be redeemed, or make promises *ad captandem* which might be broken.

Mr. PRESTON drew a feeling picture of the present miserable state of the landed interests of the country, and warmly supported the Amendment.

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY said, that however desirous he was to go into a consideration of those topics relative to the foreign policy of this country, he should for the present abstain from the indulgence of that desire, from a persuasion that he should have frequent opportunities hereafter of discussing that subject. The speech, however, of his Right Honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer rendered it impossible for him to give a silent vote in favour of the Amendment that had been proposed. At least he was desirous of not having it supposed that he had approved of all the sentiments which had been expressed on the other side of the House. No doubt in a great part of the speech of the Honourable Gentleman opposite, he most cordially concurred. He agreed with him in rejoicing at our having at length obtained peace.—He agreed with him in thinking that peace was most desirable, in an abstract sense, but without reference to the particular circumstances under which the peace was obtained. The expressions also of the Honourable Gentleman's condolence upon the lamented indisposition of his Majesty,—a subject interesting to every body,—most heartily met with his approbation, for it was a matter upon which no one could entertain a different opinion. He (Sir S.) was certainly far from desiring a premature discussion; but he must say, that though he acquiesced in the eulogium upon the glorious victories that had been obtained, he could not concur in giving that unqualified approbation of the cause, as expressed in the Address. It seemed to him extraordinary that this House should, as it were, be unanimous in silent approbation, or, at least, that they should concur in adopting that new system of policy which his Majesty's Ministers had adopted recently, in contradiction to their own repeated declarations. Down to the moment when the House last separated, his Majesty's Ministers had always declared that the war was carried on against Bonaparte individually, and those immediately connected with him; and they took occasion repeatedly to deny imputations to the contrary of this, which had come from this side of the House, by saying that they did not



make war upon France to compel her against her will to admit upon the Throne the present reigning Family. Since the prerogation of Parliament, however, this new policy had not only been adopted but avowed, and the war commenced for the purpose of dispossessing Bonaparte of the Throne. British and foreign armies had united their efforts, for the sole purpose of placing the Bourbon Family upon the Throne of France, without regard to the wishes, the desires, or the feelings of the French nation. He, for one, could not concur in the approbation which had been expressed of that new policy. It was not necessary for him now to enter into a full discussion of the impolicy, the infidelity, and the injustice of this measure; for the time would come, when he should have the opportunity of a more elaborate expression of his dissent from such a policy. For the present he should only observe, that, as it appeared to him, no new ground had occurred since the last meeting of Parliament, to justify the change in the determinations expressed by the British Government, upon this important subject. No change of circumstances had occurred when they thought proper to avow this new system—nothing whatever had occurred to authorize them in adopting a policy, which till the moment it was embraced, they had strenuously deprecated. It might be proper to call the recollection of the House, that about nine months since a letter arrived in this country from Lord Clancarty, addressed to the Noble Lord opposite, which shewed, that even at that late period, a distinct intimation was given to Bonaparte that nothing was farther from the intentions of the British Government than to take part in restoring Louis 18th to the throne of France. This determination was expressed repeatedly from the Convention of St. Cloud, down even to the Victory of Waterloo; and even when the deputation was sent from the Provisional Government of Paris, to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, the like assurances and declaration were made by that Noble Duke. A distinct intimation was given to the five Deputies sent on that occasion, that the British Government intended not to interfere in any way whatever with the internal affairs of France. However, from the time of the Convention taking place, a totally new policy was adopted. If it were to be said, that that new policy was

adopted because the British Government found itself in a new situation, in which they found that policy necessary, he (Sir S.) must say, that the strongest reproach was due to Ministers for not having kept their words with the French nation. It seemed to him, that Ministers had acted most reprehensibly in this part of their conduct.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose, he said, not with a view to protract the debate, but to make a few observations upon the language held by some Gentlemen on the other side. That those Gentlemen might differ from him upon the merits of the late Treaty when laid before the House, and brought under discussion, he was prepared to expect, and he would always be disposed to treat any difference of opinion upon that or any other subject with deference and respect, while he would be ready to enter into the fullest consideration of any difficulty that affected the country. But he could not on this occasion silently overlook the language of despondency which the House had that night heard, especially from the Honourable and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Brougham); nor could he forbear to animadvert upon the disposition which the House witnessed, to transfer attacks from the Ministers of Great Britain who were present and responsible for their actions, and ready to defend themselves, to foreign independent states, which, whatever might be the system of their Governments (with which, by the way, we had no right to interfere), were in amity with this country. [Hear, hear! from the Ministerial side.] This disposition to abuse foreign governments proceeded, perhaps, from a want of materials to indulge in the favorite system of abusing the Administration of the Government of this country. [Hear, hear! on the Ministerial side.] With respect to the Learned Gentleman's comment upon the Address, it was a mistake to state that that Address did not propose to pledge the House to any thing. For without entering into any consideration of the details of the late Treaty, which was to be reserved for the discussion of another day, he could not hesitate to say that the Address proposed to congratulate the Throne upon the conclusion of a peace so glorious in all its character, so important in all its results, and so satisfactory in the accomplishment of all the great objects of the war, as this country

had never before witnessed. Then, as to the despondency upon which the Learned Gentleman dwelt, he would ask, where was the justifiable ground for such gloomy tones? That some change should take place in the situation of any country, and especially in a community whose interests were so complicated as those of Great Britain, upon a transition from war to peace, was naturally to be expected. But the change which this country had witnessed from the late peace, was different, widely different, indeed, from that which must have resulted from any of the Treaties which Gentlemen on the other side so eagerly pressed Government to conclude at different periods of the war. He agreed with his Learned Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) upon the importance of considering our internal situation, but he saw nothing in that situation to create dismay, much less that despair which some Gentlemen seemed anxious to excite. It was impossible to conduct the country, from a war so peculiar in its nature, and so prolonged in its duration, to a state of peace, without experiencing an extraordinary change. The very transition to peace from the prosperity of the war, for the war had been productive of unexampled prosperity in every branch of our trade and commerce, must give birth to very material alterations. The transport of industry and capital, from the circumstances of war, to the new situation into which the country had entered, must occasion results, such as every thinking man, aware of the consequences attendant upon any country in passing from war to peace was prepared to expect. But still the effects of the change that effected this country were extremely exaggerated by the Learned Gentleman. He was aware that the distresses of the country, which he was not disposed to dispute, should be fairly stated to Parliament, in order that they might be fully considered, and every practicable remedy applied. It was only against the exaggeration of these distresses that he protested, and he contended that they were not such as to excuse any attempt to damp the congratulation which it was proposed to offer to the throne, upon the close of a war distinguished by a degree of energy, exertion, and glorious achievement on the part of the country, far exceeding that which belonged to any war in which we had ever been engaged in.

[Hear, hear!] But when Gentlemen would dispose the House to a gloomy view of the state of the country at present, he would ask them to turn their attention to, and compare its circumstances at the close of any former war. Let them look, for instance, to our condition at the termination of the American war. Could the speech from the throne of that day congratulate Parliament upon the prosperity of any branch of our commerce, manufactures, or revenue? What a contrast then did the speech which the House had that day heard, afford for the satisfaction of Parliament and the country! For that speech congratulated Parliament upon the flourishing state of our commerce, manufactures and revenue. Any failure or decay was indeed only to be witnessed in our agriculture—but even in that branch he trusted he should be able to prove, that the falling off was owing rather to temporary than to permanent causes. The speech certainly omitted any allusion to the arts, which were, no doubt, drawn on by the learned Gentleman merely for the purpose of amplification. But whatever were the difficulties of the country, he trusted the House would meet them with the same temper and manliness which distinguished its conduct under the pressure of all the calamities of war, and instead of indulging despondency, second the wisdom and firmness of his Majesty's Government, in providing for the permanent interest of the Empire. That every distress which disturbed the country was merely temporary, and would be soon remedied, he felt the fullest persuasion, and that there was no ground for despondency most satisfactorily appeared from the state of our revenue, the growing produce of which furnished conclusive evidence of the means and improving resources of the country. But similar evidence was deducible from the account of our exports and imports. For, hence it appeared, that while the export of our manufactures in the year ending in October, 1814, amounted to 37,100,000*l.* official value, which was very little different from the real value, the exports for the year ending in October, 1815, exceeded 42,400,000*l.* Thus our exports within the year had advanced 5,300,000*l.*; did this contrast furnish any ground for despondency or gloom? There had been some falling off in the customs, but that

deficiency was more than covered by the produce of the excise revenue, the comparative increased amount of which within the last quarter ending the 5th of January, 1816, afforded ample testimony in contradiction to those who alleged the general distress of the country. For the produce of the excise was a test of undiminished consumption. The war taxes also were steady in their produce, as the falling off on the whole for the last year did not amount to 200,000*l*. With these, such an extraordinary increase of foreign commerce, and such a proof of undiminished domestic consumption, he would ask again, where was the ground for desponding merely because our agricultural interests had received some check, which he trusted would be soon removed?

With regard to the Property Tax, he assured the House, that he in concert with all his Majesty's Ministers, would have felt extremely glad if that tax could have been altogether repealed—but he hoped that Parliament and the public would not be disposed to undervalue the reduction which it was proposed to make in that tax. It would be recollected, that last year the whole of this tax was asked for with a view to enable Government to wind up the expences of the war, but in consequence of the general disposition against it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was under the necessity of taking no less than 7,000,000*l*. from that fund, to which the country owed the establishment of its greatness and sustenance of its superiority: the discussion, however, upon the continuance of any part of the Property Tax would belong to another day. But in the mean time he thought it proper to state, that his Majesty's Government did not feel itself excluded from resorting to any other financial measure in lieu of the Property Tax, should as improved price of the Funds, and the general circumstances of the country, appear to justify the alternative. But he hoped the House would sanction the resolution which his Majesty's Government had in its wisdom adopted, not to touch the Sinking Fund—

not to interfere with that wise system of finance, to which the country owed such important obligations. Such an interference, indeed, could never be deemed justifiable, unless called for by imperious circumstances. After repeating the grounds of congratulation to which the Speech from the Throne adverted, and repeating his objections to the desponding language urged on the other side of the House, the Noble Lord stated the desire of his Majesty's Government, that the distress of the country should be amply investigated, and every practicable relief afforded. But he hoped and trusted, that among the means of relief it never would be pressed upon Parliament to withdraw taxation from any one branch of the community, to the prejudice of the general interest; and in the solicitude to mitigate or remove temporary distress, no measure would be adopted likely to reduce the resources necessary to sustain the permanent security and exalted rank of the Empire, and to enable us to preserve the peace of the Continent, which the glorious exertion of British valour, and the judicious application of British resources, had so materially contributed to establish. [Hear, hear!]

Mr. HORNER felt himself called upon by one observation of the Noble Lord, to state distinctly that in the vote which he proposed to give in support of the Address, he should not think himself pledged to any opinion upon the merits of the treaty, to which it referred. Upon that treaty, indeed, neither he nor the House could form any judgment until the terms of it were officially communicated. Therefore he could not concur in the Noble Lord's assertion, that it was a glorious peace. He approved of the peace, because he rejoiced in the termination of the war—but he protested in the interpretation of the Noble Lord, that in voting for an address of congratulation upon the conclusion of the peace, he was precluded from criticising the conditions of that peace.

*(To be Continued.)*

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Winchester, Feb. 22d, 1816.

At a time when so many important matters press forward for notice, I am sorry to have to disappoint, though only for a week, any expectations which may have been formed with regard to my exertions. But, on Tuesday, when I was about to begin the performance of my weekly labours, I saw, by accident, in the Morning Chronicle, an Advertisement of a requisition, and of a notice of the High Sheriff, for calling together the County of Southampton (commonly called Hampshire) for the purpose of petitioning against the present burthensome system of Taxation generally, and especially against the *Property Tax and the War Tax on Malt*. I felt a very strong desire to be at this Meeting, and thought, that, if I thereby lost the time necessary for writing, I should, perhaps, as well consult my duty towards my readers, by obtaining a knowledge of the real state of this county, and by being able to speak with confidence, as to the sentiments of the people here.—I should, if the post would allow me the time, or if I were not compelled so soon to leave Winchester, give my readers some account (and very amusing it would be) of the *conduct of the Sheriff*, upon this occasion. The Resolutions which were *finally passed*, will be inserted here. But, after these had been moved, I moved, as an *amendment*, another set of Resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Hunt, which this Sheriff, this BOSANQUET, *refused to put to the Meeting!* A long and violent altercation ensued upon this point. Till, at last, after a very manly and very eloquent speech from the Earl of CAERNARVON, during which he protested in the strongest terms against the conduct of the Sheriff in presuming to take upon him to dictate to me what Resolutions I should move, my Resolutions, in the form of an amendment, *were put*, though this BOSANQUET had declared, over and over again, that he *never* would suffer them to be put. The *Thing* made some shuffling

excuses; but, finally he put them; and having so done upon a *show* of holding up hats, he acknowledged, that the numbers appeared to him *to be so nearly, for and against*, that he was unable to decide. He, then, divided the Meeting, sending the *ayes* to the right and the *noes* to the left. After the sides had met again there was still some doubt. A second division took place; and then he decided, that my resolutions were *lost*.—Now, this is very important indeed; because it clearly shows, that good principles are making *great progress* even in Hampshire.—The resolutions, which were moved by the Gentlemen, at the head of whom was my Lord Caernarvon, were as follows:

“At a General Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Hants, convened by the High Sheriff, in the Shire Hall of the said County, on Wednesday the 21st of February, 1816,

“The High Sheriff in the chair;

“Resolved, 1. That the exigencies of the late War for the defence and preservation of his Majesty's Crown, and the religion, laws, liberties, and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects, were the causes assigned by the Legislature for the extraordinary Impost, called the *Property Tax*.

“2 That, by the express terms of the several statutes imposing the said Tax, the faith of the Legislature stands pledged, that its duration should be limited by the war that gave birth to it; the words being as follow (that is to say) “the duties herein contained, shall continue in force during the present war, and until the 6th day of April next, after the ratification of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and no longer.”

“3. That the intention avowed by Ministers of proposing a further continuance of the said Tax in this time of profound peace, is in direct violation of the sacred word and faith of Parliament, and in utter disregard of the general voice of the people conveyed to the House of Commons in the last Session.

"4. That the said Tax is in its nature  
"partial and oppressive, and in its execu-  
"tion vexatious, inquisitorial, and des-  
"tructive to our peace, happiness, and in-  
"dependence; and that no reduction of  
"its rate, or modification of its provi-  
"sions, can render it tolerable to the  
"feelings, or compatible with the condi-  
"tion of a free people.

"5. That our objections to this obnoxious measure are (if possible) aggravated  
"by the very painful consideration, that  
"its continuance appears to be intended  
"towards the support of a Military Peace  
"Establishment of an unexampled and  
"most alarming magnitude, inconsistent  
"with our insular policy, and dangerous  
"to the liberties of the people.

"6. That the War Tax of 2s. per bush-  
"el on Malt, is a partial and grievous  
"pressure on those Counties wherein  
"Barley is the staple article of produce,  
"that by depressing the market it oper-  
"ates as a very injurious discouragement  
"to its growth and to agriculture, and at  
"the same time greatly enhances the ex-  
"pences of the Farmer in the maintenance  
"of his servants, whilst it amounts to an  
"almost total prohibition in the use of  
"beer, by a very large and meritorious  
"portion of his Majesty's subjects, name-  
"ly, the labouring and poorer classes of  
"the community.

"7. That a Petition, founded upon the  
"above Resolutions, be presented to the  
"House of Commons, most earnestly  
"praying that Honourable House to re-  
"ject any Bill for the continuance or re-  
"newal of the said Tax under any form or  
"rate, or under any modification what-  
"ever; and also praying, that the said  
"Tax of 2s. per bushel on Malt, be not  
"continued beyond the period to which it  
"at present stands limited; and in order  
"to satisfy the just expectation, and alle-  
"viate the pressing burthens brought on  
"the people by the late war, earnestly also  
"praying that Honourable House to en-  
"force the most rigid system of retrench-  
"ment in every department of the State,  
"and the settlement of a peace establish-  
"ment in every branch of the Govern-  
"ment upon a basis of the strictest econ-  
"omy; and especially depreciating in the  
"strongest terms, the maintenance of a  
"large standing army in time of peace, a  
"system ruinous to our finances, un-

"known in the best times of the Consti-  
"tution, rendered peculiarly unnecessary  
"now by the depressed condition of  
"France, and tending to *convert our free  
"Constitution into a military despotism.*

"That the Thanks of the Meeting be  
"given to the Noblemen and Gentlemen  
"who signed the two Requisitions for  
"calling it.

"And that William Chute, Esq. and  
"Thomas Freeman Heathcote, Esq. Re-  
"presentatives for this county, be n-  
"structed to present the said Petition to  
"the House of Commons, and to support  
"the prayer thereof to the utmost of their  
"power.

"Resolved, That a similar Petition be  
"presented to the House of Lords, and  
"the Earl of Caernarvon be requested to  
"present it.

"HENRY BOSANQUET,  
"High Sheriff.

"The Sheriff having quitted the Chair,  
"the Thanks of the Meeting were voted  
"him for his readiness in calling the  
"Meeting."

Now, reader, I must first observe, that  
I take these Resolutions from the Morning  
Chronicle, and that whoever sent the *last*,  
that is, of *thanks* to the Sheriff at the  
Meeting, sent a *positive falsehood*. No  
such motion was *made* to the Meeting; no  
man, who had heard what had passed,  
would have dreamt of *making* such a mo-  
tion. I call upon any one of the five or  
six thousand people, who witnessed the  
reprobation of this man's conduct, and  
who heard him, at one time threaten to  
*dissolve* the Meeting, and, at another, to  
*call in the aid of the constables*; I call  
upon any one of this large and most respect-  
able Meeting to say, who speaks the  
truth, I or the author of this advertise-  
ment. *Thanks!* He owes it entirely to  
my forbearance, that a vote of *censure*  
was not moved, and, I firmly believe,  
carried. If my Lord Caernarvon had not  
interfered, and induced the Sheriff to do  
his duty, the consequence would have  
been, the drawing off of one half of the  
Meeting to another place, there to pass  
and sign a petition, containing a protest  
against the conduct of this Bosanquet, a  
man so completely a stranger to the  
County, so wholly unknown, that when he  
began to be troublesome, every man al-  
most was whispering his neighbour, "*who*

"is he? *Where does he live?*"—

As to my *Resolutions*, they contained very little not contained in those that were passed, except a short passage relative to the necessity of *reform*, introduced merely parenthetically; and, if Lord Caernarvon, or any of the real *Country gentlemen*, who were with him, had moved the resolutions, and had not put the task into the hands of a prosiac, conceited, and very assuming person of the name of PORTAL, I do not much think that there would have been opposition enough to go to a *division*. But, in a long-winded, briefless-lawyer-like, set harangue, of an hour long, this eternal talker (who was allowed to speak *seven* different times) put forth so many absurdities, such mixty-maxy of truth and falsehood, that it was impossible to consent to be of accord with him. Even those who had agreed to support his *Resolutions* were compelled, for their own sakes, to disclaim part of his sentiments. This ought to operate as a warning to the *Gentlemen* of the County, who now begin to see that they are to be swallowed quite up, unless they make common cause with the people; it ought to operate as a warning to them, not to place their cause in such *strange* hands in future, but to come forward *themselves* and be the *organ* of their sentiments. They will find, by-and-by, that, if they mean to preserve the wreck, this is the way to do it.—What a *change*, however, in the tone of this cowed-down county! Last year at this time, I could not prevail upon them, at a similar Meeting, to say one word about a *standing army*. They said, by the mouth of their then Sheriff (Mr. NORRIS) and by that of the everlasting Mr. PORTAL, that *that* subject was not at all connected with the continuance of the war-taxes. But, *now* they do think that it is; and, if they had thought and acted with me *last year*, and the whole country had done the same, we never should have heard of this *thundering standing army*.—I must now conclude for want of time. The Extract from Mr. Preston's Pamphlet, which will follow this address, is well worthy of the reader's best attention; because, to what it recommends *we must come*. We must go a great deal further, indeed; but let us take this first.

WM. CORBETT

EXTRACT FROM THE INTERESTING PAMPHLET OF MR. PRESTON, ON THE REMEDIES NOW NECESSARY TO BE APPLIED TO OUR DISTRESSED STATE.

"Portionists have no other right than to receive their principal with the stipulated interest. Their principal is to be paid in full, and unless their interest shall be reduced, the principal, if payable, may be discharged.

"Mortgagees will also receive their principal money without any diminution. The benefit of existing contracts for interest at 5 per cent. may, without any important injury to the measure, be preserved. Thus no faith, no contract, will be broken.

"But then the owner of money, or rather of the debt, or currency, (for there is no such thing as money in this view of things!) will say, I am injured: though I receive my 100*l.* the value of it is depreciated. The 100*l.* are with reference to interest worth only 80*l.* since 4 per cent. for 100*l.* is only equivalent to 5 per cent. for 80*l.* He will add, my income is reduced from 100*l.* to 80*l.* or one-fifth. How am I to live?

"The answers are—1st. The proprietor of the land is to give up one-fourth of his income, while you give up only one-fifth.

"You are to expect bread and provisions, and it is to be hoped taxes at a lower rate, by one-fourth or one-fifth; so that 80*l.* will buy as many of the comforts and luxuries of life as 100*l.*

"But he will then urge, I want to go into trade. Then the answer is—you are to have your 100*l.* for all the benefits of trade; and merchants and others contend, that rents should be lowered, and provisions rendered cheap for the benefit of trade, &c.

"He will then insist, that he wishes to buy funded property, and the price is advanced, and the rate of interest for his money will be reduced. Hitherto, it may be said, you have shown your partiality for mortgage security, rather than funded property; and the advance of the funds by that prosperity of the country, at which all aim, would have placed you, in reference to the funds, in the same condition, as this measure. And if he should still further insist, that

H 2

“ he would have purchased in the funds  
 “ before they advanced, if he could have  
 “ had his money, it may in answer be  
 “ truly said, this is the only plan by  
 “ which he can obtain the payment of his  
 “ money in any reasonable time! But he  
 “ may turn round and say, he would have  
 “ used the process of the law; he would  
 “ have kept his debtor in prison and fore-  
 “ closed the mortgage.—That would be op-  
 “ pressive conduct. Besides, a mortgagor,  
 “ who chose to remain in prison, would  
 “ easily protect his property, by waiting  
 “ for a change of times. He might also  
 “ be discharged from prison under the In-  
 “ solvent Debtors’ Act, and the property  
 “ be sold, or rather given away; and even  
 “ if this hard-hearted mortgagee should  
 “ purchase the property for the amount of  
 “ the mortgage money, is he quite sure he  
 “ would have gained an advantage?

“ Finally, he may object, that he would  
 “ invest his money in the purchase of  
 “ land! See how the account will then  
 “ stand—

“ 100*l.* will now purchase 4*l.* rent.;

“ 100*l.* will then purchase 3*l.* rent.

“ and this 3*l.* of rent will be worth the  
 “ same money as the 4*l.* of rent is now  
 “ worth.

“ You wanted land, and you may have  
 “ land—and you may have the same iden-  
 “ tical land, in quantity and quality, as  
 “ you could now purchase for your 100*l.*

“ You wanted an income from land,  
 “ and you will have it; you will have 3*l.*  
 “ a year income, well paid, and well se-  
 “ cured, and rendered equal to 4*l.* in rela-  
 “ tive value, instead of having 4*l.* of rent,  
 “ badly paid, and in truth worth only 3*l.*;  
 “ and you are sacrificed only in being de-  
 “ prived of the vanity of talking of an in-  
 “ come of 4,000*l.* a year, instead of one of  
 “ 3,000*l.*: both incomes are really the  
 “ same in value. But if the land proprie-  
 “ tors submit to reduce their incomes  
 “ one-fourth for the good of the country  
 “ and to allow 5 per cent. to remain the  
 “ legal rate of interest, then you stand thus:

“ Your property producing 100  
 “ Income is equal to ..... 2,000  
 “ The rent of 100*l.* from land is  
 “ worth ..... 2,500

“ In money. The difference in the  
 “ land-owner’s favour is ..... 500

“ While if his rent shall be reduced  
 “ to 75, being as 4 to 3 per cent.

“ then his income is reduced 25  
 “ per cent. while your income  
 “ remains the same, and his es-  
 “ tate, instead of being worth... 2,500  
 “ Will be worth only ..... 1,875

“ And he will lose one-fourth of  
 “ his capital, or ..... 625

“ And your 2,000*l.* will buy his es-  
 “ tate and leave you with .... 125

“ In your pocket, thus gaining .. 625

“ If these tables do not prove the jus-  
 “ tice and policy of the plan, then there is  
 “ a fallacy which the author has not been  
 “ able to detect!!

“ Besides, the state or government, and  
 “ the extent of the national debt, and the  
 “ national establishments, require that the  
 “ great body of land-owners of the country  
 “ should not be the only sufferers by so un-  
 “ expected a change in the relative value of  
 “ property: and no system could be more  
 “ lamentable, though some of the minions  
 “ of power think differently, than that  
 “ the ancient proprietors of the soil, the  
 “ country gentlemen and the race of yeo-  
 “ men should be reduced to a state of beg-  
 “ gary or comparative insignificance. No  
 “ change would be more injurious to the  
 “ public creditor, or more completely en-  
 “ danger the constitution!!

“ It will be asked, are rents on existing  
 “ leases to be left at the present amount  
 “ for the whole period of the continuance  
 “ of these leases! Are rapacious landlords  
 “ to avail themselves of high rents merely  
 “ because they have found tenants who  
 “ have property to answer those rents?  
 “ The answer is short. A general system  
 “ of regeneration and restitution should  
 “ embrace those cases, which would amply  
 “ protect tenants of this description from  
 “ oppression. Two regulations called for  
 “ by all the principles of commutative  
 “ justice will afford the necessary relief.

“ 1st. Authority should be given to  
 “ trustees of charities, and other trustees,  
 “ and to persons who have the right of  
 “ leasing under powers to reduce the rent  
 “ to the probable scale of future prices;  
 “ and to accept surrenders and grant new  
 “ leases to the tenants at such reduced  
 “ rents. Great injustice is now felt to  
 “ arise from the want of this authority,  
 “ by persons who would readily avail  
 “ themselves of it. Lessees should be  
 “ enabled to put an end to their leases on  
 “ notice for half a year ending with the

"year, unless the landlord who shall have been previously required by a notice in writing, shall consent to make an abatement in the rent, to the extent of a portion thereof, not exceeding a certain aliquot part, to be prescribed by the enactment; for instance, 25 per cent. assuming that to be the general average of the scale of reduction.

"On the other hand, it is impossible not to feel that the present state of things, and the prospects before us, will in future, as in time past, give to the tenantry a decided advantage over the landed interest; and it is confidently predicted that the tenantry who can stand the shock of the present crisis, will be taking farms at rents governed by the scale of the present markets, and reap, under leases, all the advantages of those prices, which a ruined agriculture and diminished cultivation will command before the end of two years. Those proprietors who regulate their rents by a reduction when corn is under the importing sale prices, will best consult their interest!!

"With a reduction of rent under proper regulations; with a commutation of a money payment for tithes, and with relief from the Property Tax as affecting the present tenantry, (for as to future tenants, a tax on agricultural capital will be a tax on the land proprietor) and with a more equal division of the burthen of the poor rate; and with the home market properly secured to the industry of the British farmer; agriculture will revive, population increase, and the country may become more flourishing than ever; and bear taxation, if it be gradually diminished by the sinking fund, and a system of economy in the expenditure.

"But above all things, get rid of that most injurious system which taxes income in a hundred degrees, meeting it successively at every point of industry. Under the present system the original income proceeding from land, which in truth is the parent of all wealth; or, to gratify those who may think differently, from land, manufacture, or commerce, as the three great sources from which wealth or income originates; is taxed about one hundred times in a graduated reduced scale, until it reaches the persons who, from their poverty, are ex-

"empted from the tax; but who are made to feel it in the reduced means of their employers, and in the increase of their own numbers. Follow a rental of 10,000*l.* a year into the various hands through which it passes. In the first degree, the tax will stand thus: the proprietor 1000*l.*: the tenant ultra his 5 per cent. on capital 500*l.*: the parson, the lawyer, the apothecary, steward, merchant, manufacturer, 400*l.*: then go on to the butcher, shopkeeper, &c. 300*l.*: go on again, and take the income of each as made up between themselves 200*l.*: and this Income Tax will, if fully collected, be enormous.

"In this place also it may be worth while to examine the Property Tax, as evidence of the income and ability of the country.

"Taken at 14,000,000*l.* a year, the income at 10 per cent. is 140,000,000*l.*, but as there is a reduced scale for incomes under 200*l.* a year, the income may be estimated at 160,000,000*l.*; and then there is the singular circumstance that Ireland is exempted from this tax, as if the land proprietors, &c. of that country had no stake in the general welfare!!

"But how do you make up this apparent income?

"1st. You tax the funded proprietor, who so far from having any property, has a charge or debt on the property.

"2d. You tax incomes derivable from Government, &c. and consequently incomes which are derivable from an incumbrance on property, and not the fruit of property.

"3d. You tax farmers, and you have nearly ruined them by supposing their profits are equal to three-fourths of the rental; and during the last two years, you have taxed them as for profits at this rate, while the profits of many preceding years have been lost and sacrificed.

"4th. You tax labor, industry, skill, &c. exercised without any capital: thus the curate of the church, the lawyer, physician, artist, &c. &c. though they have no capital, are taxed for an income derived wholly out of the income of others.

"5th. You very properly tax income derivable from India, &c. &c. and many incomes which are founded on specula-



"tion, and yield 10 per cent. as shares in  
"dock companies, canals, &c. &c. &c.

"Finally, You tax income derivable  
"out of income, in every hand through  
"which it passes, till it becomes merely  
"adequate to the sustenance of life; name-  
"ly, 60*l.* a year, or 12*l.* a year for each  
"of a family of five, or 8*d.* a day!

"Descending therefore from high no-  
"tions of your resources, look your situa-  
"tion in the face, and really see what is  
"your income from property, and the  
"proportion it bears to the annual amount  
"of the expences of the Government, and  
"of the demands of the public creditor,  
"and you may return to a sober and just  
"estimate of your means, and of your  
"real and substantial wealth.

"Let statesmen discard as quick as they  
"can the mistaken notion that our funded  
"system, or system of raising money by  
"loans, is the source of our wealth!!

"It is of the first importance to under-  
"stand this point accurately. It will cor-  
"rect an error into which a very useful  
"and valuable writer on the wealth, pow-  
"er, and resources, of the British Empire,  
"has fallen. This mistake of the cause  
"of wealth has given to his picture a high  
"colouring, which does not belong to it,  
"and he may very innocently lead his in-  
"experienced readers into most serious and  
"calamitous mistakes!!

"Suppose a gentleman has 300*l.* a year,  
"worth, in these times, 6,000*l.* He bor-  
"rows 1,500*l.* at 10 per cent. 150*l.* a  
"year of his income will be withdrawn.  
"Let the 150*l.* a year be lent to him at  
"10 per cent. at the end of each succes-  
"sive year, and in about eight years the  
"annuitant will have the whole income  
"by means of the new loans, and the  
"compounded interest thereon, at 10 per  
"cent.!! This is precisely the state of  
"the country, in regard to the funded  
"debt, by means of new loans. The  
"magnitude of the debt supplies the  
"means of new loans, and increases  
"the incumbrance on the property and  
"energies of the empire, exactly in the  
"same manner as the grantee of an  
"annuity, who continually advances the  
"produce of the annuity to the grantor  
"on a new annuity, quickly brings the  
"whole income of the property within  
"his grasp. Few are more intimately  
"acquainted with these melancholy re-  
"sults than the writer of these observa-

"tions, deriving his information through  
"the certain channel of professional ex-  
"perience!! And this is one of his mo-  
"tives for wishing to abolish redeemable  
"annuities, on the one hand, and on the  
"other hand, arresting the mad career of  
"involving the property of the nation,  
"and, in effect, the property, the happi-  
"ness, and the comfort, of individuals,  
"in the consequences of the like system,  
"varying only in the period of ultimate  
"ruin; by the difference in the rate of  
"interest which is paid, unless indeed you  
"can and will keep up the rental and va-  
"lue of property, and consequently the  
"price of food in progressive advance, as  
"the debt increases.

"It is an error also to compare our pre-  
"sent situation with our situation after  
"the close of the American war.—1st.  
"The state of the country is very differ-  
"ent. The taxes were then, even in  
"comparison with rent, &c. no oppressive  
"burden to the growers of corn. The  
"quantity of money withdrawn from the  
"country and agricultural interest could  
"be paid from the then prices of corn and  
"provisions, while at present they cannot  
"be paid, for the expenditure is increased  
"from a charge of twelve millions four  
"hundred thousand pounds a year, to at  
"least seventy millions, for a peace esta-  
"blishment, being nearly six for one: and  
"in the last year the Government drew  
"from the subjects nearly as much money  
"as it drew during the nine years of war  
"with America, or the first eight years of  
"the French Revolutionary war. The  
"amount of the price of corn, &c. is nearly  
"the same now as it was then. Wheat  
"was then worth 1½*d.* per lb. and it is not  
"worth 1½*d.* at this moment, nor has  
"been on the average of the two last years.

"Besides, our distresses were great, our  
"poverty extreme, during the American  
"war, and were not aggravated or in-  
"creased by the peace; while in the pre-  
"sent instance we were in the highest  
"state of apparent prosperity, during the  
"war and up to its close, and have been  
"hurled by a mistaken policy, into a state  
"of insolvency and ruin, by those mea-  
"sures (the toleration of an importation  
"of corn to the amount of from one to  
"two millions), which were suffered to  
"follow one of the most glorious states of  
"victory and national superiority which  
"the country ever experienced. And the



“ reverse is ruinous in the same degree  
 “ as it was unexpected, and we were un-  
 “ prepared to encounter it.

“ At this moment also, with the feelings  
 “ of the people reconciled to the necessity  
 “ of supporting the agricultural interests,  
 “ and of obtaining the means, through the  
 “ Farmer, of purchasing bread, it would  
 “ be politic to advance the protection to  
 “ the farming interests by making 12s. per  
 “ bushel for wheat, 6s. for barley, and 4s.  
 “ for oats, the prices at which the import-  
 “ ed corn may be taken out of the ware-  
 “ houses for home consumption: By this  
 “ arrangement the Government and the  
 “ country may perhaps guard against the  
 “ prospect, and it is a very serious one, of  
 “ *scarcity*, not to say *famine*, in the years  
 “ 1817—1818; and the advance, if any  
 “ should take place in *corn*, &c. would be  
 “ more than compensated by *plenty* in  
 “ future years; and by an equalization of  
 “ prices. It is easy to foresee, that should  
 “ the present state of things continue be-  
 “ yond the period for preparing the  
 “ ground for seed-corn, that bread will be  
 “ dearer in 1817—1818 than it has been  
 “ in any one of the last 20 years; while  
 “ there will not exist equal ability in the  
 “ people to pay for the bread, or in the  
 “ country, or the Government, to import  
 “ the quantity of corn necessary to supply  
 “ the deficiency.

“ Such is the general outline of the  
 “ topics which present themselves as the  
 “ remedy for the state of our existing  
 “ difficulties. It is offered with great  
 “ humility by one, who feels bound by  
 “ every tie of gratitude to society, to lend  
 “ his feeble efforts to the great object of a  
 “ regenerating system; by one who loves  
 “ the Constitution, from a conviction and  
 “ full persuasion of its value; and who  
 “ would deplore, as one of the most seri-  
 “ ous calamities, any convulsion which  
 “ should give a *preponderating influence*  
 “ *to those turbulent spirits, who delight in*  
 “ *anarchy and confusion*. No one can  
 “ be more sensible than himself, that the  
 “ nature of our Constitution, and some of  
 “ its very essential qualities, have led in a  
 “ great measure to render patronage and  
 “ its attendant expences, necessary to the  
 “ continuance of the power of the persons  
 “ engaged in the administration of the  
 “ country. The spirit of opposition inci-  
 “ dental, and almost necessary, to our  
 “ *free Constitution*, and to the due con-

“ duct of our affairs, has rendered it ne-  
 “ cessary for Ministers, anxious to pre-  
 “ serve their power, to seek the prepon-  
 “ derating influence of those who demand  
 “ places for themselves, and emoluments  
 “ for their friends and dependants, as the  
 “ price of their support.

“ This system of patronage has led to  
 “ the great increase of our establishments,  
 “ and become the worm of the State; a  
 “ worm which has devoured the fairest  
 “ flowers, and blighted the best prospects  
 “ of our hopes. It is to be wished—it is a  
 “ vain wish! that the wisdom which past  
 “ experience has taught, may lead to a  
 “ more just and economical application of  
 “ public money, and to a system of re-  
 “ trenchment, under the full conviction  
 “ that sooner or later, unless that system  
 “ shall become more beneficial to the public,  
 “ the industrious bees will drive from their  
 “ hive those drones, who devour the fruits  
 “ of their honest labour.

“ It would be presumptuous in any one  
 “ to expect a general concurrence in the  
 “ measures he may propose to the public.  
 “ The nature of this subject is too ample,  
 “ and too diversified, to expect that jar-  
 “ ring interests should be reconciled to  
 “ the plan which he shall suggest. Every  
 “ plan, which an individual can form,  
 “ must receive modifications to reconcile  
 “ conflicting interests, and must admit of  
 “ many corrections, to give it a system of  
 “ wisdom. That will be the best plan  
 “ which, with a view to practical benefit,  
 “ shall offer the best principle: and the  
 “ best principle, whoever may produce it,  
 “ should receive the most cordial support.

“ Early habits and early education, in-  
 “ tense labour, and extensive practice in  
 “ the arrangements of various concerns,  
 “ and the patronage and support with  
 “ which the public have honoured and  
 “ rewarded these labours, afford the author  
 “ some reason to hope that the experience  
 “ he has had of retrieving the embarrassed  
 “ fortunes of families, and of individuals,  
 “ may have afforded him some ground for  
 “ ascertaining the cause and extent of our  
 “ present difficulties. Had his warning  
 “ been more successful, they would not  
 “ have existed. Governed by mathemati-  
 “ cal truth, a great State may be compared  
 “ to a family: the difference is only in  
 “ the number of its constituent members;  
 “ and that which would be correct to an  
 “ honest, honorable, and just family,

"when in pecuniary difficulties, cannot be false, when applied to an honest, an honorable, and just community, constituting a State, placed in corresponding difficulties.

"Should it be urged, that this is a wild, a visionary, or fanciful project, the author may urge in his defence, that he is sanctioned, confirmed, and supported by the authority of history, and of experience, as recorded by Parliament, and by parliamentary enactment; a circumstance which escaped his notice in forming his plan, and to which he never adverted till a sense of public duty, and a regard for his own character, led him to extensive research, to discover how far his sentiments, or his views, accorded with, or differed from, those of the great men of former times, employing their labours for the welfare of the state, under circumstances of similar difficulties.

"The Statute of the 12th Ann. c. 16., which passed after the funding system was established, and its burthens were felt, (being the last Statute which reduced the rate of interest,) recites that the reducing of interest to *ten*, and from thence to *eight*, and thence to *six* in the hundred, had, from time to time, by experience, been found very beneficial, to the advancement of trade and improvements of lands; and that the heavy burthen of the late, long, and expensive war, had been chiefly borne by the owners of the land of this kingdom, by reason whereof they had been necessitated to contract very large debts, and thereby, and by the abatement in the value of their lands, were become greatly impoverished; and that by reason of the great interest and profit which had been made of money at home, the foreign trade of this nation had of late years been much neglected, and at that time there was a great abatement in the value of the merchandizes, wares, and commodities, of this kingdom, both at home and in foreign parts, whither they were transported; and that for the redress of these mischiefs, and the preventing the increase of the same, it was absolutely necessary, to reduce the high rate of interest of six pounds in the hundred pounds for a year, to a nearer proportion with the interest of money allowed in Foreign States.

"That act was passed under circumstances which afford a precedent for our conduct on the present occasion; and the experience of the benefit of that act, justifies the adoption of a similar measure. Its benefits, as recorded, were to reduce interest within 2 or 3 years down to 4, and even 3 per cent.

"To conclude: It is absolutely necessary either to keep up the rental of land, or to reduce the rate of interest, as the means of enabling the land proprietors to reduce their rents. It is also necessary to encourage the growth of corn, or to prepare for scarcity.

"To the minister for the time being, and public creditor, the advance of prices is most desirable to make prices keep pace with taxation. To the people, the reduction of the rate of interest promises the greatest advantage.

TO RICHARD PRESTON, Esq. M. P.

SIR,—I have read your pamphlet throughout with great attention, and, with the best judgment I can form, it seems that you have made a very fair display of the general suffering and distress that pervades this great and mighty nation. I shall not trespass on your time by a comment on particulars, but there is one observation that I cannot avoid making: you set off with a grand eulogium on the "great, powerful, and unrivalled talents" of that great Minister Pitt, and, consequently, of the great achievements we must have derived under the auspices of his superlative genius; but as it happens the whole tenor of your argument demonstrates, that it is the system of this great minister that has brought the country into this deplorable state of bankruptcy and ruin, which in such glaring colours you have justly described. The fashion of paying most unqualified adoration to this great man is so prevalent, that it amounts almost to an act of treason to speak the truth,—that his system has been the ruin of his country: and in the very completion and accomplishment of his plans (if he was at this moment alive) he would have more cause to exclaim, "Oh, my country!" than even in the zenith of his despair!!! But, not to detain you with a long paraphrase of sentences, meaning one and the same thing, which our book-makers find so very convenient, I should like to have a

fair answer to this one question :—What has this glorious system of this Heaven-born minister achieved, after above 20 years of war, destruction, rapine, plunder and devastation, the subsidizing of all nations beyond all calculation and restraint, and finally entailing distress and ruin on this unfortunate country? What has been our gains? Why, you say, we have put the Bourbons upon the throne—it is in the cause of legitimacy that we have bled.—Aye; but have those for whom you have expended so much of blood and treasure deserved it at your hands? Are they endeared to you by any acts of kindness or of friendship? In truth, has not that family ever been (in disposition, at least) the most distinguished and bitter of your enemies, and are you not in all quarters denominating them as such; and after placing them again on the seat of royalty, obviously against the will of a great majority of their subjects, are you not (by main force) obliged to support them on the throne?—Your vaunting upon the glory you have acquired, is it not all bombast, and demonstrated only by the skeletons of the armies that obtained it? Observe: I do not mean to deteriorate or lessen the triumph of our victories; but I ask you what real benefit the country has obtained from them? I desire to know what real advantage the country has derived from all this vast expenditure of blood and treasure? I could descant upon this topic for lengthened pages, by I know I must be short to give room for the many excellent dissertations which this Register is generally found to contain. But, for the cause of legitimacy let us pause a little! Pray let us not forget the poor lost Gustavus, who, to the last gasp of his royalty, remained with us our good and faithful ally when all our new friends were at enmity with us; his sacrifices should at least move us to inquire what is become of him? It should seem strange, that instead of supporting his legitimacy, he should be now a wanderer upon the earth, superseded by a man drawn from the ranks, who, in the name of the Holy Trinity, is established in succession to his throne. If we are to go all lengths in support of legitimacy, how happens it that this poor degraded man is left in this forlorn and forsaken state? When we hear so much of honour and

good faith, pray let us see it acted upon with some degree of consistency. When we hear the Pitt system applauded to the very Heavens, we search (but in vain) for the good that has resulted from it.—You have truly given the result; you have shewn us the picture, and left the observer to contemplate the pale, the disconsolate, and emaciated figure it describes.

One word more if you please: I am not a friend to anarchy and confusion; I am not a jacobin, according to the common acceptation of the word; nor am I of democratic principles, but a firm friend to the constitution of my country as by law established;—but a greater impostor to the cause of truth, than “the pilot that weathered the storm,” I know not where to find.

PHILO.

#### FINANCES.

SIR,—It is not flattery to assert that your writings will be consulted so long as right and wrong notions of political economy have any influence on the happiness of nations; but why, Sir, indulge in so much sarcasm against the farmers; they are prostrate opponents, and this course from your pen may do harm, for you cannot be ignorant that numerous classes harbour a deadly hatred against the farmers, independent of any justifiable political animosity. This is owing to the paper system, all the enormities of which begin to unfold themselves to the most common observer. I know not whether Milton made Adam have a foresight of this scourge of his fallen children; but I am certain that his poem would have been more interesting and instructive if he had given it the precedence of battle, murder, and sudden death; but my chief object in taking the liberty of addressing you is to hazard a few remarks on the subject which now agitates all thinking men, and more particularly metallic and paper-currency, as very strange ideas respecting it seem to have taken possession of well-informed minds here and on the other side of the Atlantic.

Gold and silver being eagerly sought after for their beauty, durability, and scarcity, and, as forming the basis of numerous ornamental and useful manufactures, became valuable independent of all convention and argument, and forced them-

selves on commercial nations as the universal merchandize; it was not the act of coining the precious metals into money that made them valuable, but because they were valuable they were made into money. It is not the act of the dairy-maid in making up butter into pounds weight that confers any particular value on butter, but because butter is valuable and useful it is put up into pounds weight for the convenience of traffic. Money of gold or silver is the merchandize of which every body strives to get as much as possible, it is the merchandize by which a man's worth is estimated: other merchandize is sought for by particular traders only, and by the mass of persons in limited quantities. Money is governed by the same general laws as other merchandize, and as it increases in quantity it decreases in its power over other things, (for value in exchange means power) unless those other things be increased in the same ratio. Of course this principle is *modified* with respect to all transactions by political events, a spirit of speculation, &c. &c. The farmer who goes to market to sell a quarter of wheat, goes thither to *buy* as much money as he can get, and the dealer who goes with money to purchase wheat, sells his money just as much as the farmer sells his wheat. The money meant formerly a legal weight and quantity of gold or silver, as much as the farmer's bushel means a measure of a certain quantity of cubic inches, which he is not at liberty to alter, because corn may be scarcer at one time than at another. If the farmer on the supposition that his land would produce one hundred quarters of wheat, were to give me a promissory-note for one hundred quarters, and could furnish only eighty quarters, his note would be depreciated twenty per cent. and it would be in vain for him to talk to me of arbitrary value, as it is quantities that must be adhered to in all the bargains; and if Financiers once lose sight of this, in speaking of promissory-notes of money as well as of other things, they are like mariners at sea without a compass. Financiers, urged by necessity, have often issued out promissory-notes for the delivery of quantities of money of standard weight and finances at the option of the holders, and frequently to a greater amount than the relative money riches of the countries over which they presided would enable them

to fulfil; and when a Government, with all the purses of the community at command, says that it is inexpedient, or avows its inability to pay its guinea note, for instance, with the quantity and quality of gold in a guinea, it is not to be expected that any private banker or person will do it, and there the Government is like the Farmer, who promised one hundred quarters, and can only furnish eighty quarters. The guinea-note was originally a promise to deliver a golden guinea of the weight of 5 dwt. 8 grs.; and as long as this promise was available, the note was at par, and was an excellent auxiliary to commerce, but as it has been for a length of time below the quantity of 5 dwts. 8 grs. we say that it is depreciated, for the promise is not equal in *quantity* to the thing promised, and of course not equal to so large a quantity of any other commodity as the thing promised, viz. the 5 dwts. 8 grs. would be. If a man owing me a pound of butter were to cut off one quarter, and give me only the remaining three-quarters, he would act by me in the same way as a person does who, being indebted to me in a standard guinea, pays me in a guinea note, which happens to be at five and twenty per cent. discount. It is wild to talk as many have done ever since the Bank Restriction Bill, of the guinea note and the real guinea being of the same value; but we have nothing to do with value, as value merely denotes the power which a quantity of one thing has over a quantity of another thing in exchange. The confusion of ideas arises from a partiality to the word value, and our not adhering to quantities. If a man owed me a guinea and began to talk to me about its value, I should suspect some fraud, and should say, "you owe me a standard guinea, which means a fixed quantity and quality of gold with a legal stamp to certify this, but, not with a view to give it any arbitrary or determined value; pay me a guinea, and my skill in business and the current prices must decide upon its value or the power that it will have over any other thing in the market." It has been asserted that our government has succeeded in maintaining the *value* of the paper-money; but, unless the guinea of legal weight and the paper guinea note be mutually exchangeable, their value or power cannot be the same, unless we admit that unequal

quantities are equal. The guinea note which has at times been twenty-five per cent. below the real guinea, is now approaching to par in the market, as I believe that gold could be got for it of the weight of a guinea, less about six per cent.; but let a strong rumour of war prevail, and then though one real guinea would be equal only to another, it might have power over a guinea note and a half. This would not prove that there was less gold than before, any more than when land rose it was a proof that there was less land than formerly; the truth is, as at an auction, plenty of bidders with plenty of paper make things rise. In this case we arbitrarily judge of the scarcity of gold and of other things by a paper measure, millions of which can be created by a dash of the pen. A forced paper money is a system of false weights and measures; it is like a clipping or sweating of the coin; it divides a currency against itself, destroys the equal law of exchange, and gives great political weight to Jews, Bankers, and Money-Brokers. The building up of this Babel of paper dazzled the farmer, who was ignorant of its remote consequences, and dismayed the Annuitant; the taking down of part of this paper tower has revived the hope of the Annuitant, and sunk the Farmer into despondency; but let not the Annuitant rejoice too securely; let him view the tottering state of the structure, and consider well the frightful vicissitudes occasioned by the paper system. Do we complain of a want of Corn, of Cattle, of Merchandise, of Houses, of well cultivated Fields? Oh, no, we have these in abundance, and in perfection; we complain of the sudden and unjust distribution of these, by an arbitrary Paper-Money, referable to no fixed quantity, and its twin brother Taxation. It is a system full of absurdity. Grave Senators have lately talked of regulating the price of corn, which must always depend on the greater or lesser quantity of money and corn at market, modified by the demand; and it is evident that to measure or estimate the price of a quarter of wheat by guinea notes, representing a fluctuating quantity of gold, or by real guineas always of the same quantity, must lead to different conclusions; in the former case, we are like mariners who are steering by a compass, the variation of which is not ascertained. You should define your

terms, Gentlemen; you, perhaps, do not perceive that we are playing a desperate game with counters, and that the chances are running as much against the Farmer as they did a little time ago in his favour; cannot you assist him with a bushel or two of your imaginary guineas, or at least, with a peck of your ideal pounds sterling. The war, however, is fortunately over, but we are unjust in apportioning admiration to our deliverers. Talk about our valour at Waterloo, it is all eclipsed, by the superior intrepidity of the old lady in Thread-needle-street; she has done more execution with her flying artillery of one pounders, than all our Wellingtonians in Spain and France; her forced marches and counter marches have astonished Europe; at one time she deployed and outflanked her opponents, then rapidly forming an *echelon en potence*, she gave no quarter to the numerous rifle corps that assailed her, and now she has contracted her veterans into a hollow square. Like an experienced general, she still keeps them in an imposing attitude, and promises to justify the confidence of the nation in her astonishing manoeuvres. Her maligners say that, had she trusted more to *mining* in her operations, the advantages obtained would have been more solid, and that her punishment in the *stocks* are unimilitary; however, take her all in all, we shall never look upon her like again: hers has been the most brilliant dash of the whole war; here was a theme worthy of Walter Scott, he might have said without bordering on fancy, "a million tall yeomen would draw at her word."

I am, your very obedient servant,

AGRICOLA.

Lyme, January 30, 1816.

#### ON THE

#### NATIONAL DEBT AND SINKING FUND.

Edinburgh, Jan. 17, 1816.

MR. COBBETT,—The National Debt has always been an object of great importance; but as it swells in magnitude, it swells equally in importance. You, Sir, have written on the National Debt in a masterly manner. You have pointed out its rise, progress, and effects, so that any person of a moderate capacity, may have a sufficiently clear idea of it. You have treated of funds, taxes, loans, dividends, discounts, annuities, omnium, paper-currency, bullion, high and low prices, ex-

changes, trade, agriculture, &c. &c. in the most clear and copious manner. I have no intention to obtrude long observations on you; they would be both superfluous and unseasonable: but, I hope you will allow me to express how often conviction has been impressed on my mind, when I read your financial disquisitions. In the autumn of 1810, some numbers of your Register fell in my way, in which were some of your letters entitled "Paper against Gold," addressed to the tradesmen and farmers in and near Salisbury. These letters contained opinions so congenial to my own, that I procured the Register, and perused all the letters on the subject, as they were published. I had derived my previous notions of national debts and paper-currency, &c. from Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; Hume's *Essays on Money, Interest, and Public Credit*; Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*; and from pamphlets of the day, of which the one that struck me most was, Paine's *Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance*. I have nothing to say as to Paine's politics; but it appears to me, that he had a clear idea of paper money and the funding system; his reasonings seem well founded, and time has hitherto substantially confirmed them. My persuasion of this truth has not been diminished but increased by subsequent events. Smith, Hume, Montesquieu, and Paine, however different in character and politics, are quite in unison as to the National Debt and its consequences. Your copious reasoning, with what I had gleaned from these authors, has so confirmed *my opinion* that my mind acquiesces in it as in a mathematical demonstration. However, different men see things in a different light—some have reasoned themselves into a contrary opinion, some are swayed by interest, some have not considered the subject, the most are ignorant, and many *will have it*, that the National Debt is a national benefit, that taxes *at last* become no burden, that paper-money is equal, if not superior, to gold, &c. And such are the passions and prejudices of the day, that reasonings, like these, are said to proceed from patriotic motives; while the exposition of their futility is more than insinuated to proceed from motives exactly contrary. But the discussion of the National Debt is no party matter; it is a serious question in po-

litical arithmetic; the necessary consequences will ensue, whatever we think of it. *Men of all parties* have concurred in opinion, that the debt, if not checked, will be ultimately ruinous. The following are testimonies:—"The National Debt is the best ally of France."—Pitt, Speech in Parliament. "Public debts, which at first were a security to governments, by interesting many in the public welfare, are likely in their excess to become the means of their subversion."—Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution*. "Either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation."—Hume, *Essay on Public Credit*. "The enormous debts, which at present oppress, will, in the long run, most probably ruin all the great nations of Europe."—Dr. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, chapter on Public Debts. "La dette immense de l'Angleterre et de la France prepare à ces deux nations, non une ruine totale ou décadence durable, mais de longs malheurs et peut-être de grands bouleversements."—Note to the article *Economie* in Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, published at Amsterdam in 1789. "Without embarrassing ourselves with complicated ideas, it may be at once asserted, that a nation, which goes on borrowing and mortgaging without redeeming its funds, must at length, like an individual, become bankrupt, and that the ruin this produces will correspond to the magnitude of the bankruptcy."—Dr. Currie, *Letter Commercial and Political*, addressed (in the name of Jasper Wilson) to Mr. Pitt in 1793. "By means of National Debts, the wheels of several European governments are already so much clogged, that it is impossible they should go on much longer. We see our taxes, even without war, continually increasing. The very peace establishment of France could not be kept up any longer, and the same must soon be the situation of other nations. All the causes which have operated to the augmentation of these debts, continue to operate, and with increased force; so that our approach to this great crisis of our affairs, is not equitable but accelerated; the present generation has seen the debt of this nation rise from a mere trifle to an amount that already threatens ruin—And will not the next generation, if not the pre-

"sent, see this ruin?"—Dr. Priestly, Letter to Mr. Burke, in 1791. There are testimonies for you, Mr. Cobbett, both of whig and tory, papist and protestant, all uniting in the alarming nature of the National Debt. But how is the evil to be cured? How can the debt be liquidated? It is far easier to get into a trap than to get safely out of it! Mr. Pitt provided a *panacea* for this great national disease. His grand Sinking Fund has been reckoned the only practicable way of relieving us of our mighty load of debt! We have been instructed "to be hold with reverential awe this only hope of the nation!" In the House of Lords on Monday, April 12, 1813, the following superlative encomiums were pronounced on Pitt's Sinking Fund: "The Earl of Liverpool said that he rose to call the attention of the House to a most essential measure of public relief. Of all the acts of his great friend, the late Mr. Pitt, the greatest, perhaps, was the establishment of the *Sinking Fund*, and his adhering to it under all circumstances. His fame would rest securely on that act alone, if there was nothing else on which it might be expected to stand." "The Marquis of Lansdowne said that he viewed the *Sinking Fund* with as much admiration as the Noble Earl: but, in his opinion, it was not so much the discovery and establishment of the fund by Mr. Pitt, for which the country owed him its *eternal gratitude*, as it did for the guards which he set upon it, that it might not be altered." But the Earl of Lauderdale appears to have been less dazzled with the *shining merits* of this grand Sinking Fund. "The Earl of Lauderdale could not altogether agree with the two Noble Peers who had spoken. He had always considered (and he was glad that better authorities than himself had entertained the same opinion) that the Sinking Fund was a *most infamous agent* to increase the burdens of the people in time of war; and in time of peace, it was a *most mischievous agent* for relieving the National Debt." I not only agree with Lord Lauderdale in what he says, but I freely declare that I look on Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund as one of the *grandest delusions* ever practised on the credulity of this nation, not excepting even the South Sea bubble in 1720. The Sinking Fund has already

been broken in upon—a part of it, at least, has been averted from its original purpose; but if it had been left to operate in the freest manner, I am fully persuaded that it never could have been, and never will be, of any considerable efficacy in relieving us of the National Debt, *as long as the borrowing system goes on*. My reasons are these: five Commissioners, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, receive from Government a million a year, in quarterly payments of £250,000, to purchase stock or annuities, the interest (or dividends) of which is to accumulate with the principal. They have also received one per cent. on all the loans since 1792, with one or two exceptions. From all sources they now receive (it is said) *about three millions* every quarter of a year, and the whole stock purchased may amount to 300 millions sterling.—It is needless to be more particular; this summary statement is sufficient. Now, on the whole, does not suspicion arise in the mind, even on the first consideration of the subject? Can a nation grow rich, by paying interest to itself on its own debts? Can a nation ever pay off its debts with mortgaged taxes or borrowed money? But, to be more particular, government give *borrowed money or taxes* to buy up government debts! All is debt; the whole is a paper-transaction. The *annual million*, received by the Commissioners, is an *annual addition* to the National Debt or to the taxes; the interest (or dividends) which they receive, is paid in notes, which are *acknowledgments of debt*; the stock itself which they purchase, is a *debt* due by government. In the whole round of the circle, the government is both debtor and creditor; the debt paid with one hand is contracted with the other; Peter is robbed to pay Paul.—The more stock the Commissioners buy, the more government is *indebted*; and the people are not relieved, for the interest on what is called the redeemed debt is still paid from the taxes; and even if it were not paid, or taxes equivalent to it repealed, the burden would soon be as heavy as ever, for *new loans* would immediately require the laying on of *new taxes*. This would be taking off with one hand and laying on with the other. In short the



Sinking Fund is superlatively absurd. It cannot reduce the debt. If it had never existed, the nation would at this time have been the whole of its amount, or 300 millions, *less in debt*. Instead of checking and diminishing the debt, it affords facilities for contracting more!—It is merely an engine in the hands of government for casting dust in the eyes of the public, and giving the minister of the day the power of influencing the stock-market in his favour! If the money received by the Commissioners were got *without borrowing*, or from a *surplus of taxes*, and the whole in *metallic* or *valid* currency, the case would be altered; the Government would be engaged in no new mortgages, and some relief would be obtained. The Americans, in time of peace, pay off their debts in this manner. This is real redemption. But our government cannot do this; every thing with them is mortgaged; nothing is free; all is debt, and of a hopeless magnitude! Nothing can be of any avail to diminish the National Debt, except what has a tendency to *stop borrowing*, and to produce a *surplus of revenue* above the expenditure. If it be possible finally to liquidate the debt, what means should be used but the contrary of those by which it has been contracted? Let peace be cultivated and war avoided; let there be no more borrowing; let as much surplus revenue as possible be procured to pay off the debt:—if this be not done, the Sinking Fund will be of no avail. As long as the funding system continues, there will always be a wide disproportion between what is called the *redeemed* and *unredeemed* debt. Like a geometrical progression, the longer the series, the wider the difference. As a part can never be equal to the whole, as a branch cannot support the trunk, as a tottering house cannot be supported by a buttress built on the top of it, so a Sinking Fund, which springs from, and lives on, the borrowing system, can never be the preservation of that system. A million or two separated, every quarter of a year, from an annual revenue of above 70 millions, and accumulating at compound interest, may be calculated, in a certain number of years, to liquidate a debt of 1100 millions; but there never can be any practical result. Such a mass of gold cannot exist; the accumulation would be nominally in paper; as it rose

in amount, it would lose its powers of purchase; and responsible borrowers and creditors would at last fail, from the impossibility of employing capital in any profitable undertaking. These and other causes, discoverable only by experience, would prove the impracticability of the speculation. The only rational purpose of the Sinking Fund seems to be the making up of a purse at one time to be spent at another. In this respect, it resembles the ancient practice of Kings in collecting a treasure for future exigences. As such, it must be a tempting object in the eye of a needy minister. Accordingly, Mr. Vansittart, unable to resist the temptation, or impelled by necessity, has laid his hands on a part of the Sinking Fund. This establishes a precedent. I have no doubt that in a few years, the whole or nearly the whole of the Sinking Fund will be applied to the current expences of Government; so that, at last, it will be just the same as if a Sinking Fund had never existed.—And all this will be done with such *success*, as still to bestow the loudest praises on the genius of Pitt and the advantage of his fund. It will be devoured, not abusively by declared enemies, but by pretended friends, amidst a profusion of compliments!—The Edinburgh Reviewers estimate the annual produce of the Sinking Fund “at 12 millions, after making the deductions for the operations “which have lately been practised upon “it.” From extracts, which I made from the daily papers, the following is my calculation. Cancelled of the Sinking Fund, pursuant to 53 Geo. III. cap. 59, £94,777,100.—Nov. 15th, 1813, a loan of 22 millions, 3 per cents 177, produced stock £38,940,000.—Jan. 13th, 1814, a loan of 18½ millions, 3 per cents 153½, produced stock £28,397,500.—And June 14th, 1815, half of loan of 37 millions, and 18 millions of Exchequer Bills, produced stock £35,444,000:—in all £197,558,600, provided for by “cancelling a certain amount of stock in “the hands of the Commissioners.” So says the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—thus it appears that no more than about 100 millions of Sinking Fund remain *uncancelled*. The seven millions of Interest which the Reviewers propose to take annually from the fund, are therefore not to be found! Their proposed Sinking Fund of five mil-

lions is not left. Pray, Mr. Cobbett, investigate this matter, and let me know if I be right. If so, let our "northern luminaries" know their error, that they may spin their speculations over again and learn to mix reason with authority. Modesty is highly becoming, even in men of the most superlative genius.

G. D.

#### COMMON'S DEBATE OF FEB. 1, 1816.

(Concluded from Page 224.)

That some distress must follow from the change in our condition, in consequence of the cessation of war, was naturally to be apprehended, but he was afraid that all the distress which now existed in this country was not at all attributable to that change. There was in fact only one effectual remedy for the public distress, namely, the reduction of taxation. [Hear, hear, hear!] It was in vain to think of such expedients as had been last year resorted to with respect to the corn trade.—Parliament must strike at the root of the evil which afflicted the country, and especially agriculture, by reducing the taxes. He agreed with what the Noble Lord had said with regard to the propriety of holding the Sinking Fund sacred. The public faith imperiously demanded the resolution which the Noble Lord had expressed. For whatever calamity might befall the country, the interest of the public creditors should be untouched and unbroken, as through those creditors the country had been enabled to make such unexampled exertion throughout the war, and therefore, whatever might be the principal object or result of that war, the claim of those creditors to remuneration was quite indisputable. [Hear, hear!] The Learned Gentleman enforced the necessity of a rigid economy in every branch of our expenditure, military, civil, and financial; and strongly recommended a vigilant superintendence in the distribution of our resources. He therefore hoped that the House would hear no more of propositions to pay the debts of one branch of the Royal Family, or to make any grant to another; but that every practicable retrenchment would be made with a view to lighten the public burthens. He apprehended, indeed, that unless such rigid economy were observed, and such substantial reductions made,

Parliament would at last be obliged to break faith with the public creditor.

Mr. COKE (of Norfolk), forcibly portrayed the distress of the Agricultural Interest, particularly in the Barley Counties, of which the county he had the honour to represent was perhaps the first in the kingdom. That distress was indeed such that there was but too much reason to apprehend a considerable falling off in our agricultural produce. He was never one of those who sought after or wished for high prices, all he desired was a steady market for the Agriculturist, the want of which was now most sensibly felt. With a view to provide such a market for the cultivator of barley, who was at present the principal sufferer, he thought the war tax upon malt ought to be promptly repealed. Such repeal was indeed so desirable from various considerations, that he pledged himself to submit a motion to the House upon the subject, if not brought forward by his Majesty's Government.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that wishing to guard himself against any misconstruction in the vote which he intended to give in favour of the Address, he by no means proposed to agree with the Noble Secretary in pronouncing the peace glorious. He did not indeed, as yet, feel himself competent to express any decisive opinion upon the measure. He considered that through the war the glory of our arms had been considerably enhanced, but the character of the country not overmuch. There were some parts of the speech from the throne which met his unqualified approbation. For instance, he rejoiced in the Prince Regent's recommendation of economy, because it naturally warranted an inference, that when his Royal Highness recommended economy to others, he intended to practise it himself. [A laugh, and hear, hear!] He had heard of some fresh arrears upon the Civil List, but after this auspicious recommendation to economy, he could not at all believe the rumour. He, indeed, took it for granted, (looking significantly at the Treasury Bench) that the rumour was totally unfounded, and that no further application would be made to Parliament upon this subject, [a laugh, and hear, hear!] or for the payment of the debts of the Royal Family.—As to the Noble Secretary's tirade against the observations of his Learned Friend (Mr.

Brougham) with respect to the conduct and character of Ferdinand the 7th, he should only say, that the Noble Lord was excessively mistaken, if in any combination of the Sovereigns of Europe against the rights of the people, he could calculate upon the suppression of the freedom of speech in that House; [hear!] or that the misconduct of Kings could, in that assembly at least, escape censure. The Noble Lord, therefore, might tell M. Talleyrand, or any other of his new allies, when next he should happen to meet them, that whatever they might think of the rights or feelings of the people, the representatives of the people of England would speak just as they thought proper of the misbehaviour of Sovereigns, however legitimately seated upon the throne [hear!] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was always pleased and smiling under any difficulty, had endeavoured to answer the complaint as to the extraordinary delay which had taken place in the meeting of Parliament, by stating that the Treaty was not ratified until the 20th of January, and that Parliament met in 10 days afterwards. But this statement lost all weight, from the recollection of this fact, that according to the Prince Regent's Proclamation in November last, it was determined by Ministers that Parliament should not meet until the 1st of February, at whatever time the Treaty might be ratified. Thus a deliberate insult was offered to Parliament, by postponing its assemblage until the Treaty should be absolutely concluded, and till this matter should be so settled, that Parliament should not have in its power to counsel, to counteract, or to countervail the conditions of the Treaty. Was is not then quite a mockery to submit a Treaty to the consideration of Parliament three months after it had been concluded, when no essential dissension was left to the Legislature as to the act of the Government? But the determination of Ministers to put off the meeting of Parliament, was still more obvious from the first proclamation

of the Regent, for that proclamation betrayed at once the desire to get rid of the trouble of Parliament and the privileges of the Members of that House, the proclamation being for ninety days, and, if it had not been for the second proclamation to correct the blunder of the first, it was very possible the House might have met to-day with rather a thin attendance [laugh]. Did such postponement manifest due attention to the dignity of Parliament? Suppose the Treaty contained a condition to maintain a standing army not provided for by law, or to impose a pecuniary contribution, what would it avail to consult Parliament upon such arrangements after they were adopted? But, independently of the conditions of the Treaty, it was the duty of Ministers to have assembled Parliament in November last, in order to consider the distresses of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated truly, that from the consideration of that distress, he never spent a more disagreeable summer than the last. But if the Right Honourable Gentleman experienced so much pain from the contemplation, how much must the farmers have felt from the actual suffering? and what mitigation of that pain could the farmers derive from the Right Honourable Gentleman's sympathy?—But if Parliament were sitting, some relief might have been afforded; for although he agreed with his Learned Friend (Mr. Horner) in deprecating any experiments, the public would have been naturally disposed to look with confidence to the deliberations of Parliament for every practicable relief—at all events, they would have expected a full consideration of their case. The Right Honourable Gentleman concluded a peculiarly impressive speech, by expressing a hope that that House would not be called on to vote supplies until apprized of the real extent of the peace establishment.—[To this Lord Castlereagh appeared to us to assent.]

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER II.

*Stir against the Income Tax.—Statement of the question at issue.—Squire Jolliterhead's farms in jeopardy.—Persecutors begin to smart in their turn.—Numerous Meetings.—Princess's Marriage.—Real state of the Regent's health.*

In my Registers of last Summer, which, I see, have been republished in your country, I many times observed, that the affairs of this little bee-hive of a nation were assuming an entirely new aspect, and that, in all probability, this writer would discover decided marks of an approaching *important crisis*. So it has turned out; and all the dreams of tranquillity and happiness; all the dreams of a settled and quiet submission to what is called "*legitimacy*," have vanished into air. If, indeed, this government, though it be such as I have, in former numbers, described it to you, had had no interest of debt to pay, tranquillity at home would have followed peace with foreign nations. The English people, glutted with conquest and with glory, and dazzled with the splendid feats which closed the war, might have been contented; but, to have war-taxes to pay in peace, while the means of paying, owing to an alteration in the value of the currency, were diminished one-half in their amount, was a little too much to be silently endured.

Accordingly, the country is, at this moment, agitated from one end of it to the other in opposition to a continuance of the *Income*, or, as it is called, *Property Tax*. To make the question at issue clear to every one, a little explanation is necessary. This Tax was first laid on by Pitt. It was taken off at the Peace of Amiens. Laid on at 5 per centum by Addington when that peace was broken, raised afterwards by Pitt to 6½, and by the Whigs with Fox at their head to 10 per cent, at which rate it has continued to this day. Of the op-

pressiveness and odiousness of this tax you have been before informed. But, the reasons why the Minister *now* wishes to retain it at 5 per centum ought to be a little more fully explained than I have yet seen them explained.

The produce of the whole of our taxes has, of late years, been about 70 millions. Monstrous as this appears, the nation, I mean *Great Britain*; that is to say, I mean *England alone*; for Scotland pays hardly any thing, and poor Ireland has her own Debt and Taxes. When *peace* was really come, the people expected to get rid of all the Taxes, called "*War-Taxes*," amounting to about 26 millions a year, of which 14 millions arose from the Tax on Income. I have, all along, been telling them that they could *not* get rid of the war-taxes. I have repeated a thousand times over, that they must continue to pay the war-taxes in peace; or have loans in peace; or, wipe off a part, at least, of the Debt with a sponge. But, I was not believed. Indeed, I was not *heard*. I hold in my hands not more than about a *hundredth* part of the powers of the English press, and, besides, I had to contend against a hundred to one, every one of that hundred having full liberty to say what it pleased against me, while I was compelled to be very cautious as to what I said against them. In short, I was compelled to fight in *padded gloves*, while my adversaries combat me with naked fists.

The nation *did*, indeed, begin to be alarmed last year, when the *peace expences* were talked of. But, still, they relied on what was called the *faith* of parliament. Or, more properly speaking, they could not believe, that, when the war was over, *war-taxes* would be continued. Such power have words! when, therefore, they began to find, that, even after the complete overthrow of Napoleon; after he was actually in our custody for life; after he was as much in our power as the clay is in the power of the potter; after they saw that France was at our feet; when, after all this, they began to find, that they were still to pay the war-taxes, and that

too, for years, and that my predictions were really, at last, going to be verified to the very letter; when they found this, they took the alarm; which alarm has produced the effect which we shall, by-and-by, more particularly notice.

The government, to speak in round numbers, wants 44 millions a year for the uses of its *Debt*, and 29 millions for army, navy, and other annual expences. It proposes to raise 70 millions, as usual, in taxes; but, as it proposes to take off *half* the Income tax, it will raise, according to its own calculation, *only* 63 millions. But, then, it has, for this year borrowed 6 millions of the Bank; which pretty nearly puts it upon a level with its demands. I have not the accounts and estimates yet in an official form. I do not, therefore, speak with *precision*; but, I am near enough the mark to answer the present purpose.

Thus, you see, the Income Tax is *all* necessary to *carry on the peace*! Bear in mind, that the whole of the *war-taxes* amounted to 26 millions a year. The whole was expected to be taken off at the peace; but, then, as the government debt *now* demands 44 millions a year, it does, you perceive, swallow up the whole of the taxes, the *war taxes only excepted*! What was, then, to be done? Why, reduce the *interest* of the debt; or, stop the Sinking Fund which would destroy the *capital of the Debt*; or, continue to make *Loans* in time of peace; or, make the people pay *war-taxes* in time of peace. Either of the three first will, when adopted (for adopted one or the other must be at no distant day) give the whole system a terrible shock. The first measure, though openly spoken of by great numbers of persons, and though, in fact, proposed by Mr. PEARSON; and though, perhaps, really the best thing that could be done even for the Fund-holders themselves, is a measure too frightful for the nerves of the Ministers; it would excite such a sensation, affix such disgrace upon the Pitt system, and give such triumph to the opponents of that system; it would, in short, produce such a revolution in men's minds as to the characters and abilities of our rulers, that a change in the mode of ruling must speedily follow. The second measure, a stoppage of the Sinking Fund, would have nearly the same effect. It would destroy all confidence in the capital of the Debt;

and would, in all probability, bring the 3 per cents down from 60 to 30 in the course of a month. The third measure, though not so flagrant in its tendency, must produce, in a short time, similar results; for, to make *loans* to pay the *interest* of loans already made, would be such a shameful proof of insolvency as to leave very few persons indeed blind to the consequences; to say nothing of the Jew-like terms on which the money would be lent. Still this has been done in part in the loan of 6 millions from the Bank. But, this is a sort of loan that does not make the usual noise of a common loan. To have borrowed openly, in the usual way, would have been a notorious and striking fact, quite unequivocal as to the question of the credit and means of the government.

These three measures being, therefore, so objectionable, it was resolved to resort to the *fourth*, namely, to keep on the whole of the 26 millions of war-taxes, except about 7 millions of Income Tax; that is to say, one half of it, the whole of the Income Tax being, as I before observed, 14 millions and a little more. But, the people of all ranks have taken the alarm at this proposition, and are now bestirring themselves in a manner that I have never before seen them, since I have known any thing of public affairs. The Country-Gentlemen, so long dead to all those feelings, which distinguished their ancestors; so long sunk in a sort of unaccountable apathy; so long the tame followers of every minister, and the submissive slaves of impudent upstart placemen, or (ashamed to act this base part before the eyes of the world) so long self-banished to their estates, and become the orators at agricultural meetings and cattle-shows, instead of taking, as they formerly did, the lead in deciding on questions of war or of taxation; this description of persons, so long dead to their country, seem, at last, to be stirring into life. They seem, at last, to have perceived that they must now make a stand, or passively behold their estates pass away from them for ever. It is not now a question of *more or less*. GEORGE ROSE (of whose origin and progress I will give you an account by-and-by) once told them, in a pamphlet called a *View of the Finances*, that the nation was called upon for a *salvage*! He told them, they would *lose their all* if they did

not pay taxes to carry on the war. And, that, therefore, whatever they retained was so much *gained*! But, I will say more of this man and of his mode of paying salvage by-and-by.

It is not *now*, however, a question of *salvage*. It is a question of *forfeiture*. It is a question of *total stripping*; and, the Country Gentleman who does not see this must be a *born idiot*.

It is notorious, that the produce of the land has fallen more than one half in price. It is worth a half less than it was, upon an average, before the end of the war in 1814. It is also notorious, that this has not arisen from any peculiar circumstance in the *seasons*, or connected with the *crops*; but, from a *change in the value of the currency of the country*, and, how that change has been effected you have seen, in No. 2 of the Register published at New York, where the whole mystery is clearly developed. This being the case and the nominal amount of the taxes continuing the same as before, it is manifest, that, in reality, the *land* pays *double* the tax that it paid before; and, it is also manifest, that, if no alteration take place in the Civil List, in the pay of place-men, pensioners, and fund-holders, these classes must, in a very few years, swallow up the whole fee-simple of the land.

The *operation*, which is to lead to this result, has been, unwittingly, very well explained by our little Chancellor of the Exchequer in stating what he has been pleased to call his *remedy*. He says: "I intend to make no more *loans*; but to continue to *raise taxes*, in order to pay the interest of the Debt in full and also to keep up the *Sinking Fund* in full operation. The Sinking Fund is 14 millions a year. These will be laid out in the *buying up of Stock*, and thus will 14 millions a year be *let loose* and *thrown over the country* to ASSIST the *land-owners and farmers*." That is to say, to assist them in *getting rid* of their estates; for, that this would be the effect is as clear as day-light.

This gentleman, our Chancellor, seems to have read Adam Smith and Steuart, and to have got hold of a parcel of phrases, of which, if put to the test, I really do not believe he understands any thing at all of the meaning. They are sets of words without any clear notions attached to them. He, to use the expression of our

most valuable writer, "means not, but blunders round about a meaning." He tells us that his scheme is to *throw* 14 millions of capital every year *about the country*, and that, as the landlords and farmers will *get this capital into their hands*, it will afford them great and effectual *relief*. The poor man, who really is a very inoffensive, and used to be, a very modest, man, does not appear to keep in his head, that these 14 millions are *first to be raised from the land in taxes*. But, how few heads are there in this world capable of tracing millions of taxes through their several movements to their results!

If, indeed, these 14 millions of money were distributed about the country after being brought from *abroad*, and without the landholders giving any thing in *exchange* for them, the *relief* would be not only effectual, but instantaneous. If the 14 millions were to be brought from abroad, or, even from some part of England, and paid to the fundholders, without having been first taken from the landholders (amongst whom I include internal traders who all depend on the land); then the effect would be to afford *relief*, though in a slower and less effectual way. But, to suppose, that the landholders are to be *relieved* by being compelled to pay, *first*, 14 millions, and then to be enabled to borrow the same 14 millions, is an idea so absurd, so ridiculous, that one can hardly believe one's own eyes, when one sees it in *print*, and attributed to a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

To use illustrations which are a sort of mental leading-strings exposes the writer to the charge of presumption; because it seems to say, that he doubts of the capacity of his readers. Yet, in a general address like this, which pre-supposes an unacquaintance with the subject in a part, at least, of those under whose perusal it may fall, and whose pursuits may have withheld their minds from studies of this kind, I shall hope to be excused, if I here resort to this method of placing in the full glare this gross absurdity of affording *relief* by the means of taxation.

Suppose Giles Jolterhead, Esqr. to have 20 farms, each of which yield him a gross rent of 200 pounds a year; and that he pays out of his rent of 4,000*l.* a year 1,000*l.* in taxes towards the expences of the government Debt. In consequence of an alteration in the value of the currency,

wheat falls from 14*s.* to 7*s.* a bushel. It is clear that his rents must fall from 4,000*l.* to 2,000*l.* a year; and, if he continue to pay 1,000*l.* a year towards the Debt, it is clear, that his spending income is, in fact, reduced to 1,000*l.* instead of 3,000*l.* a year. Thus far this is the real state of the landlords in England. But, while they are thus reduced, by the very same means, the fund-holder's income is *raised*, and that, too, in the same proportion. Well, the situation of 'Squire Jolterhead is truly distressing. He lays down his *hounds* and three out of four of his hunters, and packs off a couple or three servants to begin with. People ask him *why*. He "likes *coursing* better." But, the *Greyhounds* are still expensive. The Taxgather comes thundering at the door; talks so loud (with his *hat* on all the while) that the servants hear his voice quite into the Hall. Away go the beautiful *Greyhounds* dancing and capering to the pippin-tree. Four or five more visits from the man with the ink-bottle at his button-hole send off a brace out of three gardeners, turn the close-shaven lawn into a rough bit of pasture, "*Madam liking to see* sheep and cows grazing close to the "*windows*." Shooting is now become the 'Squire's sole delight. The Taxgatherer still returns as regularly as old Time himself, and as Time pertinacious and irresistible in his course. What is now to be done? Are the dappled Pointers, with noses keener than the air itself and staunch as a rock; are they, and are the little true-bred Spaniels with ears and dewlaps sweeping the ground, and with sport-anticipating tongues that would almost "create a soul under the ribs of death;" are all these too; are all the family favourites of a century, all to be destroyed "at one fell swoop?" Is their death-warrant signed in the book of taxes? Is their doom irrevocable? Is there no respite? "Parliament will *surely*, do "*something for us*!"

Thus exclaims 'Squire Jolterhead, sitting by his parlour-fire, with poor old *Don* resting his chin on one knee while *Bustle* is pawing the other, and both soliciting the applauding pat on the head, which soliloquy, in former times would have been so graciously and gaily answered; but, instead of which their caresses awaken in the master's mind no feelings but those of sorrow, shame, and melancholy. He

sees 'Squire Crack-Louse, the army Taylor, and 'Squire Turpentine, the Spirit Contractor, and 'Squire Garbage, the Meat Contractor, and 'Squire Beaumeal, the Biscuit and Bread Contractor, and 'Squire Glanders, the Horse Contractor, and an infinite number of others all sallying out around him with gay equipages or numerous troops of hunters and followers; and, while he is thus musing on his altered state, Madam awakens him with a proposition to apply to his friends in London to get places for his sons. "Don't tell me," says she, "why, who has so good a right as you to ask for places for your sons? Was you not the first man to sign your name to the resolutions for the support of the Bank when it stopped payment? and was it not you who called out the yeomanry cavalry to keep down Paine's Rights of Man and the Jacobins? Did you not fall out with one of your best friends because he blamed the sending the Scotch Reformers to Botany Bay? Did you not carry up an address to his Majesty when Peg Nicholson attempted his sacred life; aye, and you might have been made a Knight, too, and have made me a Lady, that you might, if you had had any regard for me. (*Weeping*)"—"Come, come, my dear, never mind that now: let us think how we can save the poor Spaniels."—"Spaniels, indeed! Think how you can save your family. Zounds! go at once and get places for your sons. What have you been voting and bawling for, if you are to get nothing? Did you not go, at the risk of your life, to disperse the Parliamentary Reformers, and when they laughed at you and called you a chucked-headed fool, did you not charge them with high treason? Did you not keep us up all night and remain booted and spurred ready to set off with your tenants to help put Burdett into the tower? Did you not go into mourning when Tooke and Hardy were acquitted? Did you not get drunk as a beast, and make all the neighbourhood drunk and cram them with sheep and oxen roasted whole, at the Jubilee and when Bonaparte was sent off to St. Helena? Have you not always stuck to your loyalty; would you ever let us have any but a loyal newspaper, and did you not turn out your best tenant because he would continue to take in Cobbett's Register?"—"Yes, yes,

"my dear, I know I did; I know very well that I did. But, pray for God's sake, say no more about it: say no more about it."—"I will say more about; and I say that your sons ought to have places under government; for, I do not see why Mr. Crack-Louse and Mr. Garbage and the rest of them are to get so rich and buy all the land up, while we are compelled to lay down our carriage, and" \* \* \* \*

A loud knock at the door puts an end to her harangue. The Squire is all in a sweat for fear. It is not the Taxgatherer however, this time. It is the Post-boy with the COURIER, containing an account of the Chancellor's remedy. "A remedy, my dear! Here it is. Fourteen millions a year to be thrown into the country to relieve the landed interest."—"Fourteen millions, my dear: bless me! How much do you think we shall have?"—"I don't know....I don't know....Let me see....Fourteen millions to be thrown into the country. But, then, here is something about taxes to the amount of the same fourteen millions.—These, I suppose, are to be taken from the army taylor's and their contractors....No....Let me see....I can't make it out for my life." At last in comes the Apothecary, who has just been reading the Register, and the difficult passage being submitted to him, he says: "Why, Sir, this is the Chancellor's meaning. Your 20 farms that used to leave you 3,000 pounds a year after paying your annual share of the Debt, now leave you only 1,000 pounds. This plunges you into great distress; it makes you want money to live decently and to keep your pointers and spaniels. Therefore the minister means to make no more loans, and to lay out 14 millions a year in purchasing stock of the Fundholders, who, when they have sold their stock, will have the money which you have paid in taxes to lend to you upon mortgage, or to give you in exchange for some of your farms; and, as your farms are now worth about 3,000 pounds each in the fee simple, and as you will want, to pay interest and all together, about 3,000 pounds a year, you may live as well as you have done for many years past in consequence of this financial operation."

"Thank you, Mr. Lancet; thank you," says Madam, "I always told my sons, who listen, I am sorry to say it, to that Jacobin Cobbett, that the government would never desert us who had been its best friends. I always told them that things would be brought about, and that they would have as good an estate as their papa has had before them."—"Oh! no, Madam," replies Mr. Lancet; "I did not say so. Your sons, Madam, will have no estate at all. The fundholders will have the estate in exchange for the money which they will give you, and which money you will have first given them in the shape of taxes."—"What! My sons no estate! My sons no estate!"..... Here a terrible knocking at the door announces the approach of the Taxgatherer, and the parties sneak into their chairs as quiet as mice.

I really do believe, that scenes very nearly resembling this are now exhibiting in several parts of the country. There are hundreds of families, who have been of great consequence in their several neighbourhoods, who are now compelled to shut up their houses, lay down their carriages and horses and dogs and servants, and to get away to France or Belgium, or hide themselves in lodgings in London or at Bath. Shame will not suffer them to remain, shorn of their means, at the country-mansions, where they and their ancestors have so long lived with considerable establishments and where they have entertained people with hospitality. These people now begin to be alarmed; I mean such of them as are not wholly ruined in their fortunes; and, really, they have, generally speaking, acted so cowardly, so slavish, and so base a part, that there is very little pity due to them. They have not only been passive as to what has been doing against themselves. They have actively aided all the ministers from Pitt to Liverpool. They have been the bitter and persecuting enemies of reform. It was they, and that class who are called the Yeomanry, who were the chief cause of the war, by promoting addresses in favour of it, and by all sorts of exertions to prevent truth from circulating throughout the country. Verily they have their reward! Never did reward more justly follow the deeds



of men. They have now, in addition to their suffering of real pecuniary distress, the mortification to know, that they deserve it, and to see, that, if they succeed in the opposition, which mere self-preservation is now urging them to make, they will owe that success to the co-operation of those whom they have hitherto had the folly to shun, and, in some cases, the insolence to affect to despise. I, for my own part, am not for being in *haste* to co-operate with them. There are some excellent persons, who think that we ought to *invite* their co-operation. No: they are hardly worth having on one's side. They have no *soul* left. There must be a *regeneration* of their race. It is only about the *tax* that they now contend. And, when the matter is well considered in all its bearings, the thing to be desired by the friends of freedom, is, that the tax should pass, in spite of the petitions of the whole nation.

Let this tax pass, let the war-taxes remain in peace, let the Taxgatherer pursue the distressed defaulters all over the country, let these supporters of Pitt and Addington and Perceval and Grey and Castlereagh: let them feel; let them remember the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; let them remember all the new laws about the *press*; let them remember these and many other things, to which they gave their hearty support, and let them then be content to part with their estates. Their turn is come; and foolish and base is the man who pities them. I hear that some of them make use of very bitter expressions. That they talk big about the *rights of Englishmen*. They laughed at this language in other persons, only a few years ago. I have seen many of them *smile*, as it were with scorn, when I was endeavouring to convince them, that, in the end, they would *lose their estates*, unless they stood forward in time to protect the rights of the people and the liberty of the press. They seemed to think, that *they* themselves were *safe*. They knew that *they* should not *write or print*; and the sufferings of those, who were really fighting their battles, seemed to be sport to them. Let them, then, look where they like for pity: they will certainly have none for me; on the contrary, I really *do* see with satisfaction what is now going on as far as relates to

them, and am only sorry for the persons in trade and for a small part of the landed people, who are dragged down along with them.

They affect now to take great offence at an expression of Castlereagh, during a debate about the taxes. He is reported to have spoken of "the *ignorant* impatience of the people to obtain a relaxation of "taxation." This is daily harped upon as if it were a new kind of language. Mr. Tierney and Mr. Ponsonby are reported to remind the public of it in almost every night's debate. But, have we forgotten, then, all the expressions of Pitt, Grey, Perceval, and others? Have we forgotten, that, upon Mr. Maddocks's famous motion, Canning called the *Reformers*, though Sir Francis Burdett was at their head, "a "low degraded crew?" Have we forgotten, that that motion, which pledged Mr. Maddocks to bring proof of seat-selling to the bar, was negatived, by a majority of almost four to one, on the express ground of "making a *stand* against *popul- lar encroachment*?" Was this ever *resented*? Was this ever harped upon? Nay, did not expressions from Perceval a thousand times more insulting than this of Castlereagh pass wholly unnoticed? Why, then, all this clamour *now*? What! he begins to touch you yourselves, does he? Well may he express his contempt of those, who have never shown any sensibility, till their own estates became palpably exposed to Mr. Vansittart's *relief*. Oh, no! I can never be so base as to join with those, who can clamour against an expression, which accuses the "people of "ignorant impatience of taxation," and who remained silent, at best, while the fact of employing *foreign officers* in *English* Regiments, *serving in England*, was under discussion. I can never condescend to join in this inconsistent clamour. No: I am for letting those who *rallied round Perceval*, when Mr. Maddocks accused him, and when Sir Francis Burdett was sent to the Tower; I am for letting them digest their present sufferings and treatment as well as they can. It is now *their turn*.

A young Lord said of Castlereagh, the other day, "what! shall we \*\*\*\*\*" But, it will be best to finish this Letter at *New York*.

WM. COBBETT.

## WESTMINSTER MEETING.

On Friday the 23d of Feb. a great meeting took place in this city to agree on a petition against the Income Tax and the Standing Army. I shall insert the proceedings as I find them reported in the *Observer*, which, as far as I can discover, is the fullest and best report. But, there are some prefatory remarks necessary upon this occasion. Westminster is to England what the *heart* is to the human body. Nay, it is more; for, not only does it contain the best blood, but it has the best *understanding*. It appears, that the present meeting filled the whole of the space called New Palace Yard. That space contains, I believe, full two statute acres of ground. If so (and I am not much out), and if it was full of men, closely jammed up together, as it is said to have been, there were more than *forty thousand* people present; because, so placed, each man does not occupy a space of two square feet, and there are in two acres of ground 87,040 square feet. It is sufficient to know, however, that the Meeting was very large, and, it may easily be imagined what *power*, what real, *solid* power, such a Meeting, well understanding its rights and its duties really has.—Upon this occasion, there appears to have been a desire on the part of some of the persons, called *Opposition Members*, to take part openly at this Meeting; and Mr. Brand, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Brougham actually attended, and appears to have been *announced* in a very formal manner to the Meeting by an officious old man, of the name of Wishart, who poor man, has talked about the *patriotism* of Charles Fox for these 25 years past, and who still continues to talk in the same strain, though all the world now knows, that Fox lived and died a sinecure place-man and a pensioner; though it is notorious, that, when last in place, he, with his own hand, brought in the bill to enable Lord Grenville to hold the sinecure of Auditor in conjunction with his place of First Lord of the Treasury; though it is notorious that Fox declared that we ought to go to war for Hanover; though it is notorious, that he asserted, that a man had as good a right to his sinecure place as another had to his freehold estate; though it is notorious that Fox brought in and passed a bill to add to the

number of *German Troops* to be kept up in England; though it is notorious that he saddled the country with pensions for his wife and daughters; and though (to cut the list short) it is notorious, that Fox and his colleagues raised this very Income Tax from 6½ to 10 per centum, and that he himself made use, upon that occasion, of language more insulting to the people than had ever before been made use of even by Pitt himself.—Notwithstanding all this, poor Wishart still keeps prating about the *patriotism* of the lamented Mr. Fox; and, it was as the followers of Fox that he seemed to speak of the above-named gentlemen, whose appearance at meetings of this kind, and at this place, was *something new*.—To be sure, to see such men as Mr. Lambton, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Bennet, come to this meeting, must have been very pleasing to the friends of freedom, they really being an honour to any body of persons, to whom they may choose to join themselves. But, with regard to Mr. Brougham the case was not quite so clear. Let me, however, do, as far as my knowledge and judgment will enable me, justice to this gentleman. Mr. BROUGHAM is a *lawyer*, which, with our said experience, written in our very hearts, must necessarily make us shy of him. After seeing the patriot, \* \* \* \* \*; after seeing, \* \* \* \* \* after seeing all this, and with the knowledge, that the government \* \* \* \* \* Oh, no! With all this in our recollection, Mr. BROUGHAM must be a very unreasonable man indeed, if, until he has cast off his gown and wig, he expects the friends of freedom, the friends of *real* liberty, to enrol him amongst their leaders. Besides, Mr. Brougham, when he was standing a contest for Liverpool, did actually *disclaim* us. He said distinctly, that he was of the principles of Fox; and, that he wished to be clearly understood as not belonging to that party of *self-styled reformers*, who were, as he said, for *destroying the constitution*; and which party, be it observed, had Sir Francis Burdett and Major Cartwright at its head.—Mr. BROUGHAM is not a mere *adventurer*; he has a good estate of his own from inheritance; is a man of excellent talents; is not, I would fain hope, in pursuit of any of the usual baits; he is zealous and bold; loves liberty and hates

despicable tyrants. In short, I wish he was not a *lawyer*; and that he would convince us, by some *overt act*, that time has cured him of his attachment to the principles of Fox, and has made him see, that a *radical reform of parliament* is necessary to the restoration of our freedom.—But, at any rate, until he do *this*, he cannot expect from the reformers any thing like cordial co-operation. It is foolish as well as unnatural to attempt to co-operate with persons, whom he so lately regarded as aiming at the *destruction of the constitution*.—To return now to the proceedings at the Meeting; after some of the resolutions had been passed, one was proposed in these words:—

“That the Thanks of this Meeting are rendered to those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have exerted themselves to avert from their country the dreadful evils which we have this day assembled to deprecate; and with whom, for the same great end, we are desirous to co-operate by every means which God, and Nature, and the Laws, have placed in our power.”

This, as the reader will perceive, was a device, on the part of the OUT faction (whose agent poor Wishart appears to have been) to draw the Meeting into an *express approbation of the conduct of the Opposition*, and thus to send forth to the whole country the idea, that this enlightened and patriotic city had *ranged itself* on the side of the *Whigs*, as they call themselves. But, the device failed. The resolution was opposed by Mr. HUNT, who warned the Meeting of the trap that had been laid for them; who described the *Tierney's* and *Ponsonby's* and *Horne's*, on whom the Meeting were called on to bestow *their thanks*, and to whom they were asked to promise *their support*; who went over the long list of these *new friends of freedom*; and who, in short, so clearly shewed, that the present resolution, if passed, would only tend to deceive the people in the country and to put into power a set of place-hunters keen for spoil, that the resolution was rejected without, I believe, a *single hand* being held up for it; though some of the newspapers, and the *OBSERVER* amongst the rest, have inserted it as having been *passed*; or, at least they have not *left it out* of the list; and, it may, by their readers, be looked upon as having been passed.—

When the exposition of Mr. HUNT began to convulse the Meeting with anger against the Whigs, Mr. Brougham and the other gentlemen before-mentioned *went away*. This was very *injudicious*, to say the least of it. They had come, as they had a right to do, to assist at the Meeting; to hear others, and to be heard in their turn, if they chose to speak. Surely the Meeting was large enough to satisfy the ambition of any speaker that ever lived. Perhaps it was four times as large as any that Fox had ever addressed in all his life. If what Mr. HUNT said was *true*, it was just and virtuous in the Meeting to applaud it as they did: if it was *not true*, it was the bounden *duty* of Mr. Brougham and his friends to contradict it. Did they look upon the Meeting as a body of persons incapable to distinguish between truth and falsehood, or as prejudiced in favour of any thing that Mr. HUNT should say? Why, then, did they come to such a Meeting; and why did they have their names announced to it? But, as to the *fact*, what ground was there for supposing, that the Meeting could possibly be influenced by any *undue prejudice* in favour of Mr. HUNT? Mr. HUNT lives at 60 miles distance from Westminster; it is well known that he can have no personal influence in the city; he came into town not *an hour* before the Meeting took place; he had no *party* to support him; there was, because there could be, no previous arrangement between him and any other persons at the Meeting; he came *not announced* by any *herald*, like the herald Wishart. In short, it was the *matter* and not the *man* that gained the ear and moved the tongue of the Meeting. It was not the *name* of HUNT, which drew forth the applause of so many thousands of men, but the numerous, the interesting, the apt facts, the home truths, and the bold and manly manner of stating them; and, particularly, the exposure of the base conduct of the Whigs towards Sir Francis Burdett, at the time when that gentleman was *sent to the Tower under a military force*. Mr. HUNT failed not to remind the Meeting of these occurrences; and, to appeal to them, whether they could give *their thanks* in a general manner, and, in the same general manner, *promise their support*, to men who had acted thus. And, reader, was it any wonder, that such a speaker should meet

with applause from an assemblage, such as that which I have described? Was it any wonder, that he should be applauded by the enlightened and patriotic electors of Westminster, when he called on them to refuse thanks to those who had not only abandoned, but calumniated, their faithful representative?—Mr. LEIGH HUNT, the Editor of the EXAMINER, says he has received from a correspondent a query to this effect; “*Whether it be not probable that Mr. HUNT, who spoke at the Westminster Meeting, was paid by the Ministers for what he did.*” The smallest of reptiles are said to be the most full of spite. Horse-whipping is out of the question, when it is a pigmy who is saucy. What, then! did this man imagine, that it would be supposed, that it was *he*, who spoke at Westminster? Did he imagine, that the author of the everlasting sonnets; that the paid-for-paragraph monger, would be taken for Mr. HUNT, the politician, and fox-hunter and pheasant-shooter? Mr. LEIGH HUNT has, I believe, very good political principles, as far as his knowledge goes; but, I will venture to say, that my friend Mr. HUNT produced more *political EFFECT* at the last Westminster Meeting than Mr. LEIGH HUNT will have produced at the end of his life even, if he should live to the age of Noah.—Mr. LEIGH HUNT (though nothing can excuse his foul *insinuation*) has, probably, been cajoled by the OUTS into the notion, that whatever tends to throw discredit on *them* is so much in *aid* of the Ministers. This trick has been tried for years. The people of Westminster know better. They know well, that the way in which you can most effectually aid the Ministers is to appear to look upon the regular Opposition as being in *earnest*. This is the way to support *the system*; and, the way to destroy the system is, to *expose both*. This Mr. HUNT did most effectually.—The Opposition *now*, just at this time, against the Income Tax, is a different thing. The TIERNEY’s now appear very small indeed. It is the *country* that is now stirring. But, does it stir for the OUTS? No; nor would it have stirred an inch for them, if they had bawled ’till Midsummer. The Country Gentlemen seem to be alarmed, at last; but, I am, for my part, for making no *compromise* with them. They ought to come without invitation to the friends of freedom; and,

if they do not, it is they who *now* have to suffer. Their sufferings are only in the *dawn* yet. They never stirred to protect the people; and I do not see why the people should stir for them; unless they engage to assist the people in the recovering of all their rights.—I here insert the report of the debate.

#### WESTMINSTER MEETING.

On Friday a Meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster took place in Palace-yard, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the renewal of the Property Tax, and the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace. The meeting was numerous attended. By twelve o’clock, great crowds had assembled, and at one the whole space included in Palace-yard was filled. At one o’clock the High Bailiff, accompanied by a great part of the Westminster standing Committee, the two Representatives of Westminster, Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett, with several Members of the House of Commons, among whom we observed Mr. Brougham, Mr. Lambton, and Braad, entered the hustings.

The business of the day having been opened by the High Bailiff reading the requisition, in consequence of which the Meeting had been called.

Mr. WISHART said, that as the occasion of the requisition had been made known he did not think it necessary to indulge himself at any length in describing a Tax to the Meeting which had given every individual too many opportunities of witnessing its fatal operations. Besides the private distress which it had occasioned, it had been found that it was a powerful engine in the hands of any Minister against the rights and liberties of the people. This Tax had been imposed in times of great emergency, and at the time when it was first imposed, as well as at various subsequent periods, repeated pledges were given by the Ministers that it should not be continued in time of peace. There was now no war except that which was incessantly waged by the Ministers against the rights and liberties of Englishmen.—[Applause]—We might at this time consider, what had been gained by the war, for the support of which this odious Tax had been imposed. Had this country been bettered by it, or had we improved the

condition of the inhabitants of any country in the world?—[Cries of No!]  
We had restored to the throne a family, the force and intrigues of which had, for a century, been unremittingly employed against us—[Applause]—a family which had forgot nothing, and learnt nothing in their exile. We might ask our fellow Protestants in the South of France what they had gained by the restoration of the Bourbons?—We might ask the mass of the people, whether they had obtained the constitution which had been promised them? They might in answer direct our eyes to the bodies of their slaughtered countrymen, and our ears to the groans of thousands and tens of thousands incarcerated by the mild and amiable Louis. For these objects had we continued the war at the expence of so much capital, at the expence of so much blood—for these objects had we borne the Property Tax. It was true we had given a large republic to one Monarch; to another Monarch we had given a republic, which had put itself under our protection; we had confirmed the partition of Poland. It was true also that we had conquests, but of what use these conquests were, except as a fruitful source of appointments and taxation, had never yet been explained.

Mr. MACLAURIN, who observed that he would not trouble the Meeting with any speech, but only beg leave to add, that, in his opinion, a commissioner of the Income Tax was a political confessor, and in this sense we might say that we had obtained a Catholic government. [Loud and reiterated applauses.] The second resolution was then read and seconded like the former, amid applauses and laughing.

Major CARTWRIGHT next addressed the meeting. He was aware that the measures of a standing army could not be properly discussed or decided upon in Palace-yard; but it should be decided upon in a Parliament duly elected, and by a cabinet under the controul, and watched by the vigilance of such a parliament. All freemen, however, had a right to deliver their opinions on the measures of government, and there were some things of which they were sufficiently competent judges. They could determine at present on the expediency and the danger of a standing army. A great Athenian had said, 2000 years ago, that a standing

army would soon command the state; and an English statesman, (Mr. A. Young,) had, not long ago, given it as his opinion that an armed government was inconsistent with the liberties of the people. A free Parliament and a national militia were the real characteristics of our constitution, the real safeguards of our rights. Different sciences had different tests, by which the powers of the substances, with which they were conversant could be tried. For ascertaining high degrees of heat we had a pyrometer; for measuring the strength of spirits the hydrometer was invented; and those principles which he had mentioned, as they afforded the means of knowing the degrees of an enlightened patriotism, might be called a patriometer [Applause.]

Mr. HUNT seconded the Major's resolution, and persisted in speaking for nearly an hour, in opposition to repeated calls of question, with the apparent design of preventing the Opposition Members of Parliament on the hustings from being heard. He said the Gentleman who had brought forward the Resolutions had told them, that if a great Statesman, now no more (he supposed he meant Mr. Fox), had been attended to, they would not have been called together that day, to consider of petitioning parliament against the Property Tax. He wished to know if the Gentleman meant Mr. Fox *in* or Mr. Fox *out* of place. If he meant the latter he would go along with him in all he might say, but if he at all referred to what he had done in office, then he (Mr. Hunt), thought it necessary to remind them of what his conduct had been with respect to this Tax. Mr. Fox had strongly opposed the Income Tax while out of place, but he and his friends had no sooner got in, than they raised it from 6½ to 10 per cent. He mentioned this, as he wished to guard them against entering into any party views; he wished them to feel on this subject as their worthy representative Sir F. Burdett did, who had no party but that of the country. [Applauses.]—It should be his task, and on this day it would be a painful one, to warn them against the party out of place, as well as against the party in place. Those whom he addressed had not now to learn what were the principles, and what the practice of the Whigs. They had made trial of them, and they

had found when in office, that they had added to the number of sinecure places and pensions, with which the public was previously burthened—they had increased the allowances of the Royal Family, the salaries of the Judges, and those of all the Officers of State, on account of the dearness of provisions.—These were some of the benefits we owed to the Party; and though the dearness of provisions was the pretext for making the additional grants to which he had referred, had they as yet proposed that these should be reduced to what they formerly were? What he had said on this subject seemed to cause some uneasiness to those behind him. He cared not. Though his conduct should offend all the world, when he came there to address the Electors of Westminster, he would tell them the truth. There was no single tax which the Whigs had condemned when brought forward by the Government of Mr. Pitt, which they had not kept up at least, if they had not increased it. In no respect had they made good their former professions. Did they not make Lord Grenville First Lord of the Treasury and Auditor of the Exchequer; thus uniting two offices that were absolutely incompatible with each other? And did they not make the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench a Cabinet Minister? Could any thing be more improper than this? In consequence of this appointment, he might, in the first instance, be accused by Lord Ellenborough for speaking there; and that Noble Lord, being his accuser, might afterwards sit in judgment upon him in Westminster Hall. He hoped it would not be his fate to be tried before him; but if it were, so he had a Westminster Jury, he should not be at all afraid of getting well through it.—[Here it was discovered that Messrs. Brand, Bennett, and Brougham, had left the Hustings, and considerable interruption was given by the shouts and hisses of the multitude]. He was sorry to find that the Gentlemen who belonged to the party of which he had been speaking, and whom it had been expected that assembly would have the honour to hear on this occasion, were gone, as he wished them to have an opportunity of defending the conduct of their Whig friends. The Gentleman near him (Mr. Wishart) had spoken of them as being the Representatives of the People;

if ever he called them so, he wished those who heard him might chop off his arm, and cut out his tongue.—[Applauses.] Who were the Whigs? and what were Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Horner, and Mr. Brougham? He would tell them what they were: Mr. Ponsonby was a pensioner on the public; he received a pension of 4000*l.* per ann. for doing nothing; and had he, in consideration of the public distress, ever offered to give up that pension? Mr. Horner, as one of the Commissioners for adjusting the accounts of the Nabob of Arcot, received 2000*l.* per annum—and were these accounts ever likely to be settled, or that commission to terminate, under the present system, while he (Mr. Hunt), or those to whom he was addressing himself, were in existence? There was no probability of this; but had Mr. Horner, any more than Mr. Ponsonby, offered, under these circumstances, to give up his pension?—As it had never occurred to either of them to do this. Now for Mr. Brougham. Had the Meeting forgotten the pretty slap of the face he had given them at Liverpool? If they had, he (Mr. Hunt) had not. On the occasion to which he referred, Mr. Brougham, expressing his hatred of the principles of Mr. Pitt, and his admiration of those of Mr. Fox, in which he was determined to live and die, had taken great care to separate himself from the Reformers, of whom he had spoken with little respect, and had evidently meant to reflect on Sir F. Burdett and his friends. He had understood they were supposed to support the wishes of the people of Westminster on the present occasion, but before they came forward there for that purpose, let them wipe out those stains which he had proved to attach to their characters. He attributed the little considerations that was paid to economy or retrenchment in the government, to the great number of great paupers, as he called them, who pocketed the public money arising from sinecures, as the price of their acquiescence in imposing additional burthens on the public. The list of these sinecures, he stated, amounted to 200,000*l.* which sum would maintain 5000 soldiers at a shilling a-day, or 10,000 common paupers at sixpence a-day. Among these great paupers were the Marquis of Camden, who had 39,000*l.*; Earl Bathurst, who had 7,300*l.*; Lord

Arden, 88,000*l.*; Lord Ellenborough, 15,000*l.*; Lord Liverpool, 8,500*l.*; Thos. Knox, 10,000*l.* (There were repeated cries of "question," in order that some other gentleman might obtain a hearing; but Mr. Hunt, by appealing to the people whom he addressed, if he was not honoured by being elected to attend to their interests, and if he was not at present expressing what was agreeable to their tastes and wishes, obtained the most complete possession of their attention, and was interrupted only by their applauses.)

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT came forward amidst bursts of applause. He said that he was the more flattered with the reception given to him at this moment, because he knew it was possible that his not having made his appearance lately in the room over the way (in which it was well stated there was a mere mockery of representation), might have been construed into a hopelessness of the public cause, or a wish to relax from those exertions which it had been the whole business of his life invariably to pursue; but knowing well of how little importance any thing that was carried on within those walls could be to the public, and of how much importance it was that the people of England should not be deluded with the supposition that they were represented in parliament, he conceived it was most advisable to keep away. That he might not, therefore, be aiding in the abominable delusion that had been carried on in what was called the House of Commons, he had not made his appearance hitherto, but he had never failed in being present whenever there was the least chance that he could render any service to his countrymen. With these views, he should present the petition now voted with just as much hope of succeeding in any prayer which the petition contained, as he had when he presented the last petition, which now was laid either on or under the table as waste paper. He trusted, however, that the moment had now arrived when the people of England would with one accord unite, proceeding upon the broad principle of the constitution, with a firm determination, after this war of delusion, which had most unexpectedly, and not less rashly than fortunately terminated, of maintaining their rights and liberties. A war had been carrying on, as it was believed by the people, against foreign aggression, and

in support of their own freedom; but by this time he hoped their eyes had been opened, after 800 millions of their property had been expended, and such an exhaustion of blood and treasure. Without any more of this bugbear being held up of foreign aggression, he trusted that all the evils would now be corrected, and that the people would now contend against that greatest of all enormities—a corrupt House of Commons, and corrupt ministers at home—evils much more dangerous than any foreign enemy. The Income Tax had been described in language not less just than true; and there was little necessity to say much upon that subject after what had already been said, but that it was a tax not to be borne under any circumstances but of the greatest necessity, and; like all other taxes, could not be suffered without an economical reform, still less without that which is necessary to all taxation—a reform of the representation in parliament. The disease of the country was not this Income Tax, but taxation without representation. This was true tyranny, and in comparison, there was no other tyranny. The constitution of England declared, that the property of Englishmen could not be taken away without their own consent; but there were a few gentlemen who sat in a room over the way, to the number, he believed, of about 155, who had sold themselves to Government, and who disposed of the fortune and industrious exertions of this great and enlightened nation just as they might think proper. The people of England should trust in no men but themselves. If courage and firmness were used, success would ensue. It was the agreement by which the present family on the throne of Great Britain held the crown, that there should be no cabinet or cabal to govern the crown, but that the privy-council should direct all their operations. But there was another most important point in this Act of settlement, that no person having a place of profit under the crown should be a Member of Parliament. Was this law now adhered to? The rights of the King, indeed, remained untouched, but those of the people were annihilated. What could then be a more proper mode of recovering this right, this branch of the legislature, which belonged to the people, but a firm determination to

resist the standing army? Suppose any man was walking with a purse in his pocket and a sword in his hand, and he met another man in a dark lane who said to him, "Give me the sword and I will protect you:" would he let the sword go out of his possession? He would keep the weapon in his own hand to defend himself. And what were we told? It was necessary, said the Ministers, to keep up a standing army of Englishmen, to destroy all the liberty that remained in France. This was a proposition most serious for every man who had any regard for the liberties or the happiness of his country. It behoved every man, woman, and child, to do all in their power to prevent it. The estimate of the standing army was 150,000 men, with a debt of 20 millions a year, besides the enormous expenses of a most wasteful war; 25,000 men to keep Ireland quiet: and it seemed as if the bayonet was the only mode by which Government conceived they could quiet the people. He could mention many things which would be, as he conceived, more likely to keep Ireland in peace. He did not expect that the Noble Lord would be inclined to agree to it; but he thought, that if the noble Lord was impeached for his conduct in Ireland, it would give infinitely more satisfaction to the people. [Loud applause.] This great Irish Undertaker had undertaken the management of the affairs of Ireland, had bought and sold in retail and wholesale, and having, in his own country, added corruption to corruption, had been detected in further corruption in the English Parliament. [Much applause.] This was the career the Noble Lord had run, and now what was to be expected from his measures?—the subversion of all the liberties and freedom inherent in an Englishman. There was one thing more he had to mention: claims had been laid to all those sums of money, loans of money, &c. which had been taken by the Crown; he meant the droits of the Admiralty and the crown; but which, in fact, the crown had nothing to do with. Nothing could be so absurd as to suppose that the crown could have the right of taking to itself millions of property unknown to Parliament. It was quite ridiculous to suppose that any legal opinion could be necessary.

There were great sums of money claimed in the course of the last war as taken by the army—millions of property, which, instead of going to the crown, should have indemnified the merchants and brave army and navy for the losses they had sustained. This money, as it appeared to him, belonged to the King, as the laws or as the highways belonged to the King, or, as it was just suggested to him, as the gallows belonged to the King, [great applause.] Good God! was it not frightful to consider how much money was drawn from the people, under the pretence of being droits, under the present dreadful distress of the country? Could we see princely cottages built and pulled down again, at the whim of the owners, at an immense expense, and be reconciled to these abominable taxes. If the necessity was once proved, there would be an end to the question; but when we saw the names of so many English gentlemen attached to a list of sinecure places, which had been already mentioned, could we remain silent, and suffer our liberties to be infringed by those noble paupers, as they had been termed? It was once, he believed, proposed in the house, (he begged pardon for calling it by that name,) that every man receiving a pension from government should have a badge put upon him. Now, he should like to see these noble persons badged. [Applause.] He did not know whether the blue ribband and garters were to be considered as such badges, but he should like to see them appear a little more discreditable, for he believed the folly of the times had affixed a feeling of honour to such signs. He was happy, that on this occasion he had received the approbation of his constituents, and the cheering prospect of their support, actuated by principles of justice (for upon no other would he act), gave him a hope that the day was not far distant when retrenchment would be echoed from one corner of the kingdom to the other. [Loud cheers.]

Upon a resolution of thanks to Lord Cochrane being passed, "for the spirit of opposition by which he has distinguished himself to the infringement of the constitution and the grievances of the people," his Lordship addressed his constituents. The resolution itself, he said, would have been sufficient to have called



him forward to offer his thanks for the honour conferred upon him; but he had additional reasons for an offering of thanks on the present occasion. He owed the people of Westminster his grateful acknowledgements for supporting him with their countenance and regard, when he had no other support but the approbation of his own mind, and the consciousness of his own innocence. On the present occasion the Noble Lord would not enter on foreign politics, as we had sufficient cause for consideration and reflection at home. The Income Tax, it was said, affected only the higher ranks of life, the merchant and the land-owner; but he would say, that it was felt even on the bread of the poor. When it was exacted, the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) "in the room over the way," had affirmed, with a kind of exultation, that the French would be so crushed by our measures, as not to be able to recover for some years. He would not trouble them with any remarks on that Noble Lord's conduct, after what the meeting had heard from his Honorable colleague, with whom he entirely concurred. He meant to have proposed an additional resolution, which he would now defer till the success of the present petition was known. The resolution to which he alluded, would pledge the freemen of Westminster to measures for reducing our military establishments, similar to those that were so successful with the Americans at the commencement of that struggle which secured their ultimate freedom—he meant an abstinence from the use of articles on which taxes fell, so as to deprive the Government of resources for carrying their projects into execution. It might appear a disgraceful thing to see a window shut up to avoid a tax, but such was probably the only mode left of preserving our constitution and liberties from the influence of a standing army. When the success of the present petition was known (and he had no doubt that it would fail), he would submit the proposition, which he had hinted at, to their consideration.

When the last resolution, for the thanks of the meeting to the High Bailiff, was proposed, it was resisted by Mr. Hunt, on the ground that he had refused to attend to a requisition on a former occasion, though he deserved credit for his ready compliance on the present. After some

short addresses to the meeting by the High Bailiff himself, Mr. Wishart, and Mr. Hunt, the latter persisted in his opposition, the resolution was negatived.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved—That in addition to the weight of other exactions which have been gradually accumulated upon the people of England, the Income, falsely denominated the Property Tax, constitutes the greatest violation upon record of that most sacred obligation, to render to the people, at the smallest possible cost, the services which Governments are created to yield.

That a man high in his Majesty's Council, Lord Castlereagh, thought proper, in the face of the Commons House of Parliament, to insult the miseries of this people, and to treat with wanton scorn this signal violation of the duties of Government, by declaring that the complaints of the nation were only "an ignorant impatience for a relaxation of taxation."

That the inequality, in other words, the injustice by which all species of Income are taxed alike—an Income worth thirty years' purchase at the same rate with an Income worth less than two—amounts to an oppression which, considering the magnitude of the scale upon which it operates, will scarcely find a parallel in any of the acts of the most absolute Governments which have ruled over any civilized portion of the globe in modern times.

That the Boards of Commissioners, instituted for levying this hateful Tax, are, in fact, constituted the absolute Lords and Masters of the earnings and the fortunes of every individual in the community; since it is of no importance whether the nominal rate be Ten per cent. or Five per cent.; while unbounded power is possessed of declaring the Income of every individual to be whatever they choose.

That purposely to keep our proper lawful defence, the county power, in a state of utter decay, and at the same time to vote in peace, a standing army of 149,000 men, would, in the opinion of this meeting, be to vote the subversion of our free Constitution.

That with those three instruments—an Income Tax, as described above, for extracting the substance of the people—a

permanent military force, such as that with which we are threatened, for suppressing murmurs and opposition—and a House of Commons capable of being rendered pliant by a participation of the spoil, we can conceive nothing wanting to the consummation of despotic power.

That by a spirited union for disseminating knowledge, and by such an energetic public voice as would become a people determined to be free, the dangers with which we are surrounded might soon be dispelled, and the constitution for ever secured.

That the Petition now read be adopted; and that the same be signed on behalf of this Meeting by the High Bailiff, and not fewer than Twenty Inhabitant Household-ers, and presented to the Commons House of Parliament by our Representative, Sir F. Burdett, Bart.

That the Thanks of this Meeting are cordially rendered to our Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, for his steady adherence to the true principles of the Constitution, and his resistance to political abuses.

That the Thanks of this Meeting are rendered to our Representative, Lord Cochrane, for the spirit of opposition by which he has distinguished himself to the infringements of the Constitution, and the grievances of the people.

**PETITION TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.**

*The Petition of the Inhabitant Household-ers of the City and Liberties of Westminster*

**SHEWETH**—That, as the smallest sum, which is taken from the people, beyond the expence unavoidably required for the performance of the services which it is the end of Government to render, is injustice and oppression; so the threatened renewal of the Income, most improperly denominated the Property Tax, is calculated to perpetuate a consumption of the property of the people, far beyond the expences at which the services of Government might well be performed.

That this tax extorts from the people so exorbitant a portion of their substance, by means altogether incompatible with their happiness, with justice, and with the essential principles of good government—so *unequally*, that the laborious earnings of the poor man are charged ten or fifteen, or twenty times higher than the perpetual income of the rich—and so *arbitrarily*, that a body of Exactors are established, with powers to ravage from each individual just as much as they please.

That as the existence of arbitrary Government is the greatest of all the evils which can rest upon human nature, so a tax which gives an unlimited power over the property of the people, and the permanence of a military force against which the resistance of the people would be vain, seem the most direct and infallible of all expedients for the establishment of despotic power. Your Petitioners therefore most earnestly pray, that you will withhold the sanction of your Honourable House, from any proposition to bring upon your country either of these evils; and by reducing the expences of Government to their proper limits, and bestowing upon us our lawful Constitutional defence, the County power, render an Income Tax and a standing Army equally and conspectuously unnecessary.

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#### NORTHAMPTON PETITION.

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At a Meeting of the Nobility, Gentlemen, and other Freeholders of the County of Northampton, held pursuant to public notice, at the County-Hall, on Friday, the 23d day of February, 1816, J. M. KIRBY, Esq. Under Sheriff, in the Chair;

Resolved, That the Petition (of which we subjoin a Copy), then produced by Sir George Robinson, Bart. and seconded by Lord Sondes, should be adopted.

PETITION TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

*The humble Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, and other Freeholders of the County of Northampton,*

SHewETH,—That this nation has, during a long series of years, been engaged in a war unprecedented in its extent, for the carrying on of which your Petitioners have cheerfully submitted to burthens unexampled in their pressure. They submitted to them with cheerfulness in the confident expectation that, at the return of peace, they would be relieved at least from such parts of them, as were professedly levied for the purpose of defraying, within each year, the current expences of the war.

That your Petitioners have reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the severe pressure which is at this moment overwhelming the agricultural interest, and, indeed, all classes of the people, it is intended to maintain enormous establishments, and to incur unnecessary expences, which can only be defrayed by prolonging a system of taxation, equally injurious to the industry, and destructive to the comfort of the community.

Under these circumstances, your Petitioners beg leave to represent, that they had indulged in a hope, that, after the signal successes of the allied arms, peace would have been settled upon so secure a foundation, as to authorize the immediate reduction of those establishments, which had been created for the sole purpose of resisting the gigantic military despotism of France.

That your Petitioners presume not to dictate to your Honourable House the precise measures best calculated to relieve their distresses, though at the same time they cannot refrain from expressing their confident hope that the faith of Parlia-

ment will be redeemed by the abolition of the Tax upon Property, a Duty which has not only been large in its amount, but partial in its operation, and grievous in its collection.

It is indeed with extreme surprise and concern, that they have heard of an intention to propose the renewal of this Tax on the part of the Ministers of the Crown, notwithstanding the general expressions of the public feeling on that subject, so unequivocally conveyed last year by Petitions to your Honourable House.

They therefore hope, that in every department of the State, such economy will be enforced, as may enable the nation to recover, by degrees, from the severe difficulties under which it is labouring, and which, if not removed by timely and well considered measures, must ultimately destroy those resources, upon which alone it can rely for the maintenance of its honour and independence.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

Resolved, on the Motion of Lord Milton, That the Petition should remain at the George Inn, Northampton, till Saturday evening, for the signature of the Freeholders, and that the Members for the County be requested to present the same to the House of Commons, and give it their support.

Resolved, That the Thanks of the Meeting be given to Sir George Robinson, Bart. and Lord Sondes, the mover and seconder of the Petition.

Resolved, That the Resolutions, &c. of this day should be inserted in the Northampton Mercury, and in the Morning Chronicle, and the Courier London Newspapers.

J. M. KIRBY, Under Sheriff.

Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of the Meeting be given to the Under Sheriff for his impartial conduct in the Chair; and attention to the business of the day.

"This will be a bustling winter with you; and I  
 "give you joy of it with all my heart. But,  
 "whether the Landlords stir, or not, I shall be  
 "equally amused. I shall observe their move-  
 "ments with a watchful eye. I think I shall  
 "be tempted to go up once more and look at  
 "their faces, to see what an empty stare they  
 "will give each other; how amazed they will  
 "seem to be that their estates have slipped  
 "through their fingers; how insipid the Wa-  
 "terloo Story will seem to their ears; how  
 "dull of apprehension they will be on the sub-  
 "ject of the Waterloo Column; how little they  
 "will seem to care about the stripping of the  
 "Louvre and the Museums. I think I see  
 "them now, turning their ears from all these  
 "topics, as a cat, which has been whipped for  
 "pigeon killing, turns her head from a dead  
 "pigeon, flung down before her.—I will cer-  
 "tainly ride up to see them.—*Letter V. to*  
*"the Chancellor of the Exchequer; dated 6th*  
*"December, 1815.*

TO THE  
 PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
 AMERICA.

### LETTER III.

*The general tendency of the Taxes.—The  
 ignorance of the Ministers.—Military  
 Academy.—Sufferers in general not  
 entitled to Pity.—Justice in laughing at  
 them.—The state and treatment of Ire-  
 land.—What can be the object in mak-  
 ing the American Savage a Major in  
 the English service?*

Peckham Lodge, 9th March, 1816.

In a Letter to our Chancellor of the  
 Exchequer, published about three months  
 ago, I told him, as will be seen from the  
 motto, that he would have a very bustling  
 winter. This he has found to be but too  
 true; for, surely, never was a man so  
 baited since the world began. The fatigue  
 of the thing really appears to have had an  
 effect upon the health of Lord Castlereagh  
 and the Chancellor, and also upon "bro-  
 "ther Bragge," of whom I will give you  
 a full and most curious account another

time. At present we will take another  
 look at the parliamentary struggle about  
 the Income Tax.

This struggle I am not  
 not recollect any very serious opposition  
 ever having been made before to a tax of  
 any sort. The opposition itself is some-  
 thing new; but, the description of persons  
 who now have appeared on the stage is  
 also new; and this is a matter of much  
 greater importance. I have fully ex-  
 plained to you before how the seats are  
 filled. You will, therefore, clearly per-  
 ceive, that the Ministers are not now op-  
 posed, by the greater part of their active  
 opponents, merely because they are Minis-  
 ters; but, because they propose measures  
 which tend to take from the landholders  
 a great part of what remains of their  
 estates. It is very true, that the measures  
 for the last fifty years have had this ten-  
 dency. By degrees, the small country  
 gentry have been all swept away. The  
 great ones have been going for some time.  
 They have sought to prop themselves up  
 by places and pensions, and by sending  
 sons into the army and navy and to Ben-  
 gal. But, now, the defalcation in their  
 rents is so serious, that they plainly see,  
 that they must make a stand, or lose their  
 estates. Many men, therefore, who have  
 always, till now, supported the minister  
 for the time being in every thing, are op-  
 posing the Income Tax, that being one of  
 the channels, through which, as they can  
 clearly see, their estates will pass away  
 from them.

But, they are so stout upon this particu-  
 lar point, only, I imagine, because they  
 see the effect of this tax more clearly than  
 the effect of any other tax. It appears to  
 me very clearly, however, that it is the  
 sum total of the taxes that ought to be  
 kept in view, and not the details and  
 amount of any particular tax; for, I think,  
 that it would be found, upon careful con-  
 sideration, that, if 60 or 70 millions a  
 year were raised wholly in indirect taxes,  
 the effect as to the landlord and all other  
 classes would be precisely the same.  
 There is no direct tax at all laid upon

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persons in the lower orders of life ; yet we see, that the weight of taxation presses them down into the state of *pauperism* ; and, if there were *no indirect taxes*, and the 60 or 70 millions were raised upon the rich in direct taxes, the effect would be precisely the same in the end. The labourer, to suppose a case, pays, out of his 25*l.* a year, 5*l.* in tax upon his beer, salt, soap, candles, sugar, tea, leather, &c. Take off all these taxes and lay them upon the landlord ; the landlord lays them upon his tenant ; and the tenant deducts them from the *wages* of the labourer, who is only just where he was before. But, if you *abolish* these taxes altogether, and cease to demand them of *the whole* of the community, the labourer will still have his 25*l.* a year, and will really have an *additional* 5*l.* ; that is to say, 5*l.* more than he used to have to eat, drink, and wear.

So that you see, Mr. LUSHINGTON, your idea of the Income Tax *falling solely* upon the *rich* may not be quite so correct as you imagined. If you are not convinced, however, let us suppose another case. Suppose a community of ten men, one rich landlord, and the rest his labourers in various ways, and that there is no tax at all. It is very clear, that the *whole* of the landlord's produce (for we will suppose there to be no money) must be divided amongst the other nine as a remuneration to them for administering to his wants and pleasures, except the tenth part which he himself actually consumes. Up starts an eleventh man, all at once, out of the ground, and calling himself the government, takes half the whole of the produce from the landlord. The landlord has but half as much as formerly to give to the nine labourers, and half as much as formerly for his own consumption. This is not enough for him. He is reduced to suffering ; but, does not the nine labourers suffer too ? The government, indeed, having need of some of the nine labourers, gives part of its half back to them ; but, the government, which does not labour to produce, is itself a great devourer, and, besides, those of the labourers, whom it employs, do not assist in producing, and have to earn from the government by unproductive labour part of what it has taken away from the landlord and his productive labourers, who must, of course,

work harder and live harder than they did before.

If this illustration be at all apt, or, if it be true, as it notoriously is, that *pauperism* has kept close upon the heels of *taxation*, what ground is there for saying, or supposing, that one tax, any more than another tax, affects the poorer classes ? But, neither is it true, that one tax, any more than another, tends to take away the landlords' estates, except, indeed a direct tax on their property, which tax the funds would be *exempted from* ; because, in this particular case, the tax on the land would be *paid to private persons* ; who own the funds. On the other hand, a tax upon the funds which should not be extended to the land, would be in fact, a deduction from the interest of the Debt, and would operate partially. Whether this would be wise or foolish, just or unjust, I will leave others to determine. But, the project has been broached even in the parliament ; though I can remember the time, when any man, who should have dared to suggest such a measure would have shared in that odium mixed with ridicule, which I alone had so long to endure.

It is, then, the *sum total* of the taxes, to which the eye of the real politician will be directed ; and, in the falling off in this sum total he will see the surest, if not the only, sign of an approaching change in the system of sway in this country, and of the state of the representation, without which, I, for my part, shall view *any* change with an eye of perfect indifference.

In this view of the matter, it may be useful to inquire a little into the probability, under the present aspect of things, of the government being able to collect the present *total* amount during the present year. I must, however, be clearly understood here as speaking under the supposition, that the paper-money will retain its *present value* ; because, if the Old Lady in Threadneedle Street should take to feeding John Bull again with Bank notes in as great abundance as formerly, and if her numerous Daughters should revive their former practice, I will answer for nothing but the flagrant exposure to the whole world of the paper-system. Mr. VANSITTART has lately said, that *he hopes* the Bank will resume its payments in *specie*. I wish she may with all my heart. He did not say *when* he expected this aus-

picious event. The sooner the better, however; for, whenever the day comes, the average price of wheat will be four shillings a bushel, or thereabouts; the quartern loaf will sell for 4d. and we shall have a *constitutional reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*, which, I am convinced, we never shall have if the bushel of wheat does not come down, and remain at 5s. or less. It may seem an odd notion, that a political reform should depend on the price of the bushel of wheat; but, so thoroughly am I convinced of the correctness of this notion, that I keep my hoping eye very steadily on the market-list. All has been done by paper; the Triennial Bill, the Septennial Bill; the whole has been done by the paper-money. All that Swift and the Tories foretold, with regard to the effects of the paper-system, has come to pass to the very letter. They had very clear views of the nature and tendency of the system. These views have been obscured since North and Pitt got into power. But, now again, men seem to be returning to the light. The estates have, as Swift foretold they would, been changing owners from 1740 to the present day. The change was imperceptible for a good while. Of late it has been visible enough; but *now*, the question simply is, *shall the present landlords retain their estates, or shall they lose them in the space of ten years?* That this is the only real question, and that this is clear to every man of common sense is now notorious.

But, to return to the point, whether it be probable that 60 millions or 70 millions of taxes can now be collected in the country, during this year, even *with* the income tax at ten per cent. I am wholly at a loss to discover how any man can entertain the notion. It is notorious that rents must *fall one-half*, or that the farms will remain *without tenants*. Of course, the Income Tax on land must fall off one half. It is notorious that land has fallen nearly one-half in value, and, of course, the *stamp duties* on sales, mortgages, transfers, settlements, bequests, alienations, must fall off one-half. It is notorious that goods sold at auction have fallen in nearly the same proportion; and, of course, here must be a similar falling off in duty. It is notorious, that there is a falling off to an immense amount in the consumption of wine, sugar, tea, candles, soap, and in that of what is of more im-

portance than all the rest of exciseable articles, *malt* (including *beer*). And, is any one so obstinate as to contend, or, so foolish as to believe, that as large a total amount as usual can be raised in taxes from the carriages, horses, and dogs, the half of which have been actually flung bye, or destroyed; from windows the half of which have been shut up; and from horses a very considerable part of the largest of which have been completely evacuated?

Some gentlemen, in parliament, have given instances of whole parishes that have not paid the Property Tax for the half year to last Michaelmas. We see in the news-papers real estates advertised *for sale by order of the Commissioners of the Property Tax!* To be sure this is an effectual way of getting the tax; but, *how long* can this last? Some months ago, I said, that the taxes of this year were paid out of the *capital* of the farmers and traders. Those of them who had no money by them, and could borrow none, have sold off *stock* which they ought to have kept. Those who had not stock enough, have gone to jail. The taxes, which stand first on the list of legal demands, have generally, perhaps, been got *this time*; but, will they be got a second time in the same way? To believe this, to hope it, does really appear to me to be proof positive of the wildest infatuation.

I asked a gentleman, the other day, what he thought was *the real opinion of the ministers as to the prospect before them*. His answer was to this effect: "Why, Cobbett, should you be surprised at their ignorance of such matters? It requires not only a solid head to start with, but great observation and long reflection, to enable any man to form any thing like a correct opinion upon such a subject; and, supposing the ministers to be naturally profound men, what time or opportunity have they for reflection or observation, engaged, as they incessantly are, in all sorts of miserable details and disputes? And, as to the information which they receive from their underlings, those underlings knew their own interest too well to tell their masters disagreeable truths. Thus ignorant themselves, from the want of time to see and think, and deceived by those on whom they rely for a knowledge of facts; and, afraid to look at

"the dark side of the picture, and also  
 "afraid to confess the necessity of any  
 "change that would throw discredit on  
 "the system, they are endeavouring to  
 "force things along in the usual way, and  
 "at any rate, to get over this session, and  
 "try the Chapter of Accidents."

There certainly is no other way of accounting for the high tone of the Regent's speech, and the passages of the address, which bragged about the prosperity of the Country. Nay, about the same time, there appeared in print a speech of the *Prime Minister*, made to a *Bible Society* at Dover, in which he talked of the "*unexampled prosperity of the country*." It is too much to suppose, that, especially upon such an occasion, he would have uttered a wilful falsehood; because, besides the grossness of the impiety, he must have been sure, that the falsehood would be manifest to the whole country. Therefore, if he uttered the speech attributed to him, he must have been as completely ignorant of the real state of England as he may be supposed to be of the real state of the people in the Moon.

Upon the subject of the *Standing Army* there have been some excellent speeches; but, amongst them all, I admire most that of LORD FOLKESTONE on account of some particular points, on which he touched. He showed, by cited numerous instances, how the military power and authority had been creeping over us. He pointed out endless cases, in which the bayonet had supplanted the constable's staff. But, what pleased me most was his observations on the *Military Asylum* and *Military Academy*, of which, by-the-by, there are many. The grand affair of this sort is on a *barren heath*, about 30 miles from London. A school! Faith it is an *immense palace*! There is a regular fort erected near it. The houses of Tutors, Purveyors, &c. form a sort of town, at a little distance, which is called *York Town*, and as there is a hill at one end of the town, it is called *Osnaburgh Hill*! The *tout-ensemble* is, perhaps, called little Germany. The boys, who are placed in this seminary, are clad in regimentals. They wear uncouth caps with a *Number* upon them. Thus secluded from the people from their infancy, what are they likely to become? And what is become of the argument, so frequently used of late years, that the people of England

can be in no danger from an army commanded by *English Gentlemen*?

However, these are only indications of wishes, which will never be realized. All the whole of the scheme is vain. It never can be carried into effect for any length of time. I am sure it cannot. I am, therefore, in no apprehension, about the standing army on any other account than as regards its expence, and the incapacity that it will produce to make any thing like a *fair compromise between the land and the funds*. This is the *réel* measure to be adopted, and that, too, as speedily as possible, before the parties assume any thing resembling an *open separation* in the eyes of the nation at large; for, if that once take place, farewell to all hopes of justice. This discussion about the Income Tax has had a tendency to begin the breach; for, it was impossible, during such a discussion, for the landholders to refrain from contrasting their lot with that of the fundholders. If these disputes go on, they will end in open contests; these will soon become of a very hostile nature; and, when anger once supplies the place of reflection, justice stands but a very miserable chance.

The discussions upon the subject of the army have brought forth some statements relative to *Ireland*, which are valuable, because they contain an account of the state of that country, given by the *ministers themselves*. But, before I enter upon this part of my subject, I must notice the language of some of the persons, presenting petitions against the Income Tax.

Sir WILLIAM CURTIS said, on presenting a petition from the Tower Ward, that he had known the petitioners for 30 years, and that they had always been distinguished for their *loyalty*. Others say, that they have paid, *without grudging*, taxes to carry on the war; and, that they would do the same again. I dare say they would, if they could; but, I can assure them, that, good as their *hearts* might be in the cause, their *purses* would fail them this time, unless wheat rose to 20s. a bushel, and then we might pretty nearly cover our houses with paper-money. When I hear the lamentable accounts of the miseries of the country; when I hear of the cutting the throats of hunters and dogs for fear of the Tax-gatherer; when I hear of the thousands of families, plunged into distress at home,

while the heads of them are sent to jail; when I hear of the shame, confusion, and distraction which the effects of the war are creating all over the kingdom; when I hear the descriptions of the screaming wives and children while suicide, from pecuniary distress, is making such dreadful ravages: when I hear of all these I cannot help remembering how many men have suffered from *Ex-officio* prosecutions for publishing writings against the system, which has, at last, led to these consequences, and that they suffered, too, *without calling forth petitions to parliament from any portion of this same people*. And I should be guilty of real baseness; I should do violence to my own feelings, as well as to those of all that belong to me, if I were to disguise, that, upon this occasion, that we do not feel as we should have felt had we ourselves never suffered. Men, of great respectability, are now going to jail and leaving their families in tears. And, did not I go to jail? Men are stripped of their property. And was not I stripped of my property! It is notorious, that, with the exception of London and Westminster, Norwich, Nottingham and Sheffield, there is hardly any part of England, which has, in any considerable body, ever discovered any feeling for the sufferers of the press; and yet the labours of those sufferers, if they had had their free course, would have prevented the present calamities.

And, let us bear in mind, too, that these sufferings, which arise wholly from the war, and from the Debt and army which the war has entailed on this country, have not come until after the cause of them has been the cause of other people's sufferings. The chuckle-headed farmer, who used to revel in delight at hearing of Jacobins sent to jail, should, when he is going to jail himself, recollect those times. He used to call for another bottle to finish his beastly mess, when the news-paper arrived and told him of the devastations in France or of those in America. Let him now, then, as he enters the jail door for the want of means to pay the expences of those exploits, bow his head to the jailer and acknowledge the justice of his fate. How many of these impudent men have (behind my back) called me "*an enemy of the country!*" Wheat at 20s. a bushel they called "*the*

*country.*" Those who could make their sons excisemen or custom-house officers they called *the country*. They have now found, that *this country* has slipped through their fingers. One of my chief objects in going to Winchester, the other day, was to see how these "loyal" men now looked. Faith! they were changed! They looked as if they had just come from having a tooth drawn. Monstrously sulky. It was easy to distinguish the Jacobins from the "Loyal". The former, though in the same plight as to purse, could not refrain from laughing; and I certainly never did hear so much laughter, and never laughed so much, on any day in my life. I complimented our old opponents upon the great improvement in their language and sentiments, and told them, that, as it was manifest that their notions of freedom had risen in a precise proportion to the diminution of their purses, I felt confident hopes, that, by the time that we met again, the Tax-gatherer would have gone far towards sweating them up to our standard. Some of them endeavoured to force up a smile, but it soon lost itself in a cursing grin. I reminded them, that it was not now a battle between their old friends, the ministers, and us Jacobins; but between their old friends, the ministers, and themselves; and that all that we Jacobins had to do was to stand by and see fair-play.

You, in America, will wonder how I can say these bitter things; how I can tell so large a part of the community of their faults; I can express openly my satisfaction, that the time of suffering is arrived for those crowds, who, with such insensibility, at best, have seen others suffer, and who, in many cases, have openly exulted at their suffering; you will wonder how I can say these things, how I can laugh at and mock the sufferings of these people; you will wonder that I do not lose all my readers. I sometimes wonder at it myself, 'till I take time to reflect. To be sure, this consideration would have no weight with me; for, what is life without pleasure; and how can I have any pleasure, as to public affairs, if I stifle my sentiments? If I, holding the lash in my hand, do not lay it on where it is merited? It is, perhaps, quite impossible for any writer to be more unpopular than I am. There are,



to be sure, a great many thousands who are my staunch friends; but, *comparatively* speaking, these are nothing. Those who *read*, many of them, curse me. Still they read; but, if the writings *convince* them, they still hate the writer, because he convinces them of the truth of what they dread. Like the Devils, they believe and tremble.

It is quite curious to observe how the language and sentiments of the press and of the parliament too have followed my language and sentiments, upon numerous occasions; and more particularly as to the effects of the war or our situation in peace. Two years ago, when Napoleon was banished to Elba, and when this nation were *drunk* with joy at that event; when it was bawling and shouting round "Old Blucher" and the kings; when it was celebrating, in all the parishes, the "triumph of kings" by roasting of oxen whole, and by all sorts of savage anticks; at that time, when the Churchwardens and Overseers applied to me to subscribe towards a parish *ox*, my answer was, that I should give them not a farthing; that I felt no joy at the event; and that I would suffer none of my servants or labourers to partake in the festivities. At the same time, even while the nation was raving-mad drunk, I told them that the time was not far distant when they would curse their folly. I remember, that, on the day that all Hampshire and all the neighbouring counties were flocking to see the Kings at Portsmouth, I was busy in a field on the side of the road, attending to the fallowing of a piece of foul land, when a clergyman, whom I knew very well, passed in his gig. He stopped, and asked me why I did not go to Portsmouth. I told him (and he has, I am sure, thought of it a hundred times since), that I was endeavouring to provide against the miseries that the follies and wickedness then about to be celebrated at Portsmouth would bring upon us. I told him that the nation was *drunk*, and that I had never yet seen an instance of drunkenness not followed by suffering of some sort or other. I verily believe he thought me mad, or, at least, sunk into a state of melancholy; and, I confess, that this latter would have been the case, had I not felt confident, that a short time would verify my predictions, and give me

ample vengeance on those, who, at that time, exulted in what they deemed the total overthrow of all my political principles.

But, what do I *now* see and hear? Why, I *see* that all my predictions, though then regarded as so *wild*, are fulfilled, and, that though I was pretty bold in my description of the state of things that was to come, the reality has far surpassed the speculation. And I *hear* my sentiments, my doctrines, my very *words*, repeated (as if they were their *own*) by those writers and speakers, who used to ridicule, or abuse me and my notions. I see writers and speech-makers now coming forth with descriptions of the *causes* of the evil and with *remedies*, which they, with the most admirable appearance of simplicity, publish or utter, as their *own*, every word, or, at least every *thought* of which I could, if it were worth the trouble, show, that I have been, for years, endeavouring to hammer into the heads of this nation. I have, as I observed in my last Number, not more than a *hundredth* part of the English press in my hands. I mean a hundredth part of the *power* of the press; for, as to the *property* of the press, or the *quantity* of it, I do believe I have more than a *thousandth* part, and, perhaps, not a *two thousandth* part. Well, until the very *eve* of the meeting of parliament, there was only my small portion of the press, unenlivened as my dry and unpopular matter is by any mixture of amusing novelties, and clogged as it necessarily must be with a high price; there was only this trifling portion of the English press that appeared to have any knowledge of any distress existing in the country. Hence it is, that the calamities seem to have burst upon us like the thunder-clouds burst sometimes over the houses in Pennsylvania. Men *felt* distress themselves; but they knew nothing of its general prevalence; nothing at all of the *causes* of it; and had not the smallest idea of any *remedy*. I say it with confidence, that, in the month of *December* last, the real situation of England, and the dangers which were approaching her, were better understood on the banks of the *Ohio* and of the *Mississippi* than on the banks of the *Severn* and the *Thames*; because, by the means of re-publication, the people, in general, inhabiting the

former had then read my essays of last autumn; and, because, the inhabitants of the latter, even if it had been possible to force them to read those essays, had so many other publications to undo all that I was able to do; had their ears so incessantly assailed by pleasing falsehoods, that my efforts were rendered of no effect. But, *experience* of the foreboded evils has done the thing for me. The lessons of theory which come *after practice* are always the soonest learnt. The man who never had a leg sawed off (a pretty lucky man, indeed, if he has, with a sore toe, fallen into the clutches of some of our modern surgeons) will be much longer in acquiring right notions of the previous and subsequent feelings than one who has had a leg sawed off. So also the yeomanry cavalry, who are now crowding to our jails, understand my essays at the very first reading; and, though they curse me most heartily for the truths which I tell them, and even for having so long warned them of their danger, still they do, at any rate, now *understand* what I write. They are no longer to be deluded.

"But," some one will say, "is it not enough to have triumphed over this host of prejudices and calumnies and indignities, without pursuing, with such apparent rancour, those whom you see *converted?*" In the first place, they are *not converted*. They suffer, but they do not amend, except inasmuch as they are amended by *compulsion*. Besides, have they ever shown any compassion to a fallen foe? Have they been merciful in the day of their power? And, moreover, it is necessary, with a view to the future, to assert *now* my right to be attended to; for, in spite of what Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues are pleased to say about the *temporary* nature of the present distress, it will soon be found, that we are only at the *beginning* of our troubles; and, that schemes of real and substantial change will, at no distant day, have to be discussed.

As I have been the advanced guard upon all other occasions, so, I see I must be *here*. In my next Number I WILL PROPOSE MY REMEDY, which shall be an *effectual* one. I have waited to see whether any other man had the boldness to do this; but, though I now and then hear a word or two dropped, which seem to indicate that the speaker is upon the

*right scent*; though my ear is occasionally delighted with a sudden burst, which calls forth a "*hark to him!*" I am always disappointed, and can discover no hope of seeing that old Fox, the Pitt System, fairly driven from his cover. He has, after much digging and firkng, been *unearthed*; but he still hides himself in the thickest sand coppices. Out, however, he must come now; we must have him in full view, and the pack open-mouthed at his heels. This job is, I clearly perceive, reserved for me; and, *next week*, health and weather permitting, I will assuredly perform it, and that, too, in fine style. I only wish that Pitt and Dundas and Percival were alive (God forgive me!) to see the sport.

I now proceed to notice the account which the ministers themselves give of the *use* which the 25,000 soldiers are to be put to in IRELAND, and which account. I find in the speech of Mr. PEARL, delivered in the House of Commons on the 28th of February.

"Mr. PEARL rose to explain the grounds upon which it was necessary that a force amounting 25,000 men should be kept up in Ireland; and in so doing he should be most anxious to avoid every allusion or argument that could possibly tend to provoke what might be considered as a political discussion. The House could not but be aware of the great difference between the condition of Ireland and this country, and that the expediency of any measure in reference to the former, was not to be estimated by its fitness or necessity as to the latter. In particular it was to be recollected that Ireland did not, and from particular circumstances, *could not*, possess that greatest of all blessings, a resident Gentry. He should not inquire now into the reasons for that condition, or into the causes of many other things which materially affected the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland. He should confine himself merely to facts. The military force of Ireland were appointed to three descriptions of employments; first, that employment which might be considered as *strictly military*; secondly, in *pre-servng the peace and aiding the civil power of the country*; and thirdly, in *suppressing that great and general grievance, illicit distillation*. It should.

“be remembered, however, that though the nominal force which was to be kept up in Ireland was 25,000 men, yet the effective number would not, at any time, exceed 20,000. It would be extremely difficult to ascertain with precision the exact amount that would be required for the performance of the strict military duties to which he had alluded; but he could assure the House that every effort had been employed, by consulting the most intelligent military men upon that subject, in order to reduce it as much as possible. With respect to the other, and the more delicate part of the application of this military force, namely, in preserving the peace of Ireland, he wished to enter into a few details. The Army of Ireland was, at the present moment, divided into *four hundred and forty-one stations*, and he would explain upon what principle. The House must not suppose that the Government of Ireland listened to every hasty application on the part of the Magistrates for the employment of a military force. On the contrary, the answer invariably was, that it was impossible to attend to every individual application, and that it was necessary some line should be drawn. When, therefore, the state of a country was such as seemed to require the intervention of the military, directions were given for summoning the Magistrates, who discussed the question of its necessity; but even *their decision*, when in favour of the employment of a military force was not considered as conclusive, unless confirmed by the *opinion of the Commanding Officer of the district*. Notwithstanding, however, all those precautionary measures, the number of military quarters amounted, as he had already stated, to 441, though it was to be observed, that upon the reduction of the army, more than 200 of those quarters would be abandoned. For himself, he certainly entertained no predilection for a military force, but at the same time he must say, that it was better to execute justice by a military force, than not to execute it at all. [Hear, hear!] Even in a constitutional point of view, indeed, and as a means of avoiding the recurrence to those legislative measures which that House had sanctioned, it was perhaps

“preferable to employ a military force in aiding the civil power to maintain tranquillity. There were many parts of Ireland in which it was absolutely necessary either to employ soldiers, or to resort to the Insurrection Act.—The *various causes*, political as well as moral, which rendered it unavoidable to employ such measures, for maintaining the public peace, he did not then mean to discuss; but many Honourable Gentlemen, especially those who were the Representatives of that country, could not be altogether unacquainted with them. With respect to another part of the subject, he meant the employment of the military in doing the duty of *custom house officers*, he could state that that system had prevailed in Ireland at least since the year 1779, for at that period a regulation was made authorising the employment of soldiers to repress the practice of illicit distillation, and ordering that any officer who refused to let his men be so employed should be brought to a court martial. He would submit to the House a comparative statement of the amount of force employed upon this service at different periods. In 1806 there were four hundred and forty-eight military parties occupied in detecting illicit distillation: in 1807, five hundred and ninety-eight; in 1808, 431; in later periods still more: and in the half year ending with Dec. 1815, they amounted to 1889. The *absolute necessity* of employing the military on that kind of service was well known to every person who was at all acquainted with the actual condition of those parts of Ireland where illicit distillation most prevailed. He wished, however, to guard the House from supposing that he considered those temporary remedies as affording any *permanent relief*; he was fully sensible that they could not afford such relief; but still, while that disposition to turbulence and riot existed, no one could deny that it must be vigorously checked. The only radical, and substantial, and permanent relief that could be calculated upon, must arise from the diffusion of knowledge and education among the lower classes of the Irish population; and he should extremely deprecate, even in these times of general economy, that most unwise application of the prin-



"ciple of economy, which would tend to  
 "obstruct the progress, or to *limit the*  
*"extent of that knowledge and education.*  
 "[Hear, hear!] It would be infinitely  
 "better to have an *enlightened Catholic*  
*"population* than an ignorant one. The  
 "Right Hon. Gentleman entered into a  
 "variety of other details, which the late-  
 "ness of the hour prevents us from giving  
 "at that length which their importance  
 "requires."

So, then, the Irish nation is to continue to be governed in this way, 'till they are *enlightened*! But, by the bare perusal of this speech, my blood is put into a state which disqualifies me for the comments that I intended to make on it. They must, therefore, be sent off for publication in America, together with the observations, suggested by an article in the news-papers, by which we are informed, that the INDIAN CHIEF, lately brought over by COL. NICHOLLS, of the Marines, is appointed a *Major* in our service.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. "The galled jade winces." I perceive, that Mr. HORNER and Mr. TIERNEY call it CANT to accuse them and their colleagues of raising the Income Tax to ten per cent from *six and a quarter*. They call this the *cant out of doors*. It is lucky for them that they are *in doors*. Some other people who are *out of doors* might be in doors too, if Mr. Horner's salary were divided in hundreds amongst them. But, as to its being *cant* to accuse the Whigs of raising the tax to ten per centum from  $6\frac{1}{4}$ , what is meant by *cant*? *Cant* means *hypocritical talk*; as when a man sees, without saying a word, the people of England becoming real slaves under the name of paupers, and *farmed out* to keep little cattle at straw yard; when a man can say this, without making any effort to lessen those places and pensions which are partly the cause of this slavery, and yet sets up a great cry against the slavery of the Africans, he is justly accused of *cant*. So also, when the same man, expressly or tacitly, approves of the re-enslaving of France, Italy, and Spain, and finds fault with the ministers because they have *not done enough* against America, and yet takes merit to himself for what he has done in behalf of the Negro people, we justly accuse him of *cant*.

But, when we hear the Income Tax called every thing that is *abominable*, in *principle* as in *practice*, are we to be accused of *cant* if we remind the public that the Whigs, who now wish to *thrust out the Ministers*, raised this abominable tax from  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to 10 per cent? We were told by a Whig, at Winchester, that the tax was a *robbery*, and, was it *cant* to reproach him with having been a *Commissioner of that Tax* for many years? Many of the petitions, now pouring in, complain of the *Sinecure Places*, and, is it *cant*, then, for us to say that the Whigs have their full share of this species of emolument? Is it *cant* to say, that they, when in place, did the most odious thing in this way that ever was done? Is it *cant* to say that they pensioned off Sir Charles Saxton, the Commissioner of the Dock yard at Portsmouth, and put Lord Grey's brother in his place? Is it *cant* to say, that, in order to enable their leader, Lord Grenville, to hold a sinecure of  $\pounds 4000$  a year along with his place as first Lord of the Treasury, they brought in and passed an *act of parliament*? Is it *cant* to say, that they augmented the number of Hanoverian troops to serve in England? Is it *cant* to say, that they squandered the public money in paying Pitt's Debts and in erecting a monument in honour of his memory, expressly on the score of his public services? It is *cant* to say, that they went to war with Prussia solely for the sake of *Hanover*? Is it *cant* to say, that, in their Income Tax law, they exempted the *funded property of the king*, who has lent large sums to his loving subjects? Is it *cant* to say, that they drew up and left in the office the very bill, which when passed into a law, became that law by which people are shut up in their houses in Ireland? Why, if it be *cant* to say these things, it is, of course, very shameful *cant* to say, that the Whigs were even bolder than their opponents in defending Castlereagh and Perceval on the occasion of Mr. MANNINGHAM's motion of May 11, 1809? *Cant*, however, as this may be, it will, as long as any of the party live, be remembered and mentioned too. What! Do the party suppose, that the people, who are now petitioning, have any reliance on them? They really do appear to think so. They are, therefore, exceedingly angry with all those, who remind the people of their

deeds. What! are the *people* petitioning to have Lord Grenville put into power? Oh, no! Mr. HORNER, the people desire no such thing; no nor do they desire to see *you* Chancellor of the Exchequer, though *I do*; for, I should really like to see what you would do with the thing. Somebody observed, the other night, that your knowledge in matters of *finance* was *unquestionable*. Whether this was in joke, or in earnest, I am sorry your proposition to *make the Bank pay in specie* was not adopted; for, the whole *concern* would have been *wound up* by this time, if it had been adopted. Wheat would now have been 4s. a bushel, or thereabouts. Now, when the war is at an end, why do you not stir against the Restriction Law? That law will expire of itself, if not renewed. Will it be renewed, though you would have had it repealed *in war*? To make the Bank pay in specie was Lord Grenville's and your scheme. And will you not urge its adoption *now* in time of peace? This scheme showed to me, at the time (and I pointed it out) how little either of you understood of the matter; how shallow your view of the matter was, when you could talk of restoring the currency of the country to a *healthy state*: I told you, that the bare attempt would *ruin all persons in agriculture and trade*. Look into "*Paper again: Gold*," and you will see, that I told you so. The *ruin* is come even before your scheme is *half* carried into effect. Is it *cant* to remind the public of this? Is it *cant* to remind them, that *you* were one of the advocates for raising the salaries of the Judges, on account of the rise in the *price of labour and of the necessities of life*? And will it be *cant* to complain of you, if you do not now propose to *lower* them again? Many of the petitions ask for an *abolition of sinecures and unearned pensions* and a *reduction of salaries*. Not a word do I hear *about any of these* in the *speeches* against ministers by the party. Yet, compared with *these* the Income Tax is, in my view of the matter, a mere *trifle*. I do not mean in *amount*; I mean in mischief, in injury to the people. The petitioners, too, are guilty of *cant*, I suppose, as far as these complaints go? However, it is no matter. The thing, the whole concern, is now got into such a state; there is such a *mess* of it altogether, that I defy any body to prevent

a radical change? and, for my part, I think that the only thing we have to attend to, is to keep in mind the *past conduct* of those who are, or may be, candidates for place again.

#### THE EXAMINER.

The Editor of this paper, MR. LEIGH HUNT, was, in the last Register, called "*a paid-for paragraph monger*." He was so called during some remarks on a charge, which he had preferred against Mr. Hunt of Hampshire, of being employed by the Ministry to go to the Westminster Meeting to do injury to the cause of the people. A writer in the Examiner of last week, calls the charge of paragraph selling a *calumny*. If it be one, is it so great a calumny as the charge against Mr. Hunt of Hampshire? However, I, at any rate, put my *name* to what I published about the paid-for paragraph monger; and I do not find any *name* to the contradiction. I observe, too, that *no name* appears to the charge against Mr. Hunt of Hampshire.—This is not the first time that the *venom*, quite unprovoked, of the Examiner has been spit out against Mr. Hunt. Upon one occasion, when he had made a speech at the Crown and Anchor against Gibbs (the then Attorney-General), the most base attack was made on him by the Examiner, in which paper he was pointed out in a way, calculated to prepare, before-hand, a justification of a prosecution against him.—Was this *fair*? It did not answer its intended purpose; and the author of it (to the sorrow of all good men) had soon afterwards two years leisure to reflect on the subject.—Suppose Mr. Hunt to have been *indiscreet* at the Crown and Anchor? Suppose that his attack on Gibbs was outrageously violent? Suppose that he went beyond all bounds of decorum in his expressions of abhorrence of this man's character and conduct? Suppose all this; was it for a *public writer* of that day to find fault with this indiscreet zeal? Was it for any one but a mere hireling to point out this speech to public reprobation? The Examiner seems to suppose, that there is a *middle course* to steer; that there are *two parties* amongst the debaters; that one is *better* than the other; that, a *change of ministry* would do us good. Well, let him think so; but, let him not utter real

calumnies against such men as Mr. Hunt, who thinks, as I do, that to hold forth the notion of redress to be obtained by a change of ministry is to delude and cheat and abuse the nation, though the writer may be not aware of what he is really doing.—It, indeed, the Examiner, as its title imports, had *examined* the speech of Mr. Hunt; had shown, or endeavoured to show, that it was *false* or *foolish*, no one would have had a right to complain; but, to *suppress the speech* and *abuse the speaker* was too foul a proceeding to pass without reprobation.—If Mr. HUNT acted imprudently, why not show the imprudence of his conduct? Was it fair, at any rate, to suppress his speech, while his conduct was so grossly commented on? For my own part, as far as I have been able to gather from the speech itself, I think he acted perfectly right. I do not find, that he said any thing injurious either to or of Mr. Brand, Mr. Bennet, or Mr. Lambton. He expressed his fears of Mr. Brougham as a *lawyer*; and, surely, what he has seen of other lawyers may well justify such fears. I hope, that, in *this case*, we shall see an *exception*. I think, that, even if Mr. Brougham were bent upon *promotion*, he is too wise to see, that it can, for any length of time, be secured *under the present system*.—But, after all, it does not signify, in my opinion a straw what the parties do. If the system remain *unchanged radically*, it is no matter who is in power: if it be radically changed the proper persons will be sure to be in power. The best thing is to keep on telling *the people* good home truths; and, indeed, this is the only thing that is, or can be, of any use.—What do I care, or what need any man of sense care, about a standing army, while the Attorney General has the power, *at any moment that he pleases*, to file an information against any writer, printer, or publisher in England, *to hold him to bail instantly, BEFORE TRIAL*, and, after that *to put off the trial for any length of time that he pleases*? While this law, passed not many years ago, exists a Standing Army of 150,000 men is a mere *trifle* in my view of things. What is the Income Tax compared to this law? Oh! you, the Jolterheads in the country, do not care about *the press*, don't you? Why, then, should the press care for you? What need I, for instance, care how hard you are

squeezed? You have never raised your voices for us; Why should we raise our voices for you? This is my view of the matter. I do not wish to be regarded as labouring in behalf of those who most feel the pressure of the Income Tax. I regard the stand that is now making against it as of no sort of consequence, except as it proves that the *day of reform* is not far distant. What do I care about loyal 'Squire Jolterhead and his estate? What is it *to me*, whether he keep it, or whether it pass into the hands of an army taylor? The latter cannot be more the enemy of freedom than Jolterhead has been. Let them *fight it out*; and let us look on, and enjoy the sun.

#### REMEDIES

We are all sending forth our *projects* now. The following letter, sent me out of a *Plymouth Paper*, is worth insertion *here* only as it shows, that the sense of our sufferings, and the necessity of a remedy, are spreading far and wide. There is nothing *new* in this letter, except the scheme for inducing *foreign nations* to assist us in this hour of our distress, in return for the sacrifices we have made *for their good*! This is, I believe, quite *original*, and I beg the writer to be assured, that it does not inspire me with the smallest degree of envy. The *clipping of the coin*, or, which is the same thing, the proposition to call 16s. worth of gold a *guinea*, is, I believe, also *original*. What schemes are on foot!

WM. COBBETT.

#### TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

MY LORD,—The unparalleled distress in which the Agricultural Interest is involved, and the appalling prospect which is presented to our view, by the melancholy fact, that upwards of a million of acres of the arable land of the kingdom is become barren and deserted—impose upon every intelligent and feeling person the duty of asking, what remedy can be found for arresting the frightful calamity which is now spreading around us; if the social edifice is to be preserved from dissolution, every man should cheerfully submit to the remedy, whatever it may be, All selfish considerations must be extinguished.

But before I point distinctly at the nature of the remedies I shall venture to suggest, the question may be asked what is the disease?—I answer, a weight pressing upon the property and productive labour of the country, beyond what they can bear.

The nations of Europe, that have coalesced against France and reduced that power within the limits which are consistent with the security of other States, have, by that very coalition, admitted—that it was not the independence of England alone, but the independence of themselves which they have been fighting to secure.

It follows as a just inference, that the enormous financial burdens which England has submitted to, were borne on behalf of other states as well as herself, and that the only principle upon which the treasure of England was drained and anticipated, out of all proportion to that of her allies, was the general understanding, that she alone was able to bear the expence of the contest.

But if experience has discovered to our wondering senses, that England has exhausted her heart's blood beyond the power of renovation from within herself, where is the unreasonableness of her appeal to her neighbours to assist her in her distress.

How is this assistance to be rendered? I will presently answer; but first beg your Lordship's attention to the short description I shall endeavour to give of the actual state and causes of our financial embarrassments.

The commercial and agricultural interests of the community are the most important sources from whence every thing in the shape of revenue is derived. The commercial differs from the agricultural in one striking particular, viz:—from its relation with foreign countries, it cannot prosper to its full extent, unless the currency or circulating medium to which the price of commodities is referred, bears pretty nearly as great a value in foreign states as in its own.—Where the precious metals only were the standard of value, and in better times they were so, if a traveller going from England to Paris, took with him twenty shillings in English money in one pocket, and twenty-four francs, in French money, in the other, (the weight and fineness being the same in

each) his right and his left pocket would be equally rich, and if in a third pocket he had a one pound note, that should of course, be equal in value to either of the other two. This is a familiar illustration of what is called the par of exchange. The substitution of paper money has always been held to be an admirable improvement, but so long only as the paper was convertible, at the pleasure of the holder, into the coin in lieu of which it was originally issued, and of the value of which it purported to be—it is then that bank paper is said to be at par.

During the war this salutary system was, in a moment of difficulty, departed from, in the measure which has generally been termed the Bank Restriction. From that moment, paper began to be depreciated—that is, the holder could not longer convert it into the coin of its professed value. If he obtained coin at all in exchange for paper, it was only by submitting to a discount. After some years, it became the policy of the British Parliament to attempt, by protecting laws, to give a forced value to the paper. A measure which, to people of discernment, was held to be a mere declaration of the existence of the evils it laboured to conceal; for that subtle thing we call "*credit*," can no more be fettered by an Act of Parliament, than the air we breathe; the law, however, had a three-fold effect, it limited the traffic in gold coin, to those whose deeds are deeds of darkness, it silently drove a quantity into peaceful retirement, to wait for better days, and a larger portion to the continent, where its intrinsic value, as gold, without reference to the stamp upon it, could not cease to be recognised. "I will return to old England" (said the emigrant guinea), "as soon as the good people will make my current value what it used to be; but if I am to be told, that a one pound note, with a shilling for its companion, are equivalent to me in my own country, I will remain an exile in a foreign land, where if a pound note shews itself, it shall be in company with six shillings before any one will acknowledge its boasted value."

The dominion of the sea, and her vast colonies, had given to Great Britain, the commerce of the whole world; a monopoly so universal could not fail to give the commercial interest a jerk so extraordinary, that although the depression of

the exchanges with foreign countries was known to exist, still a temporary equivalent, at least, was afforded us in a state of things, which left us without competitors in the foreign market. Let us examine, how the agricultural interest stood affected all this while.

The prices of the necessaries of life, the produce of the soil, so readily adapt themselves at all times to the actual state of the currency, that though a depreciation of the currency must in a certain degree injuriously affect the agricultural interest, the injury is felt, not immediately, but in its remote consequences; namely, at whatever period the currency comes to be restored to its original value.

Much as has been said about the enormous profits of land owners and farmers, there is no species of property, which so readily adjusts its respective divisible shares as agricultural produce. The circumstances of the war, the increase of taxes, the demands arising from the various Government Contracts, and the undeniable depreciation of Bank Paper—at this period, practically speaking, become the only lawful currency of the kingdom,—these and other causes combined to raise the price of agricultural produce. Take, for example, a bag\* of wheat: no sooner was the price of the consumer raised, we will suppose from 14s. to 20s. and that increased price become steady, than the landlord, the government, the parish, the parson, and the labourer, all for obvious but distinct reasons, put in their claims for, and did actually receive of the farmer, a portion of such increased price. Of all these characters or interests however, it is the farmer, who must do the business of getting in the money: he is a sort of Accountant General to the rest; and, without him, let the others clamour where they will, they cannot get paid a halfpenny. But it is quite clear, that, after the raising of the price of the bag of wheat, and the respective sharers have acquired the habit of expecting such or such a sum, the proportions can be paid in an augmented ratio, no longer than the farmer continues to receive the full price above supposed. Let the price fall from 20s.

down to 12s. and what will then be the consequence, all the interested parties must come down in proportion, otherwise this flagrant injustice will follow, that some will receive their entire shares, and the rest nothing at all. This argument is intended to expose the great absurdity of inveighing against the landlords and farmers, as the only characters who must “come down;” they have come down, but will that do? Can the estates be cultivated at all, short of absolute confiscation, unless the taxes are reduced? This is a momentous question, but I proceed to shew, that the taxes must be reduced, and by whom that reduction ought to be borne.

Whenever a parallel has been drawn between landed and funded property, the preference has generally been given to the former, solely because of its superior security and immovability; the existence of a fair rent, proportioned to the value of the produce was never doubted. If any one had been hardy enough to assert seven years since, that the time would come, when the land itself would be incumbered with taxes, beyond what it could bear, the assertion would have been deemed ridiculous, because the necessity of providing food and clothing for the inhabitants of a country might be urged as a sufficient guarantee, that the soil never would be strained so tight, as the case put above presumes. Whenever such a crisis arrives, it might fairly enough be said, the burthen must be lightened to the degree, that will be required to restore the machine to its accustomed motion.

That appalling crisis is come! Peace has returned, and, it is devoutly to be hoped, is, sooner or later, again to bless our country. But the moment our great body of merchants and manufacturers saw the event, anxiously and naturally intent upon their own separate interest (an interest which must necessarily be ruined, unless they can compete with the foreign merchant in the markets), they required two things not irreconcilable with each other, but at least irreconcilable with the existence of the agriculturists' station and property. They, the merchants, &c. required that the bank note should be restored to its value, in order that in remitting 100l. to Hamburgh or Paris, they might no longer be obliged to pay

\* In Devonshire, wheat is generally spoken of by the bag—i. e. two Winchester bushels.



about 130%\* in paper of British currency, and they also required "a cheap loaf," that their manufactured articles might go out of the country so much lighter in price, (*cæteris paribus*) as the difference is between paying a workman the wages of 3s. and 2s. per day, the lesser price being the natural consequence of such cheapness. The bank yielding to the call of necessity, proceeded by a violent effort, suddenly to restore their paper to its original value, by contracting their issues, while the fund-holder and mortgagee looked on these operations, with an air of satisfaction, because they saw their *l.* mount in value, so as to go as far as 1*l.* 6s. or more, used to do. What, in the mean time, became of the Agriculturist?—By contracts, and by rates and assessments, all still existing, and all founded on the transitory basis of a depreciated currency, he saw himself bound to pay to his merciless partners, in the division of his bag of wheat, now reduced to 12s. as much as he had formerly done, when it fetched 20s. His landlord, generally speaking, relented, and came down—the rest of his partners refused to drop in proportion, and the farmer went to pieces.

I am aware that the excessive fall of the price of corn is attributable, in some degree, to the cessation of the Government contracts, and the extensive importation of foreign wheat, which took place before the passing of the late Corn Bill. But that the latter cause has hitherto had no very extensive operation may be inferred from the fact of a similar fall in the price of cattle, hay, &c. articles which were not cheapened by the influx of foreign importations.

Now, my Lord, with deference, I propose, that some or other of the following expedients for our relief are necessary:—

1st. As to foreign states, saved or restored by British valour and British treasure.—As a participation of the public debt of this country would be proposed in vain, an equivalent is suggested by their allowing goods, of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Great Britain, to be imported into their respective states for a limited number of years *free of any duty*.

\* Wherever sums and numbers are introduced, the writer aims not at accurate calculation, but illustration merely.

This would enable our government to impose a corresponding increased duty on exports, and thus lighten the burthen on the landed property.

2dly. As to domestic arrangements, retrenchments to a great extent must be made—sinecures and pensions must be reduced or abolished, but it is considered, that this remedy is partial and limited, and derives its value rather from the *sympathy* which would be exhibited by the higher classes towards the sufferings of the people, by such voluntary sacrifices, than from any important amount which the aggregate of such savings would preserve to the state.

3dly. I would propose, what the necessity of the case could alone justify, the reduction of the interest of the National Debt (say 25% per cent.) in the degree, to which it could be satisfactorily proved, that the average rent of land has fallen; and which reduction is justifiable, on the ground that the greater part of the debt has been incurred and actually paid in the paper currency, while in a state of depreciation, and that the restoration of the pound note to its par-value, though admirable as a measure of state policy, is not one of the objects to which the fund-holder has a right to look, or ever did look, as a source of profit, at the time of lending his money. That this reduction would not, in point of fact, be any loss to him, since he can now keep up the same establishment, with his funded income so reduced, as he could do, with the full amount, a few years since.

Lastly, I propose an expedient, which, though precisely the same in substance as the last, is in form infinitely more palatable, and more equitable, because universal in its operation. I mean, first, the re-issues of the Bank paper to that extent, which will re-instate the farmer (whose capital is not already consumed) and the landlord in the receipt of their late high prices and rents, and then an immediate new coinage, preserving the names, but altering the weights of the gold coin, as follows:—

One Guinea, to be worth 16s.—valued at the present Mint price of gold.

Half Guinea—8s.

Two Guinea pieces might also be coined worth 1*l.* 12s. The silver and copper coin to be reduced in the same propor-

tion, and the bank making a suitable compensation to the public for the change. The fund-holder would then receive—what? Exactly that sum in gold, which he was lately content to receive in paper. It was in vain that men, versed in the science of political economy, told him, when he took a pound note, that he was, in fact, receiving only 14s. or 15s. He answered, not with an impatient, but a loyal ignorance, “it is a pound note and “it will pass,”—whether it would buy three legs of mutton or four, he cared not, it was the mutton, and not the note, which rose or fell in the market, according to his conception, and he was content: and with the same consistent pertinacity, he will now maintain that the bank note is not risen in value.

Great unanimity, it is believed, would facilitate the adoption of the new coinage here recommended, for experience has now convinced all parties of the fatal error of resorting to any other standard of value, than the precious metals. I do not say, that a departure from this system of a purer age is the sole cause of our present distress, but I do venture to assert, that, if this cause had not existed, all the others would have been comparatively of little account.—After so arduous a contest, the nation must, indeed, have been reduced in strength and resources to a low ebb, but enough of vital energy would have remained, diffused alike through the trunk and limbs, to have enabled us to re-ascend by slow degrees to our former prosperity, strength, and happiness. In our present situation the fund-holders and mortgagees are for a time the only prosperous part of the community, while we are rapidly consigning to decay, to ruin, and to annihilation, the most industrious, the most necessary, and the most virtuous portion of a great people.

I am, my Lord,

Your faithful servant,

VINDEX ARATRI.

Banks of the Tamar, March 1, 1816.

#### WESTMINSTER MEETING.

MR. PERRY,—SIR,—I must tell you, I am disgusted with the partial account you have given us to-day, of the Westminster Meeting. You have entirely withheld from us the speech of Mr. Hunt, though it was the most important that was delivered, on account of the striking and appropriate *facts*, it was made up of. Why have you done so? You, who profess always to desire and promote the free expression of opinion and truth? But, indeed, I need not ask, 'tis plain, you did not chuse to give circulation to that which you knew must affect the credit of your own party. But, Sir, this is not the way for you to act; a journalist's first duty is to convey to the public the exactest information he can of what passes; he who publishes only what answers the purpose of his party, and conceals what may hurt it, can never pretend to the character of a fair and impartial man, nor long hold that place in public opinion which you now possess. If Mr. Hunt has said any thing false, disprove it; if his assertions be true, answer them by argument; but do not uphold your party, by the unworthy means of concealing the truth. Sir, I am sorry to say, this is not the first time I have known you act thus; I advise you to refrain from such partiality; you will otherwise soon lose the approbation of the honest.

A LOVER OF TRUTH.

24th Feb. 1816.

#### HOWLING FARMERS.

MR. COBBETT,—I feel very much surprised, that any of your readers should find fault with you or your correspondents laughing at the gentlemen farmers (begging their pardon, the modern *agriculturists*). If any thing has been stated against them not true, why does not some one boldly step forward and refute it, instead of supplicating for mercy because they are fall-

ing. If there is any justice in punishing school-boys for their follies, and malefactors for their crimes, surely those who have committed, and seem now to glory in committing, the greatest follies and crimes, may be censured and laughed at for the benefit of posterity.—However, Sir, I am pleased, because I can perceive much good may arise, at your resolution to laugh on, and that you will allow your correspondents to enjoy with you this happy privilege. With this view I now send to you a copy of a Petition, signed by a large parish of farmers to their landlords, which has no parallel for humility and gentleness, since the days of *passive obedience and non-resistance*.” The Landlord is a Member of Parliament for a Borough, and always a voter for ministers. His tenantry were formerly so full of loyalty, that they formed themselves into a company of *volunteer infantry*; and it was the captain-commandant of this bold set, who proposed a village lawyer to draw up and present the following precious document.

“To \*\*\*\*\*”, The humble

“Petition of his Tenants, *sheweth*,

“That, in consequence of their very high rents, enormous taxes, and other incidental expences, which they are absolutely bound to pay, they feel most reluctantly compelled to acknowledge

“their total inability to pay their rents and just debts, notwithstanding it is their utmost wish so to do, on account of the produce of, and stock upon their respective farms being uncommonly low in value, viz. nearly two parts out of three less than they were at the late valuation.”

“Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that you will be pleased to take their truly distressed situation into your benevolent consideration, and grant to them such relief as in your judgment shall seem right, just, and necessary to extricate them from their difficulties, and enable them not only to meet the pressure of the present moment with confidence and cheerfulness, but also to pay their rents, and by their industry support their wives and families in a respectable and comfortable manner.”

“And your Petitioners shall ever pray, as in duty bound.”

I occasionally read in the newspapers, that, when Petitions are presented by a certain body of citizens, they have the honour to kiss hands. In this case, these bumpkins might, without doubt, have had the honour to go, *swag*, down on their bare knees, and bump their heads against the ball stones.

Feb. 26, 1836

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

For Sale by Bagshaw and Sons, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, in two Volumes Octavo, price 20 shillings, MR. COBBETT'S "*Paper against Gold; or, Glory against Prosperity;*" containing an account of the rise, progress, extent and present state of the Funds and paper-money of Great Britain; and *proving* that it is *impossible* to pay the interest of the Debt in Paper-money at par, or in specie, without utterly ruining all persons, who are engaged in trade and agriculture, and who are not also fund-holders.—The BULLION COMMITTEE proposed, in 1811, to pass an Act to *compel* the Bank to pay in specie *at the end of two years*: the Ministers rejected the proposition, but agreed, that it would be *desirable for the Bank to pay in specie as soon as peace came*.—Mr. Cobbett contends, and, as he thinks, *proves*, in this work, that it is *impossible* for the Bank to pay in specie, or in paper at par, and for the country to continue to pay the Fund-holders their dividends in full, without utter ruin to all classes of the community, except those who are paid their incomes out of the taxes.—This *great question*, which events are, in such an awful tone of voice, now deciding, was discussed in 1810, 1811, and 1812, and to those events, as far as they have gone, MR COBBETT appeals in support of his opinions against those of Mr. HORNER and Mr. VANSITTART.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER IV.

*Mr. Western's motion and resolutions on the distresses of England.—Erroneous ideas as to the causes of the distresses.—Inefficacy of the Remedies proposed.—Mr. Cobbett's Remedies.*

Botley, 16 March, 1816.

To those persons, in America and elsewhere, who have been in the habit of looking to the English News-papers as

the source of information with regard to the situation of England, it must seem strange, that the words "*Distresses of the Country*" should find a plan, even accidentally, in the *speeches* made in parliament, and much stranger must it seem that these Distresses should be a ground subject of parliamentary *investigation and discussion*. Who would have thought, that the *Distresses of England* would have formed the most interesting of all the topics of conversation and of public writings in less than a year after the conclusion of peace? However, this is now notoriously the fact; and, it is useless any longer to express surprise upon the subject.

For several weeks, the whole country had been looking, with great anxiety, to the discussion upon the motion of MR. WESTERN. That discussion took place on the 7th instant; and we are now going to take a view of what was said and proposed on that day.

The *state of distress*, in which the country is now placed, has been before described by me aided by MR. PRESTON. But, it may not be amiss for us to hear Mr. Western a little upon this point. He began his speech, according to the report of it, by citing some documents, to prove the existences of the distresses. "He would," he said, "read certain documents, which he had collected with great precision, of such a nature as to prove that the distresses which existed were quite as great as were generally imagined. From Norfolk, which he considered might represent the average distress of the Kingdom, he had received information there was an increase of Sheriff's writs to the number of 1,607, and that executions on goods had risen from 96 to 147. In the county of Worcester the number of writs and executions in February 1815, was 640. In the same month of the following year they had increased to 890. There were at present, he understood, 186 *parishes in that county under process for arrears of taxes*. In Suffolk the number of writs and executions had grown from

"450 to 870. In Sussex, out of 32  
 "parishes, of which one hundred con-  
 "sisted, *there were 26 under process of*  
*"Exchequer.* In the Isle of Ely during  
 "the year 1812 and 1813, in one hun-  
 "dred, consisting of thirty parishes, the  
 "number of executions was but seven,  
 "and the debt on which they were levied  
 "but 765*l.*; during the years 1814 and  
 "1815, the number of executions increased  
 "to 60, and the debt to 18,000*l.* [Hear,  
 "hear, hear!] Distresses in Rent and  
 "Taxes were, he understood there, be-  
 "tween 10 and 12,000*l.* With the  
 "knowledge possessed on the subject by  
 "almost every Member, he did not deem  
 "it requisite to enter into any further  
 "statement to prove the existence of dis-  
 "tresses."

Now, I beg that Governor Strong, wise  
 Mr. John Randolph, Mr. Goodloe Har-  
 per, and the "*Benevolent*" Cossacks in  
 general will bear in mind, that it is not an  
 English *Jacobin*, who is thus describing  
 the country; but, an English *County-*  
*Member*, who was complimented on his  
 moderation by Lord Castlereagh himself.  
 It is *true*, then, that the country is in a  
 state of shocking distress. It is *true*, that  
 what I said *would* come to pass, has come  
 to pass. It is *true*, that the people of  
 England are suffering most severely; that  
 that they are undergoing all sorts of shame  
 and sorrow and privation; that they are  
 actually undergoing misery, such as no  
 people before ever had to endure, except,  
 perhaps, during the plagues of Egypt;  
 and, that this has been brought upon  
 them by Pitt and his successors, or rather  
 by that *system of war against republi-*  
*canism*, which has entailed upon us a  
 Debt of almost countless millions. It is  
*true* (and it is fitting that *the world should*  
*know it*) that the Bourbons and the Pope  
 have not been restored; that the priests  
 and persecution have not again been let  
 loose upon France, Italy and Spain; that  
 the wise laws of Napoleon have not been  
 overset and himself imprisoned for life:  
 yes, it is fitting that *the world should*  
*know*, that all this has not been accom-  
 plished; that republicanism, in Europe,  
 has not been put down, *even for a short*  
*time*, without producing the actual ruin  
 and misery of more than one half of the  
 people, who yielded up their means to  
 Pitt and his successors for the carrying on

of wars, and the hiring of nations, by  
 which success was, at last, obtained.

However, leaving moral reflections  
 aside, let us now follow Mr. WESTERN  
 into his statement of these *causes* of the  
 distress; for, this is now become the most  
 interesting part of the subject. It is al-  
 lowed by every one that the *distresses*  
*exist.* The *causes* are what we cannot yet  
 agree upon; and, I am afraid, that unless  
 the public in general have heads much less  
 confused than that of Mr. Western, it will  
 be very long indeed before we shall be any  
 thing like unanimous as to these *causes.*  
 "The next question," he said, "was,  
 "*whence* the *distresses* had arisen. Was  
 "it from *amount of taxation*? Certainly  
 "in some measure from the *Poor Rates.*  
 "They were no doubt immense *beyond*  
 "*belief.* [Hear, hear!] *Tythes*, too, op-  
 "erated *severely* upon farmers in propor-  
 "tion to the capital employed by them.  
 "Was it from the greatness of our *national*  
 "*debt*, and from the increased and in-  
 "creasing *circulation of paper*? He  
 "would say, that it was not from any one  
 "of these *causes* separately, but from a  
 "combination of them—from *causes* that  
 "produced effects, which in their turn be-  
 "came *causes.* The *principal cause*, how-  
 "ever, was a *surplus produce arising chief-*  
*ly from our own growth*; and here it was  
 "to be remarked, that the price of corn  
 "does not vary exactly with the surplus  
 "or deficit, for where either is small,  
 "there is always observed a much more  
 "than proportionate variation in price.  
 "Besides, as the price of grain had been  
 "forced up by an increasing medium, so  
 "it must have proportionally been affected  
 "by a diminution of it. The surplus pro-  
 "duce was a proof of what he always felt,  
 "that the country could extend its powers  
 "of production in proportion to its in-  
 "creasing population, as it has really  
 "done."

In *religion*, where mysteries very justly  
 prohibit all inquiry into facts, and where  
 faith so admirably supplies the place of  
 reason, it is no wonder that there should  
 always remain a great deal to be explained  
 by priests and to be understood by their  
 divers congregations. But, in matters of  
 political economy, it really seems wonder-  
 full that there should prevail such a diver-  
 sity of opinions; such wild notions; such  
 a host of errors arrayed in open hostility



against what may almost be called self-evident truths.

Who would have imagined, that, at *this day*, after all that has been stated and *proved* in the Register, any man would, in any assembly in England, come forth with a *budget of causes*? If Mr. WESTERN had learnt, or, had been capable of learning, that it is taxation, and taxation alone, which creates paupers and general misery in any country; that it is taxation, which, by taking from those who labour, the fruit of their toil, and giving it to those who do not labour, makes a poor and miserable *mass* and a voluptuous *few*; and, if he had learnt, that a tax, though laid upon the Landlord, reached the labourers of that landlord's tenants with the greatest truth as to proportion and with the utmost speed; if his head had not, by the puzzlings of the farmer mixed up with those of the tax-gatherer, been confused to a degree that made him incapable of simplifying any thing connected with the subject, he would have perceived that the only *rational* object in making such a statement of causes, would have been to render the notions of the people more confused than they were before, and to prevent any *real remedy* being even thought of.

However, seeing that the whole nation have, for so many weeks, been looking forward to the day, when this great state-physician was to bring forward his plan of treatment of this most disordered body politic, it would appear disrespectful if I were to pass over his causes and remedies without more particular notice, though I really do not believe it to be in my power to say, or to urge, any thing *new* upon any part of the subject.

Mr. Western first asks, whether the distresses have arisen "from the *amount of Taxation*;" and then, answering himself, he says: "Certainly in some measure from the *poor-rates*, which are *immense beyond belief*." This is a loose way of speaking. The poor-rates are not immense beyond belief: but, according to an account, or abstract, laid before parliament this session, they amount to more than seven millions a year in those parts of England and Wales whence returns have been received, and, altogether, will, I dare say, exceed 8 millions a year. It is curious enough, by the bye, that this is the sum I *guessed* them at in the Resolutions which I proposed at the Meeting at

Winchester. But, why have the *poor-rates* tended to produce the distresses more than any *other* sorts of taxes? The poor-rates are wanted to feed and clothe the paupers, and the paupers are created *by taxes*. This was clearly shown in my Paper against Gold, Vol. I. pages 46 and 47. It was shown also in the very last Number of the Register. In Number Two of this present Volume it was demonstrated almost as clearly as the sun is seen at noon day. What, then, is the sense of this observation, that the distresses have arisen from the *poor-taxes*? Besides, was it only *yesterday* that we began to pay poor-rates? Are they something *new*? What notions for a law-giver.

"*Tythes*, too, operate *severely* upon Farmers in *proportion to the capital employed by them*." That is to say, the greater the produce of a Farmer, the greater the amount of the tythes which he yields to the Church or Tythe-owner. Nothing can be truer than this; but, then, I do not see the *use* of stating, unless Mr. Western supposed his hearers to be ignorant of the curious fact, that the tenth of a sackful is not so great as the tenth of a sackful. Before, however, I go any further, it will be best to insert the *resolutions*, with moving which Mr. Western concluded his speech.

"1. The first stated the Agricultural Interest, and the Commercial Interest connected with it, were plunged into a state of unexampled distress, which demanded relief from Parliament.

"2. That various causes had contributed to the depression under which the people of this country were labouring, but that it was evident that the produce of the soil was so reduced in value as to afford an insufficient price to cover the heavy charges incurred in raising it.

"3. That Barley was subject to very heavy duties while it underwent the process which prepared it for the use of the consumers; that the contingence of this duty in time of peace, while such facility were afforded to smuggling, would tend to destroy the home manufacture of spirits, and thus reduce the demand for this article, which is so necessary to assist the cultivation of all other articles of agricultural produce.

"4. That it was therefore necessary to repeal the Duties on Malt, Beer, and Spirits.

"5. That to secure an equal supply of Grain it was expedient to repeal the law which allowed Foreign Corn to be warehoused duty free, and to encourage the *appropriation* of the surplus produce of our own harvests to prevent future scarcity.

"6. That for a time at least, the growth of Corn should be encouraged by a Bounty on Exportation.

"7. That our Agriculture should be also encouraged by a prohibition of the productions of foreign soils, which this country was equally capable of producing.

"8. That the *Tythes* and *Poor-rates* are felt with *increasing severity* in the present general distress; and that it is expedient to consider of some mode of *easing the pressure*."

Good God! And not a word about the *interest of the National Debt!* not a word about the *Paper-money system*, by the operation of which, and of which almost *alone*, the distresses have been produced. Call you these remedies? However, in defiance of all the reproaches, all the groanings and hootings of my impatient readers, who must laugh at these pompous nothings, and want to get on to a *real remedy*; in spite of all this I must bestow a few words on these resolutions.

The First is correct enough as far as it contains a description of the state of the Country; but, in as far as it would lead the nation to believe, that the parliament has the *power* to afford a remedy, without breaking up the Pitt System, it is erroneous, as the event will prove.

The Second conveys the notion, that it is a *surplus produce*, which has, in part, at least, occasioned the distress; and it expressly states, as an *evident truth*, that the price is not high enough to cover the heavy charges incurred in raising the produce. By *charges* are meant here, doubtless, other charges than taxes; and, in that case, the opinion is decidedly erroneous. For, as it has been before proved twenty times over, the *seed*, the *labour*, the *horseflesh*, the *tythes*, the *food*, and *drink*, MUST all keep pace, and a pace as true as a hair, with the price of the bushel of wheat. Where there are *leases* the tenant may suffer for a while; but, generally speaking, *rents* will be lowered this very year; and then the farmers will be as well off as they ever were, except in

as far as relates to the demands of the government, and in these they will only share in proportion to their own consumption of farm produce. I do not mean that the farmers will be as *high* a description of persons as they have been for some years past: they certainly will not; nor is it necessary that they should be.

The THIRD and FOURTH Resolutions propose the repeal and abolition of about 12 millions of taxes, almost the whole of which are *pledged by law* for the payment of the interest of the Government Debt! There are 44 millions of taxes wanted to pay the interest of this Debt; and these are 12 out of the 44. Now, to be sure, to cut off 12 millions at a stroke from what are called the *permanent taxes*, while the ministers are endeavouring, by the use of all the means they can muster, to keep from 4 to 5 millions of *war taxes*, is a bold proposition enough; and, as far as the end solely is kept in view, I approve of these resolutions. But, when I hear it affirmed, that the *Barley* is necessary to assist the cultivation of all other articles, and that to repeal the duties on beer, malt and spirits would tend to *raise the price of farm-produce* and to *relieve the farmer*, I turn from the perusal with astonishment, and I must now catch my pen off the paper for fear that the Devil should tempt me into a description of the mind, in which such notions could be engendered. Inasmuch as 12 millions of taxes, thus deducted, would lessen the *general load*, the abolition of the beer and malt and spirit duties would, of course relieve the farmer *as well as other people*. But, if the *general load* be to *continue the same*, and the 12 millions, of course, be to be laid upon something else, what difference is it to the farmer, whether the 12 millions shift their ground, or remain where they are? It is not the farmer who pays the taxes on the malt, beer, and spirits, except in proportion to his *consumption* of those articles. Nor, if the taxes were taken off would there be a greater consumption of his *barley*; because, as the 12 millions would be *laid upon something else*, the money would be *wanted to pay the taxes upon that something else*, and would not, as Mr. Western appears to suppose, be left in the people's pockets to be spent in beer and gin. Here am I with an income which enables me to lay out 20s. a week in *tax*, which tax included in the price of the

beer, malt, sugar, tea, soap, candles, salt, pepper, mustard, ginger, wine, iron, leather, timber, tiles, bricks, and all other articles that I use; and out of the 20s. a week, I pay 2s. in beer and malt tax. Mr. Western takes off my beer and malt-tax in the expectation that I shall lay out the said 2s. in the purchase of more beer and more malt than I used to purchase; and that, thus, the demand for *barley* will *increase*. But, Mr. Western forgets, or, he seems, to forget, that I shall have to pay, in the purchase of my *other articles*, 2s. tax *more* than I used to pay; and, that, therefore, I shall not be able to lay out any more in beer and malt than I laid out before in those two articles; and that, therefore, his scheme, if carried into execution, would do no one any good, unless he mean, that the 12 millions thus taken off are *not* to be laid on in any other shape, or under any other name; and, not only did he not propose this; but, he did not even *hint* at any such thing; though it is very clear that the 12 millions could not be taken off together with the Income Tax, without leaving the government flagrantly insolvent.

The FIFTH resolution, relating to Government Granaries, I can hardly bring myself to treat seriously. The country teems with projects: projects, Mr. Western, are the really and only "*surplus produce*" at present. At the end of a thousand years out comes a project to cause the government to purchase up corn from the farmers, when corn is low-priced, and to keep it in store to sell out when it is high-priced. This is to *relieve* the farmer is it? The government is to *make him advances* upon his corn, 'till the price gets up! Was there ever such an idea before? The government has not, it seems, *power and influence* enough already. Mr. Western wishes to make it absolute master of all the farmers in the country, as it long has been of all the West India Planters. Only think of 2 or 3,000 granary keepers and their various understrappers, receiving the farmers' corn, giving them debentures for it, and sending them to the Bank for the deposit money. Only think of 2 or 3,000 great pawn-shops, kept by the government, to receive the corn of the farmers; and only think of the latter paying away their debentures to discharge their debts and taxes! Oh! much abused inhabitants of Bedlam! Mr. Western says,

that, thus, the farmer would get his *capital back quickly* and would be able to *set it to work again*! Surprizing Gentleman!—Shall I go on, reader? Well, then, whence is the *capital* (how I hate this Scotch philosophical *slang*!) whence is the *money* to come to enable the granary keepers, or the Government Bankers, to pay the amount of the deposit to the farmer? *Whence* is to come the money, out of which the *advances* are to be made? Why, the money is to be *raised in taxes*, to be sure; and, as the *land* is, at *last*, the real and only source of taxation and of national wealth, the land is first to pay a sum to the government in the shape of taxes, in order to get the *same sum* lent to it in the shape of advances upon corn pawned to the government.—I cannot go on any further. It is too great a degradation of reason to affect to employ it against absurdities so childish as well as so gross.

Little better can be said of the proposal in the SIXTH resolution; for, if there be a *bounty* to export corn, what will it be but to pay the farmers with one hand what has been taken from them with the other? If, indeed, the bounty money were to be brought from *abroad*, without any equivalent having been given for it by us; if it arose from a tax levied in France or any foreign country; or, if the bounty was paid out of a deduction from the interest of the Debt, or from the salaries of any of the tax eaters; then, indeed, a bounty would be of some use to the farmer. It would, in that case, be so much given to him and to all the payers of taxes. But, first to raise the amount of the bounty by general taxation, and then to give the farmer his share of the tax back again in the shape of bounty, and this, too, with a view to *relieve* the distress of the farmer, is a scheme worthy of an Agricultural Meeting, or a Cattle-Show.

The SEVENTH resolution is for prohibiting the importation of flax seed, grass seeds, garden seeds, tallow, wool, &c. in order to *encourage our own agriculture*. If, indeed, I am a grower of flax seed, clover seed, wool, &c. it must be, *to me particularly*, an advantage, if my neighbours be all prohibited from coming into the market with any articles of the same sort. And this is the way, in which Mr. Western reasons. But, he forgets, that farmers are not the *whole* of the community; that, if importation were prohibited, many of



the articles they consume would be dearer than they now are; that, for instance, in the articles of candles, linseed oil, and cloth, a rise in price would take place with the prohibition; that the *farmer* would have, as far as his own consumption went, to pay this additional price *directly* to the candle-maker, for instance; and, *indirectly* he would have to pay this additional price of the candles *used by all his labourers*, and by all his tradesmen, in proportion to the quantity of work done for him, or of goods sold to him. So that whatever he might *appear* to gain by the *increase* in the *price* of his tallow, or wool, he would be sure to lose in the end by the increase in the price of candles and cloth.

But, it is the EIGHTH resolution which makes one start and stare? Does Mr. Western really think, that he can touch the *Tythes* and *Poor-Rates*? He says, that they are felt with "*increasing severity* in the present general distress." I do not see how this can possibly be true as to Tythes, seeing that a *tenth* is always a *tenth*, whether it be great or small or worth little or much. Besides, Tythes pay Poor Rates as well as any other part of the landed property. To put them together in this way is to confound things wholly different in their nature. Nevertheless, as Mr. Western does seriously propose that the parliament shall consider of *some mode of easing the pressure*, he is, without doubt, prepared to point out a mode. The idea is, that the farmer is *pressed* with a heavy load, called Tythes to), begin with them); and that, as the pressure, occasioned by this load, is now producing great *distress*, the parliament ought to find out some mode of *easing* the pressure. This is a very apt figure, supposing the facts to be true, which, for the present, we will suppose. Well, then, *how* is this work of *easing* to be accomplished? Ask yonder wood-man how you shall go to work to *ease* the pressure of the load that he is carrying; and he will instantly tell you, that there is but one way of doing this; and that is, by pulling some of the sticks out; that is by *taking off a part of the load*. Now, if Mr. Western really means to propose to take part of the tythes from the tythe-owners; if he really means to reduce the tenth to a *fifteenth*, or a *twentieth*; if he really means to take part of the crops of the black-coated corn-grower and

give it to the grey-coated corn grower, or, rather, to the grey-coated corn-grower's landlord; if he really does mean to do this, I *clearly understand what he would be at*, though I cannot perceive how he can imagine, that he would, by such a measure afford *relief* to the owners and cultivators of the land, amongst whom the tythe-owners are, of course included. But, if he does not mean this; if he means to talk about a "composition" as affording relief to the farmer; if he affect to leave the property of the Church untouched, and profess his great respect and zeal for her pastors; if he makes a long speech upon these topics, after having laid down as a *maxim*, that the *pressure* of tythes ought to be *eased*, he will certainly drive me out of my mind.

To say the truth, however, the facts, as stated in this resolution are not *true*. Tythes are not felt with *increasing severity* in the present distress. I assert this positively, because it is *impossible* that they should. The *tenth* of the crop taken away when corn is cheap cannot be more severely felt than the *tenth* taken away when corn is dear. It is impossible; and, as to the *Poor-Rates*, though the distresses of the farmers throw thousands of men out of employ, how are they to be *lightened* by any legislative act, other than *abolishing taxes*? If, indeed, the parliament were to reduce the *sixty-millions* of taxes to *thirty* or *forty*, the number of paupers would soon be diminished by the means of *better wages*, as I have proved in No. 2 of this volume. But, any other measure of parliament will be wholly ineffectual. It is supposed, that, if the expence of supporting the paupers were defrayed out of a *general tax*, the rest of the community would *share* the burden with the farmer. They do share it *now*, and in a very exact proportion; for, does any one suppose that the poor-tax along with the land tax and horse tax, do not in the end, divide themselves amongst the consumers of bread and meat? To suppose, that the weight of the poor-rates *falls* upon the farmer; to suppose that *he* feels their *pressure* more than the rest of the community; to entertain a supposition of this sort implies a mind liable to believe, that the beer tax *falls* upon the brewer, that the malt-tax *falls* upon the maltster, that the sugar-tax *falls* upon the grocer; and, if a man can suppose these,

why may he not suppose, that the stamp duty falls upon the persons who retail the stamps?

Thus, I think, I have shown the futility, the complete nothingness, of these RESOLUTIONS, brought forward in so pompous a manner and after so long public expectation. Mr. HUSKISSON, it appears, "animadverted upon the absence of the "majority of the Gentlemen on the "other side from the consideration of "this interesting subject; but the Honourable Mover, whom he ventured to call "his Honourable Friend, proceeded in a "tone of moderation, which probably "did not suit the taste of these Gentlemen. He (Mr. H.) was aware of the "distress of those to whom the motion "referred, and their case should receive "his most diligent attention.—That Parliament would do *all that could be accomplished* upon this most important question, he entertained the fullest confidence—and with a view to prepare the mind of the House for the full consideration of the measure, he suggested to "his Honourable Friend the propriety of "having his resolutions printed with a "view to their circulation among the "Members, and that he should fix upon "some convenient day for the discussion "of their merits—to some of those resolutions, he (Mr. H.) had a very decided "objection, but he should reserve the "declaration of his opinion for a more "convenient opportunity." It must be matter of great consolation to the Member for Essex, that he acted in a manner to merit the *approbation*; nay, even *friendship*, of such a man as Mr. HUSKISSON; but, with all due deference to the opinion of the latter, I must confess, that I cannot blame the gentlemen, who have been so active in opposing the *Income Tax*, for being *absent* upon *this occasion*, when (as I dare say they understood) not one single proposition was to be brought forward having any practical object in view. To oppose the *Income Tax*; to cut off this great limb of the system; to put down such numerous tribunals of assessors and leviers; to make a stand on this great point, was worth the attendance of a great number of gentlemen, whose estates are at stake; but, what had they to do with a project about a bounty on exported corn and about government granaries? In his speech, indeed, Mr. Western said some-

thing about the *Debt* and the *Currency* and yet, when he came to marshal his notions in the form of RESOLUTIONS, these two great items were wholly omitted. I anticipated such a result. I observed, in Number 7 of this volume, that it was wholly useless to talk about the *distresses* of the country, unless some *real*, some *effectual* remedy was to be proposed. Mr. WESTERN tells us, that whole districts of poor are actually *starving*; and Mr. LEWIS tells us, that "it was to a resident Gentry that England owed its liberty, "happiness and glory. When he contemplated the *destruction of this body*, he "could not but feel more serious apprehensions than those he felt of danger "from the Caffres or Bosjemans, against "whom we were to keep up so great a military force, and he could not but view "with more pain the *destruction of one "parish in any county of England*, than "the loss of all the Colonies which we "were to defend at so enormous a price. "[Hear!] Yet the *destruction of Parishes in England did not exist merely "in imagination—there were Parishes in "Cambridgeshire which had been left as "wild and desolate as any Colony which "we had.* [hear! hear! hear! hear!]"

American, read, pause here for a minute. Look at this picture. I quote it from the report of a debate in parliament, and I can assure you, that it is not overcharged. Look steadily, then, at the situation of this people at this time; and when you have taken a fair view of them; when you have seen thousands of fathers of families, who never before knew what it was to be in debt, taken from their homes to settle their accounts in a jail; when you have seen the highways and streets crowded with paupers; when you have seen whole parishes deserted by the farmers in order to escape the demands of the tax-collector and the over-seer of the poor: when you have beheld us in this state; when you have been able to abstract your mind for a few minutes from surrounding objects and to view us as we really are at this moment, you will then begin to reflect upon the cause of this unparalleled disgrace: for is it not disgrace without a parallel, that a people, like this inheriting from their ancestors such excellent principles of government and law, should have suffered themselves to be reduced to a state so wretched as that in

which they now are notoriously placed? Five and twenty years ago they were in possession of nearly all the blessings that a nation can enjoy. But, their government saw freedom rearing her head upon the continent of Europe, as she had then recently reared it on the continent of America. What this government then did, what this people then enabled this government to do; what has been the language and what has been the conduct of this government and this people from that day until the day of the death of Marshal Ney, I need not relate to you. You know it all. And, knowing it all, you will know how to feel upon reading the descriptions now given of the state of this country by Members of Parliament themselves. It is not, you will observe, jacobinical writers or speakers, who give this description of the state of the country. It is not I, or any one of those who may be supposed to exult in the fulfilment of their predictions. The description is given to you by men who have all along been the enemies of jacobins and levellers, as they chose to call the opponents of Pitt and the war; by men who urged on the war; by men who were mounted as soldiers to defend Pitt and Dundass against the machination of the republicans and levellers; by men who pledged their last shilling and the last drop of their blood for the purposes of carrying on the war; by men, in short, who were the staunch friends of the Pitt system, and who are so to this very hour, though they do not seem to know that they are now doing their best to demolish it.

Such, then, are the *Remedies* proposed by Mr. Western. Very different, indeed, is the remedy which I have to propose, and of which I spoke in my last number, at page 301. This remedy consists of several branches, to each of which I must solicit the attention of the reader. But, before I come to state these, I must very shortly describe, though I have done it several times before, what it is that has brought us into this state. I will not go into detail here, but will content myself with observing, that the war against the liberties of France; or, not to quarrel with any body about words, the twenty-three years' war which we have carried on against the republicans, or new men, or enemies of the Bourbons and the Pope and the Inquisition; the war that we have

carried on against these enemies of priests and kings and crowns and convents and tythes and masses and miracles; the war that we have carried on for twenty-three years against this description of men, call them by what name you will, has compelled us to make the government debt so large, that the interest of it, together with the sinking fund, amount to 44 millions a year. The disturbed state of Ireland, and the other reasons for keeping up a standing army which I mentioned to you at the close of No. 7, just before the insertion, if you recollect, the neat little epigram, so complimentary to our Lord Chief Justice and his son; these, together with some other reasons, induced the government to keep up a thundering standing army; a standing army of regulars of one hundred and fifty thousand men, with a navy of thirty three thousand sailors, besides an enormous barrack department, military colleges, and a half-pay list of *officers*, far more numerous than the whole of your army, officers, privates, drum boys and all, though that army of yours is intended to guard a frontier of twelve or fourteen hundred miles. in length against several nations of savages, as well as against the English colony of Canada.

This military and naval establishment, together with the interest of the debt and the sinking fund, which latter is full as necessary as the interest of the debt itself; all these require, and will require for ever, sixty millions of pounds a year, at the very least. To pay this sixty millions of pounds a year, while an immense Navy commanded all the advantages of all the trade in the world; and while this Island appeared to be the only safe place in Europe for the depositing of money and of riches of all sorts; and, especially while there was afloat a paper-currency so abundant as to be within the reach of every one; to pay this sixty millions a year during this state of things was no great difficulty; but, from the moment that peace was made with America, followed as it immediately was by peace with France, and preceded as it had been the year before by peace on the continent of Europe; from that moment the navy, which had before swept the seas of all their riches, became ineffectual; foreigners, who now saw the continent a safe place to return to, took their money out of the country of the Income Tax, and

retired home, leaving us to pay the Income Tax ourselves. Numerous English families flocked to the continent, leaving their share of the Poor-rates to be paid by those who remained behind. But, the great thing of all, was, the absolute necessity which now arose of diminishing the quantity of paper-money in circulation. Unless this was done, the Bank must have continued at a discount of from thirty to forty per Cent. and the Exchange against us with foreign countries must have been in the same proportion. Therefore, the quantity of paper was diminished; by what means, at what time and in what manner, I have described to you before, in the second number of this present volume, in my letter to your secretary of the Treasury, where I have told you the whole story about the operations of the Treasury and of the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England.

I have frequently before shewn, that this diminution of the quantity of paper, necessarily produced that confusion in the affairs of all men in trade, which confusion has been followed by the distresses spoken of before. For instance, the Bank-note, the Pound-note, is to day, worth thirteen shillings in silver. I borrow a pound of my neighbour. Next week this same pound-note is worth twenty shillings in silver. My neighbour calls upon me to pay him the pound. Consequently I pay him a thing that is worth seven shillings more than that which I borrowed. Farmers who took their lands put it into high condition and stocked it well with cattle and implements, while wheat was fifteen shillings a bushel, have now, all at once, sunk half the principal money that they laid out. If they borrowed money upon mortgage for the sake of effecting these purposes, or for the sake of purchasing land, they have now, in fact, to pay nearly double what they paid before, as the interest of the money so borrowed. There are thousands of men who bought land, paying half the purchase money down, and leaving the other half as a mortgage upon the land. The half which they paid down, they have lost, wholly lost, the land being at this time, worth no more than what it is mortgaged for. All the tradesmen and manufacturers and merchants, who have been trading upon borrowed money, must be very lucky indeed if they escape ruin,

seeing that they have to pay in a currency of higher real value than the currency was in which they borrowed. Accompanying this has come an abatement in prices, which, of course, renders it impossible for the people to continue to pay sixty millions of taxes in a year. You have seen enough of the paltry remedies proposed by others, who either want the sense or want the courage to propose to the country that which alone can afford it a chance of surmounting its difficulties without first being plunged into uproar and confusion. Men are shy upon this score. They fear to give offence. Every one has his circle of friends. Those who are able to write, or to speak in public, have generally some interest or other to restrain them. Many are afraid of mere popular clamour. For my part, I am restrained by none of these considerations; and shall, therefore, speak out as freely as if I were sitting by a fire-side at New York.

The Remedy which I have to propose, and which I am now about to submit to my countrymen, though I am addressing myself to you, is by no means calculated to gain me the goodwill of any description of persons, except those only who have long accustomed their minds to the contemplation of the natural and unavoidable consequences of a debt of a thousand millions. It is impossible to patch up the affairs of a nation so situated. There must be something resembling that, which, in the concerns of private life, we denominate a bankruptcy. A gentleman of Berkshire, whose name is HALLETT, and who has the gift, to a greater degree than any other man that I have ever known, of penetrating at one glance, through all the parts and ramifications of a complicated affair, observed to me, many months ago, that the best plan would be for the whole nation to break; government, bank, army, navy, judges, parsons, lawyers, merchants, farmers, gentlemen; all, every creature in the country, to break on the same day, and all to be regarded as solvent, and be immediately re-established in full credit, upon paying, or giving security for, *ten shillings in the pound*. I thought this a very wild project at first, but I do not think it so now, and I would venture to bet a trifle that to something very nearly like this, the thing will come, at last.

However, this is not the way that I would wish to see it go. I am for *discriminating*, and not suffering those who have had no share in the good things of the war to lose one half of what they possess in consequence of the debts of the war. It is very clear, that it is a debt which overwhelms us. A man deeply in debt, is, in fact, a slave; and the same may be said of a nation deeply in debt; for, though we owe the debt to one another, we are not the less slaves for that; and, perhaps the man who has twenty men for his slaves, may himself be the slave of some other man. I am, therefore, for *getting rid of the debt altogether*; and this, I think, it is possible to accomplish without any act of *real injustice*.

It is plain enough, that there must be a *sponge*, or that there must be something *taken from one man and given to another man*. It has been shown as clearly as day-light, that, as the thing is now going on, the real property of the country *must* pass from the present owners to the *receivers of the taxes*, and that the latter will be in possession of the whole of it in a very few years, unless something be done to put a stop to this work of transfer. The government, which has pledged itself to pay about 60 millions a year to fund-holders, army, king, navy, placemen and pensioners, demands this sum of the owners of the soil and others. The owners of the soil cannot pay their share without borrowing upon their land, or selling some of it; and, thus their estates *must* pass away into the hands of those, who receive the 60 millions a year, and who *now* receive it in a currency of much higher value than that in which they were paid a few years ago. There is no *ultimate* danger to the farmers or labourer; for, when prices have settled down to their proper mark, these classes, and tradesmen also, will be as well off, in fact, as before, though they will cut a less brilliant figure. The farmers will spend less money in articles not actually *necessary*. They, and all the *busy* classes will soon get, to rights. Those amongst them who owe money, whether on mortgage or otherwise, will be ruined; but, others will soon rise up in their stead. Two years from last Michaelmas will put all to rights as far as regards these classes of persons, who will not, because they

cannot, continue to pay their share, or, rather, that which was their share, of the government Debt, including the pay of army, &c.

The conflict will be, and, indeed, *now is*, between the *land* and the *funds*; and, if this conflict continue for any length of time, some very violent scenes must, in the end, take place. For my part, I am not at all *uneasy* on this account; for, while the Attorney General has the power to file an information, at any moment, *against whomsoever he may choose*, and has the power to take the party before a judge and *hold him to bail until trial*, and has, moreover the power to *put off the day of trial as long as he pleases*; while this power exists, I can never be *uneasy* on account of what are called the *distresses* and *dangers* of the country; and, if the chuckle-headed farmers and country squires tell me, that the powers of the Attorney General are nothing to *them*, I have only to observe, that their taxes, their losing their estates and going to jail are nothing to *me*. The proposing of my Remedy, therefore, proceeds purely from a wish to make my opinions known, without the smallest interest, felt by me, as to its being adopted, or not being adopted.

My Remedy consists of two branches; *deducting*, and *refunding*. The 60 millions are expended between the army, king, judges, placemen, &c. and the fund-holders. The former will take about 16 millions a year, and the latter 44 millions, including the sinking fund, which must be included because if it were not kept up, the capital of the debt would disappear. The sixteen millions might be reduced to about ten millions. The whole of the army, civil list, &c. were supported, before the French wars, out of six millions a year; if, therefore, we allow 4 millions more in consequence of the extension of our colonies, this will be an ample allowance. But, in order that this sum may be sufficient, there must be a deduction from the pay, salaries, and allowances of the civil list people, as well as from those of the officers of the army and navy and of all other persons in public employ.

A great deal has been said about the large standing army, which has been proposed; but, what, after all, does the pay of this army amount to? Supposing a

hundred and fifty thousand soldiers receive each a shilling a-day, the whole pay amounts to no more than two millions, seven hundred and thirty seven thousand, five hundred pounds a year. It is not, therefore, the pay of the soldiers and sailors that costs the money. The main part of the money goes into other channels; goes to create fortunes; goes to enrich hundreds, and not to find food, lodging and clothing for thousands. The pay of the common soldier and sailor forms but very little part of the expence, and might be suffered, without any injury to the nation, to remain as it is. But, the same cannot be said of the pay and salaries of place-men, pensioners and officers of the army and navy, except, indeed, subaltern officers, who have, perhaps, little enough.

As to the Civil List, it is notorious, that, in 1802, a large grant of money was made by Parliament to pay off arrears, due up to that time. The permanent allowance to the king and his family, fixed by act of Parliament, was, eight hundred thousand pounds a year, but in 1802, 990,053*l.* was granted by act of Parliament to pay off what had been expended beyond the eight hundred thousand pounds a year. The proposition to grant this sum of money was opposed by some persons; but Pitt and Rose and Addington and the rest of them who were for the grant, contended that the money ought to be given *on account of the great increase which had taken place in the price of provisions and other necessaries of life.* In the year 1804, another grant was made of 591,842*l.* and this grant was justified, or attempted to be justified, upon the same grounds as before. This grant was strenuously opposed by Sir Francis Burdett; but it was finally adopted, together with a permanent addition to the Civil List of sixty thousand pounds a year, and exclusive of allowances and pensions to the Royal family to the amount of 300,000*l.* a year. Further augmentations took place while the Whigs were in power; and, in short, the annual expences of the Civil List, including allowances to the Royal family, fall very little short of one million five hundred thousand pounds a year.

The pay of the judges has been augmented in a still greater proportion by two Acts of Parliament, one passed in the year 1799, and another in the year

1809; their pay was made nearly double what it was before the year 1799. This augmentation was made at the strong recommendation of two or three barristers, amongst whom was Mr. Horner! All the arguments, made use of in the case of the Civil List augmentation. The high price of provisions was talked of. The increase in the amount of rents. The high price of horses, and of the wages of servants and labourers. Upon the same ground the advances in the pay of the police justices was defended; and, in short, this was the ground, upon which were brought forward, maintained, and carried into execution, all those numerous augmentations in the pay and salaries of persons in public employ, which augmentations have so enormously swelled the amount of the expenditure.

Is it not therefore just, that all this pay, these salaries, should be reduced in proportion to the reduction in the price of provisions and of labour? It is so manifestly just and reasonable to make this reduction that one wonders how the business of Parliament can have proceeded for a single week without some member having brought forward a distinct motion upon the subject. As I said before, it is not my business to do the thing, nor is it my business to make myself uneasy if it be not done. I merely intend to show that it may be done, without any real injustice to any body; and having done that, I shall stand and look quietly on.

When we see, therefore, how very little it is that the mere soldiers and sailors take to pay them, compared with the great mass of money expended, who can doubt that with suitable and just deductions, upon the principle just laid down, the whole of the expences of the government, together with those of the army and navy, might safely and easily be reduced to 10 millions a year?

But, still, there would then be 54 millions to provide for, seeing that the government debt, due to the fund-holders, is, at least, 44 millions a year including the sinking fund. The debt due to the fund-holders demands, in interest, about 33 millions a year. The Sinking-fund about 12 millions a year. Now, according to my notions of public liberty and the happiness of a people, it is impossible that either can exist in a country where 54

millions a year are collected in taxes upon a population so small as that of this island. A hundred thousand tax-gatherers and of troops employed to assist them; revenue cutters and custom-house dragoons in such abundance; custom-house officers with power to rummage our trunks and pockets, and, in certain cases, to search us even between our shirts and our skins; excise officers, without whose permission we cannot remove our drink from one house to another; who have authority to enter our houses in innumerable cases, at any hour of the day or night, and in some cases, to lock certain doors of our premises and to keep the keys of them in their pocket; all these, together with a code of custom-house, excise, and tax-laws, forming altogether several thick volumes in quarto, and embracing penalties of every description, not excepting that of death. According to my notions of public liberty and national happiness, these can have no existence in a country of this size and population, while the fiscal system is so extensive, and while the bare collection of the taxes, the bare expences of getting them together and conveying them to the Treasury; that is to say, the money paid by the people to the tax-gatherers themselves, amounts to a sufficiency to maintain a *hundred thousand* able bodied men and their families. —

Therefore, I am for doing away with the taxes, except to the amount of ten millions a year, which I would have provided for by one single tax, and which tax I would lay upon the land alone, for reasons which I will state another time. But, then, how am I to get rid of the 44 millions required by the debt? I would *pay off* the debt. Do not laugh, reader. I say I would pay off the debt; and I am now about to detail the manner in which I would do it.

When a man is become poor and even head and ears in debt, after having been very rich, the question which is always asked, is, “what has become of all his money?” if he be made bankrupt, or if he be cleared out by the insolvent act, his creditors compel him to render them an account of what he has done with his property; and if they find that he has made any fraudulent conveyance, or that some keen fellow has over-reached him, they set a lawyer to work to get hold of

this property by making the party refund. Now, it appears to me, that John Bull is very fast approaching to that state which will give his creditors, the fund-holders, a fair claim to require of him a full and candid statement of the transactions, through the means of which he has become thus involved. In pursuance of a request of this sort, he will, of course, point out such and such person as having received large sums of money from him, in the quality of taylor, butcher, baker, wine-merchant, apothecary, &c. It would be a waste of time to enter into an examination of all the divers bills and accounts of these gentlemen. It would be sufficient just to find them out and to ascertain the present amount of their property; for, if we should find Mr. Snip with property in the funds, or in Land, with a million of money, and should be able to prove that he was not worth ten thousand pounds before he became the Taylor of Mr. Bull, I think that there need be very little scruple in calling upon him to come (voluntary, of course) to the aid of his former respectable employer. If the money were in the funds; or, rather, if Mr. Snip's name were written in the great book with the amount of a million against it, the sum might be reduced to fifty thousand pounds. If the property were in land, fifty thousand pounds worth of it might be left in the possession of Mr. Snip, while the rest of the estate might be taken and distributed in the manner hereafter to be described. I would extend my inquiries and my searches into all departments of public expenditure. The colonies, those grand scenes of fortune-making, should assuredly not escape me. If I could come at the names of great receivers in no other way, I would hunt through the great book, or would go to the Parks, Mansions and Castles, in the several counties; and I would find out, by those means, the persons who had been enriched by their immediate dealings with the government, and by their receipt of public money, from the time that Pitt came into office to the present day. Since that time, very nearly nine hundred millions of pounds have been added to the debt, besides the twelve or fifteen hundred millions, which have been raised in taxes during the same time. This money must still be possessed by somebody, and it is very hard indeed, if those who possess it

in great and surprising quantities will not contribute towards the clearing off of the mortgage which has been fixed upon their employers estate, and which has reduced him to misery and slavery.

I am quite serious in my proposition, and I have not the smallest doubt that in the course of one month, with access to the papers in all the departments of expenditure, I should be able to point out the means of obtaining, at the end of a twelve-month, resources quite sufficient to clear off the whole of the demands of those, to whom the public, or the government, really owe money. The fund-holders would not be fairly entitled to the whole of the nominal amount of their share of the debt; because, in this near state of things, there would be no currency but that of gold and silver; or of bank-notes, convertible, at pleasure, into gold and silver. We should see wheat at 4s. a bushel, barley at 2 shillings a bushel, butter at six-pence a pound, mutton at 3 pence, and bacon, at 5 pence. People would again get shaved for a penny, and would get a tooth drawn for six-pence. Therefore, it would be unreasonable in the fund-holders to demand the full nominal amount of their debts. A rule-of-three question would settle in an instant the proportion in which they ought to be paid. A *land-office* would keep an account of the estates of the fortunate tradesmen of John Bull. The several parcels would be valued, allotted, and numbered; and I would undertake, for 2 pence in the pound, to bring a sufficiency of property into such a state as to be ready to be conveyed to the fund-holders in satisfaction of their claims. But, the reader will understand me clearly here that there must be an *Act of Parliament*, (as in the case of the Volunteer Corps) to authorize the government to receive these offerings of the tradesmen of John Bull, and to dispose of them in payment of his debts. And I am also to be clearly understood as supposing that his principal domestic servants will be full as generously disposed as his tradesmen; and, that where a man has received, as a sinecure place-man, three or four hundred thousand pounds, he will not be backward in giving up a portion of it in order to satisfy the demands of those who have lent John Bull money, and out of which

money, so borrowed, he really has paid the amount of these sinecures.

This, without entering into further particulars *here*, is the substance of my Remedy. I am for no revolutionary schemes; I want to take nothing from the royal family; I am for leaving the Church as she is; no schemes, no unintelligible schemes and dark hints about *tythes* make part of my remedy. I am for getting back again, not all, but a small part of what the nation has lost, and giving it to those to whom it is justly due. Mr. Preston recommends the deducting of one pound from every five of the interest due to the fund-holders. This would be very unjust, unless the pay and salaries of persons in public employ were first reduced in the manner above spoken of. But, it would be still unjust thus to take away the property of the fund-holder who has really lent his own money to the government. At least, nothing but necessity; nothing but the safety of the country could justify such a measure; and, surely, the same necessity would justify in calling upon contractors and sinecure placemen to come forward in the manner before described, in order to prevent uproar, confusion, and general destruction. It may be said, that an Act of Parliament to *invite* such persons to make offers of large parts of their estates, would operate as a sort of *command*. I do not know how that might be; but I know that people, all over the country, do receive from the agents of the government, and in virtue of Acts of Parliament, pretty positive commands to give up their property, in one shape or another, and that many of the people are actually sent to jail, when they are found unable or unwilling to obey those commands.

However, be the measure what it may, it is, I am satisfied, the only one that will be found to be effectual, except that of applying a sponge to the National Debt. Before the Parliament met, there might be some room for people to believe that the government would be able to pay the fund-holders in full, and to carry things on in the usual way; but, now, I believe, there are very few persons indeed who entertain any such opinion. In the New York edition of this letter (not having time now), I shall point out more mi-



nately the mode in which would go to work with my Re-Funding system; I will point out numerous *individuals*, to whom I would appeal in behalf of distressed John Bull; I will, in short, in that edition of this letter, make the whole thing as clear as day-light, and, as I am not without pretty confident expectations that the plan may be acted upon, at no very distant day, I would recommend to all those who may feel particularly interested in the question, to obtain a copy of this New York edition.

WM. COBBETT.

### NAPOLEON.

Upon the subject of this really illustrious hero, whose name it is impossible to repeat, in spite of all his faults, without feelings of admiration and of gratitude, there were the following short, but very *interesting* speeches, made in the House of Commons on the 12th instant; which speeches I shall first insert, and then make some remarks upon them.

"LORD CASTLEREAGH rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in two Bills—the one more effectually to regulate the safe custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the other to regulate the intercourse of neutral ships with the Island of St. Helena, while Bonaparte should be detained in that Island. *Doubts* had been entertained, whether it was competent to the Crown to detain Bonaparte a prisoner after the termination of the war; of which doubts, however, *he himself* (Lord C.) *did not partake*: but yet the Bill he proposed was deemed *necessary*, with a view to *remove those doubts*. As to the *justice* and *policy* of detaining Bonaparte in custody, he apprehended that *no doubt could exist*; and as to the *legality* of the proceeding, with reference to the *law of nations*, he was fully satisfied of the *propriety* of the measure. As a sove-

reign prince, we were warranted in detaining him, in consequence of his *breach of treaty*, and *incapacity* to *afford any guarantee for the observance of any treaty*; but we had this additional ground to justify our conduct, that *he was a prisoner of war*, who as a native of Corsica, was the subject of France, which Power had declined to claim his restoration. Therefore, independently of his *general character*, this country was justified in detaining this Individual in custody *according to the law of nations*. But the circumstance of Bonaparte's having withdrawn from Elba, where he had pledged himself by a solemn treaty to remain, and his utter inability to afford any assurance for the observance of any engagements, warranted his detention. Thus, whether regarded as a Sovereign Prince, or a Prisoner of War, his detention was justifiable in a technical view, according to the law of nations, and that detention was imperiously called for by a due consideration for public safety and general peace.—[*Hear, hear, hear!*]

With regard to the treatment of Bonaparte, it was proposed to extend to him every indulgence that was consistent with his safe custody, and that he should experience the most *liberal* treatment as a prisoner of war. But it was material that the officers appointed to superintend his custody should be aware in what light to consider Bonaparte; what opinion they were to entertain of the character of their prisoner. Now, with respect to the intercourse of foreign nations with St. Helena, the object of the second Bill which he proposed was to regulate the execution of the measure which had been already notified by Government, to neutral powers. When these two Bills were brought forward, *Gentlemen* would have an opportunity of considering their details and suggest-

"ing any amendments they might think proper, but he apprehended that their introduction would not be opposed.

"On the motion for leave with respect to the first Bill,

"MR. BROUGHAM said, that he should not object to the arrangements proposed by the Noble Lord, and whatever difference of opinion might exist upon some points connected with the measure, he believed that there was *an unanimous concurrence with Government*, as to the *propriety of detaining Bonaparte in safe custody*. Therefore, as far as the Bill now alluded to by the Noble Lord appeared to go, he *fully approved of it*, and he also *agreed with the Noble Lord's view of the law of nations, as it applied to this case*. Yet if doubts existed as to the legality of the proceeding, it was right to remove them by a legislative act. But according to the inclination of his mind it was *legal to detain a prisoner of war whose restoration was not claimed by that power of which he was the subject*. In this opinion, however, he was aware that he differed from others who had also considered the subject. But with regard to the *main point*, he apprehended that *there could be no difference of opinion*, namely, as to the *policy of detaining Bonaparte in custody*, granting him, however, every possible lenity and indulgence—whether there should be any and what period to the custody of Bonaparte, and whether it would be right to release him under any change of circumstances, might become a question hereafter, but it was *evident* that in the existing state of affairs *his detention was a justifiable procedure*."

This is *your* view of the matter, is it, Mr. Brougham? So far, however, is the *justice* of this procedure "*evident*" to me, that I cannot, after long search, discover any glimpse of it. And,

do you really think, Mr. Brougham, that the world will agree with you, as to this "*Law of Nations*"? In what Book or Chapter of what Civilian have you and your worthy coadjutor, upon this occasion, discovered this doctrine? What, do you pretend, then, that any two governments, who have been at war, may *justly* agree to keep their prisoners, on both sides, in confinement for life? As to the *liberality*, with which the humbler of kings is to be treated, those will guess what that means who have read the instructions from the foreign office, relative to *letters and printed publications* to be sent to him. If he could get at the *Register* at this time, or any *true* account of what is passing in England, how he would laugh! How he would be amused to view the distress, the confusion, the turmoil, the wrangling and the apprehensions that we are got into in consequence of our efforts to overthrow him and to humble and ruin France by the restoration of her old royal race. How he must laugh at the howlings of those ungrateful wretches, the Protestants of France, who, after living so happily under his protection, put up thanksgiving and sang anthems for the restoration of the Bourbons, under whose government they were quickly driven out of the churches which they had bought, and were robbed, beaten and some of them actually burnt. When Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY went out of his way, the other night, to give a picture of the cruel persecution of the French Protestants, he forgot to give the House an account of their *base ingratitude* towards Napoleon. They themselves have boasted, that they put up thanksgiving in their Churches for the restoration of the Bourbons; they have boasted, that they called Napoleon a *tyrant* and an *usurper*. And yet, they have the impudence to suppose, that the world will *lament* to hear, that they have been beaten like dogs under the "*paternal*" Bourbons! There is another

set of men, too, at whose fate Napoleon must laugh. I mean the Spanish Patriots, who called him *usurper, despot, monster*, and who plunged all Spain into misery and blood-shed, in order to co-operate with the English government, *against him*, and in favour of the *beloved Ferdinand*. How Napoleon must laugh : I have laughed heartily enough at the fate of these Inquisition Patriots ; but, how must Napoleon laugh if he should hear of their treatment by Ferdinand, and of their reception by their old friend and co-operator, the English Government ! The united howl of the French Protestants, the Spanish Patriots, and the English Landlords and Farmers, must, if he could hear it, sound most melodiously in his ears. I have no hope of being able to convey any thing to him ; but, I hope, that some one will find the means of sending him the *New York Register*, for that would be a *treat* to him indeed. In the meanwhile, I am glad, that *Mr. Brougham* has spoken out upon this subject. He goes the *full length* in justifying the conduct of our government towards Napoleon ; and he does this voluntarily too. After this it would be unjust to suspect *Mr. Brougham* of a wish to

deceive any body as to the *ultimate drift of his politics*, which none but a stark staring fool can now fail to perceive.

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#### NEW PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

Some years ago, there was a work published under the title of *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*. As far as *Mr. Cobbett* was concerned, that work ceased in 1811, and was resumed under some other title. It is now intended to publish a work, to be entitled "*COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER*," to begin with the present Session. It is intended to *abridge* the several speeches ; to give the substance of each speech faithfully ; to retain all the arguments and every interesting fact ; to give an abridgement of every interesting document, laid before the Houses ; to explain, where explanation shall be thought necessary, the cause and grounds of motions and other proceedings ; to give a List of the acts passed and a description of their principal provisions ; and thus to put forth, at the close of the Session, a concise and yet complete account of what has been said and done, in one *single Volume*, which will be sold for *ten shillings*, and which will be published and sold by Messrs. BAGSHAW, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, and *Mr. CLEMENT*, No. 192, Strand.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF SOUTHAMPTON.

## LETTER I.

Bolley, 20th March, 1816.

MY WORTHY NEIGHBOURS, I seize the present occasion to address myself to you on the subject of your *political degradation*. You now *feel* the insults of ROSE and *his minions*; you now smart under the insolent publications, in which 485 of you, who signed a Petition against the Property Tax (and who consisted of gentlemen and tradesmen) have been called *Paupers* and *Chimney-Sweepers*, with the exception of about 20 or 30. This insult *stings* you; and, to be frank with you, I am glad it does. When some accident has, to all appearance, deprived a beloved son of life, with what joy does the parent perceive him *move*, upon being cut or pinched; with what joy does he behold the symptoms of returning sensibility, though produced by the infliction of a wound! With somewhat similar feelings do I now behold the indignant state of mind, prevalent at Southampton, on account of the gross insult now inflicted on you. It is a symptom of returning public spirit; and, if it lead to a new line of conduct on your part; if it produce in you a resolution to assert your rights; if it cure you of your slavish submission to the will of a sinecure place-man and to the delusions of faction (the last being full as bad as the first), this insult, stinging as it is, will prove to have been the greatest benefit that you ever received.

That the Mayor of Southampton should have refused to call a Meeting on a requisition signed by 16 persons; all gentlemen

of fortune, or most respectable tradesmen; that an impudent slave (in the *Courier*) should have spoken most contemptuously of these signatures, and have dared to justify the conduct of the Mayor; that the vile trick of stealing away your Petition from the Inn where it lay for signatures should have been practised; that the Mayor should a second time have refused to call a Meeting, though when you met of your own right the space of seven hours produced and sent forward another petition signed by 483 names. That all this should have happened in so opulent a town as Southampton, and inhabited by a people as remarkable for their good manners, good morals and general respectability as the town and its environs are for their salubrity and beauty, must be very galling to you; but, I should be guilty of a base abandonment of my duty, if I did not say, in this public manner, that you *deserve* all this and a great deal more at the hands of those, from whom you have received it.

You have not the same excuse as almost the whole of the rest of the kingdom. You have the power of choosing your members of parliament. I am aware of the trick of *out-lying* voters; I am aware that you have not that *perfect* freedom in this respect which *Westminster* has. But, still, if the great body of the town were animated with a soul worthy of freemen, neither ROSE nor ROSE'S SON would ever have been a member for Southampton.

You now feel the galling load of taxes press upon you. You now see, that many amongst you, though persons of the greatest industry and probity, are sinking from a state of competence into beggary; you now see, fathers, lately

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surrounded with happy families, half mad at the contemplation of the degradation and misery to which those families are now inevitably doomed; you are now mourning over that "national ruin," which is no longer a rhetorical figure, but a literal and naked reality. But, who has more largely contributed towards this lamentable state of things than yourselves?

This is the season for speaking plainly to you; for making you see that what you now suffer is the natural result of the measures which you have so long supported; for placing before you, in their true light, the men whom you have chosen to represent you; and for pointing out what ought to be your conduct in future. And, this I will attempt to do fully in my next Number. In the mean while I remain your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

### LETTER V.

*"Old England! And those who don't like it, d—m them, let them leave it!"—The real sources of the strength and wealth of England.—The Marriage and Marriage Settlement of the Princess of Wales.*

*Bolton, March 23, 1816.*

For several years it had been the fashion, amongst the "loyal" in this country, to bid those, who found fault with the measures of Pitt and Dundas, and who did not like the idea of living in the continual liability to be sent to jail, without any charge of crime, and without any Habeas Corpus Act whereby to obtain a hearing; it had, for years, been the fashion, amongst the loyal, to bid such "malcontents" to "leave the country, if they did not like it." But, in 1809, when many persons expressed their discontent at the things proved to have been done by the Duke of York, Mrs. Clark,

Castlereagh, Perceval, Sandon, O'Meara, Redding, and others, Fuller, a Member of Parliament, exclaimed, in the House of Commons, in answer to some one, who had been complaining of these things: *"Old England! And those who don't like it, d—m them, let them leave it!"*

This was a very modest sort of doctrine; such as the Lauds and Jeffries and Scroggses would, of course, have held in their day. The Act of Habeas Corpus we boast of as *the only security for personal liberty*. Yet, was this act suspended for seven years at one time, though there was neither invasion nor rebellion. For seven years Pitt and his associates imprisoned, during their pleasure, whomsoever they pleased, and for as long a time as they pleased, without ever bringing the imprisoned persons to trial. Those who did not like this; who liked as little the new laws about *the press* and about *treason*; and who thought it rather hard for a man to be liable to be hanged, have his bowels ripped up, and his body chopped into four quarters, for sending a bushel of potatoes to France. Those who did not relish these things were told "d—m them," that they might *leave the country*. Those who did not approve of \* \* \* \* \* and many other things of the same sort, which I will state in the New York edition of this Number. Those who were discontented with these things, were always told, by the "loyal," that they might leave Old England, if they did not like it. In vain did we (for I soon became one of the malcontents) observe, that we had no dislike to *Old England*; that, on the contrary, we liked it exceedingly; that it was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the deeds discovered relative to Pitt and Melville, the Bills of indemnity to Pitt, the deeds mentioned in Mr. Maddocks's motion, the deeds and proceedings in the case of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clark, the language of Perceval and Canning, the new laws about the press and about treason; in vain did we observe, that it was these things, together with the enormous taxes laid upon us, that we did not like, and that, as we humbly conceived, these things were not "*Old England*," which we loved very sincerely, and which we were ready to defend (if she should be placed in danger) to the utmost of our power. We said, that we had never before heard

that Foreign Troops, stationed in the heart of the country, and Foreign Officers commanding whole districts of it, were "*Old England*," and that, until now, we had never heard it disputed, that Englishmen might dislike such troops and officers without exposing themselves to the charge of disliking "*Old England*." In vain did we urge this distinction. No: Pitt and Dundas and Paul Benfield and the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Duke of York and Perceval and Mrs. Clark and O'Meara and Canning and Croker and Sandon and Redding and Castlereagh and the Hanoverian Officers and Troops and the Income Tax and the licences for the Press; these, our opponents insisted, were *Old England*; and, if we did not like it, we might leave it.

To have been obliged to endure this insolent language for so many years gives us a claim now to exercise a little retaliation. When we hear those, who formerly bade us leave the country, crying out against the Income Tax, we now bid them leave "*Old England*," if they do not like it. Some of them seem to be endeavouring to profit from the hint; for a Member stated, a few nights ago, in the House of Commons, that a very *worthy* man lately applied to him to get the government to send him and his family to *Botany Bay*! This must amuse NAPOLEON, if he should happen to hear of it. Nine tenths, nay, ninety nine hundredths, of those who now so bitterly complain of the taxes, the tythes, the poor-rates, and the standing army, have a thousand times bid the Jacobins leave the country, if they did not like it. We now return the advice, with this addition, that, if they cannot leave "*Old England*," they have our free and hearty consent to hang or drown themselves in it. We do now, as we always did, like *Old England* better than any other country in the world. We never intended, or wished, to leave it. We answer, as Major Cartwright did, when some one advised him to go to America, during the first American war: "No: though I disapprove of what is doing on board the *Old Ship*, I'll never quit her, while there is any hope of her being saved; and, even if that hope vanishes, I'll stay and sink with her." I do not say, that any man is bound to do this; but, I do say, that, while there is a chance of seeing the country what it

ought to be; while any man, embarked in the public cause, can, without a manifestly *useless* sacrifice of his life or property, continue the struggle, it is baseness in him to avoid by flight his share of the calamities of his country.

It is *now* that men are *tried* to the bottom. Who are they, who are now seeking cheap living on the Continent? who are they, who are now leaving the burdens of the war to be sustained by others? Not those who were opposed to the war. Who are they who are now giving up the country in despair? Not those who have, for so many years, been calumniated as the friends of France. It is now become visible, that those, who were most opposed to the measures of the government; those who condemned the numerous acts hostile to freedom; who censured the unwarrantable pretensions set up by the government against foreign nations: it is now become visible, that these persons are the least reluctant to bear their share of the sufferings which the war has entailed upon the country. And, the reason is this; that they foresaw these sufferings, and were prepared to meet them. Such persons know how to estimate justly the character and qualities of their country. Such persons, while they despise the exaggerations and the empty boastings, and abhor the atrocious hypocrisy, by which the foolish have been gulled by the wicked, can discover in the bravery, the zeal, the perseverance, the hardihood, the incessant labour, the unparalleled mutual confidence, of Englishmen, and in their kindness and generosity (where prejudice is dumb), quite enough to make them love their country. If such persons have not seen with deep regret the discomfiture of the late project against the American States, accompanied as it was with disgrace, which, in itself, was most painful to contemplate, it was because they were convinced, that the success of that project would, in the end, have proved the everlasting grave of the liberties of England; and because, the humiliation, though great in itself, was much diminished by the reflection, that those who inflicted it were the sons of Englishmen. The battles, fought in Europe, have, in proportion to the numbers engaged, been mere child's play, compared to those fought in America. It was *there and there only*, that we met with

our match; and, when it is considered *who* it was with whom we fought, the only really humiliating reflection is, that the enemy should so far have exceeded us in *generosity*.

The late long, expensive, devastating, plundering and bloody wars, marked as they were in their progress and have been in their result by so many and such great evils to the world and to England in particular, have left behind them no evil equal to that of the change in our national character. As towards foreign nations we were always proud, insolent, and grasping for dominion and power. But, of late, we have discovered *other passions and dispositions*, which I will not describe, and which certainly did not formerly belong to us. To take from us our laborious and persevering habits in all the departments of life, our confidence between man and man, our strong and even violent parental and filial affections, is, perhaps, impossible. That love of country, which consists in a contempt, or hatred, of all other countries, still continues in full force; but, that attachment to *liberty*, which was amongst the best of our characteristics, has been greatly enfeebled, and chiefly by the means of the most active and corrupt press that ever disgraced a nation; which press has, for 25 years, been constantly employed in the cause of despotism; which has, at last, made us look with satisfaction at what is going on in France and Spain; and which is now tolerated, while it justifies the re-establishment of the Inquisition and the massacre of Protestants. A passion for what is called *national glory* has usurped the place of our love of *civil and political liberty*. We seem conscious of our loss of the latter, and appear to try to make the world forget it by the noise we are making about the former. The *distress* which has, at last, been brought upon us by our pursuit of this phantom, may, perhaps, awaken us to a sense of our folly and injustice; and, if it should, it will prove to be the greatest of blessings.

What I, a hundred times foretold, has come to pass. The war being at an end, the fears of the timid being dissipated, the passions of the brave being allayed, the prejudices of all affording no longer such an immense scope for the deceivers of the press, the nick names of politics

being banished from the language, we begin to have a disposition to estimate one another according to our real worth, and, above all, our minds, which must always be at work with energy upon something or another, begin to be turned to our own national affairs, and with this singular advantage over former times, that *political parties* have, during the time of turmoil, been so completely exposed and discredited, as never to be able again to deceive the people and to draw off their attention from those objects that are of real importance to them. Amongst many heavy losses we have, at any rate, this clear *gain*; that there is not now to be found any of that doltishness, which formerly divided every town and every company into *Whigs* and *Tories*. There was a time when no inconsiderable part of the people wore the *Windsor Uniform* as a mark of attachment to PITT, or, *Blue and Buff* as a mark of attachment to FOX. I will engage that there is not, even amongst the lowest of the people, a single man now to be found in England, who would not laugh to scorn any attempt to make him believe, that one of the *parties* is better than the other. LORD GREY, I have heard, attributed this destruction of the credit of *party* to me. I thank his Lordship for the honour he did me, but it was not my due. The country owes this inestimable benefit to SIR FRANCIS BURDETT more than to any other man living; but, indeed, it was the disclosures, made from 1805 to 1809, inclusive, that procured us this great and permanent good. The people have *learned* a great deal. They now understand much more than they ever before understood about the nature and operations of the government; about the way in which taxes are expended and about the manner in which they themselves are affected by them. Mere *sounds*, mere signals of party, have lost their power. The Bible Societies, though very numerous and active, are wholly insufficient to check the spirit of political inquiry and investigation. The *distresses*, now prevailing, the discussions as to the causes of these distresses, the pressing nature of them, the great and immediate interest which they excite in all classes, must add to the stock of national information.

It is much to be desired, not only for our own sake, but that of the *whole world*,

that we should be actuated by just sentiments; for, strange as it appears at first sight, the peace, happiness, and freedom of mankind is, in a great degree, in our hands. The narrow limits of the country, its comparatively barren soil, its unfavourable climate, and its scanty population, make it appear presumptuous to hold it up in this important point of view. But, when we come to look more closely into the matter, we shall not find the notion so very wild. An Englishman, while he eats and drinks no more than another man, labours three times as many hours in the course of a year as any other man. His life is three common lives. People of other countries have some *leisure hours*. An Englishman has none. He always walks or rides as fast as he can. You may know him from all the rest of the world by his head going before his feet; by his pushing along as if going for a wager, and by his stoop and his round shoulders. An American gentleman observed, that, when he first came to London, all the people in the streets "seemed as if they were going on an *errand*, and had been charged to *make haste back*." Never was there a better description. If we see a man walking at a *leisurely* pace, in the country, we suspect him to be a thief, or, at least, a vagrant. Sunday seems to be the only day in the week when an Englishman does not enjoy himself. He lolls about, and looks out of spirits. The old saying, that "when the Devil finds any one with nothing to do, he is sure *to set him to work*," certainly had its origin in England. I wonder such a people should ever have had a Sunday or Churches. The Pope has left us some *Saint's Days*; but they have been disregarded by the nation at large; and, though retained for a long while in the public offices, they have all been abolished, at last, by Act of Parliament, the nation being *too busy* to indulge the whims of the Holy Father any longer. To have an idea of the everlasting industry of this nation, you have only to look at the garden of a labouring man. This is the scene of his *leisure* hours; that is to say, the *twilight* and the *Sunday*, when he will cultivate flowers or shrubs rather than submit to a minute's rest.

This propensity to incessant labour is common to all ranks of life. The lawyers, doctors, parsons, merchants; all

are alike; and, as to the shop-keepers and tradesmen, they know not what leisure or pleasure means. The Gentlemen are as busy as the rest. They are half their lives on horse-back. Hunting and shooting are their labour, and hard labour too. Every man, also aims at *perfection* in his way. He is not content unless he has *something* or *another*, in which he does, or thinks he does, surpass all other men. Hence our fine horses, dogs, sheep, cattle, the herds of which are attended to with such inflexible perseverance. A score or two of gentlemen riding full speed down a hill nearly as steep as the roof of a house, where one false step must inevitably send horse and rider to certain death, is an object to be seen no where but in England. Nor are these sports and that of boxing and other perilous exercises to be left out in an enumeration of the causes of national power, though shallow philosophers affect to despise them. They tend to produce great energy in individuals, and it is of the union of individual energy that national power principally consists. To what does America owe the achievement and the preservation of her independence, but to the arms of a race of men, brave because they are hardy, and hardy because, from their infancy, they have been bred to labour and perilous pursuits?

In England every man tries to excel all others, not so much in rising above them in the scale of life, but in the particular line of life, in which he is placed. He would rather not do a thing at all than not do it *well*. To this unconquerable spirit of perseverance it is that we owe that astonishing perfection, to which we have arrived in most of mechanic arts, and in whatever appertains to agriculture, though, as to the last, we have, in many respects, to contend against nature itself. In every thing where *horses* are the chief instruments (and horses are second only to men) the English so far surpass all the rest of the world, that there is no room for comparison. The man who has a mind to *know* something of England in this respect, should walk from the Tower of London to Charing Cross a little after day-light in the morning, while the streets are clear of people. He would then see the teams of immense horses, drawing up from the bank of the Thames; coals, timber, stone, and other



heavy materials. One morning last summer I counted, in various places, more than a hundred of these teams, worth *each of them*, harness, waggon, load and all, little less than a thousand pounds. The horses, upon an average, weigh more than *a ton*. But, next after a *fox-hunt*, the finest sight in England is a stage-coach just ready to start. A great sheep or cattle fair is a beautiful sight; but, in the stage coach you see more of what man is capable of performing. The vehicle itself, the harness, all so complete and so neatly arranged; so strong and clean and good. The beautiful horses impatient to be off. The inside full and the outside covered, in every part, with men, women, children, boxes, bags, bundles. The coachman, taking his reins in one hand and his whip in the other, gives a signal with his foot, and away go, at the rate of seven miles an hour, the population and the property of a hamlet. One of these coaches coming in, after a long journey is a sight not less interesting. The horses are now all sweat and foam, the reek from their bodies ascending like a cloud. The whole equipage is covered, perhaps with dust or dirt. But still, on it comes as steady as the hand of the clock. As a proof of the perfection, to which this mode of travelling has been brought, there is one coach, which goes between Exeter and London, the proprietors of which agree to forfeit *eight-pence* for every *minute* that the coach is behind its time at any of its stages; and this coach, I believe, travels eight miles an hour, and that, too, upon a very hilly, and, at some seasons, very deep road.

There may be persons to say, "those descriptions may be very amusing to your readers in America, but what use can they be of *to us* in England." Why, it is for *you* that I principally intend them. I wish you to see, in these instances of your energy and your creative industry, specimens of the *real causes* of that national strength, which you foolishly attribute to the cleverness of a financier; to a sinking fund; or to any other of the numerous humbugs, with which you have been so long amused.

The *population* of a country is no standard of its strength, or, at least, the population alone is no such standard; if it were, it would be difficult to conceive how it has happened, that a handful of

Englishmen have become the masters of India, and have been able to tax the people of that country as completely as we are taxed here, or very nearly so. *A man is a man*, to be sure; but, as Sterne said to the monk, "there is some *difference* in men, my friend." It is very clear, that, if there be one man who does, in the same line of business, as much as two other men, and if he travels twice as fast as either of them, he is better than both of them to his employer, because he eats no more than one of them, and requires no more clothes, lodging, &c. than one of them. It is just the same with a nation of such men. And, therefore, in estimating the strength of England, or any other country, we must look more at the character and performances of the people than at their numbers. In England every thing moves in a quick pace. The stirring disposition of the people shorten distances. More is done in the same space of time than in other countries. The tradesman in London almost holds a conversation with the tradesman at York or Exeter.

But the great thing of all is the *incessant labour*, which is continually *creating* things, which give strength to a country. I do not know, that we excel some other nations in ingenuity in the useful arts. Workmen are very adroit in America. They build as well, and more neatly, than we do. They work as nimbly. But they do not work *so much*. They take some leisure, which we never do. I must, however, always insist, that we derive infinite advantage from our sports. To these we owe, almost entirely, our second selves, our *horses* of speed, and even these we should not have without our *dogs*. It is very well in the way of joke, to ridicule fox-hunting 'Squires and Parsons; but, if the matter be well considered, we shall find that these gentlemen are as usefully employed in this way as they would be in any other. By following this sport, they set an example of adventurous riding to those beneath them; and, if there had been no fox-hunting in England, I much question if we should have seen five thousand yeomanry cavalry instead of the *hundred thousand*, who, at one time, were actually mounted on their own horses and in their own uniforms. No matter for the *cause*, in which they came forth. The cause might have been

different. A regiment of soldiers all of whom can *ride and box and shoot* must be much more formidable than a regiment of men who only know how to dance and sing and act plays. It must be the same with a nation. The "walking mania," as it has been called, is, in my opinion, a thing highly to be prized; and especially that wonderful exploit of Capt. BARCLAY, which, however, has now been surpassed by the man, who has walked *eleven hundred miles in eleven hundred hours*, and whose name I am sorry I have forgotten. What is this but a great instance of the bodily powers of man? What man will now not be ashamed to say, that he wants a horse or a coach to carry him twenty or thirty miles in a day? The standard of the capacity of man has been raised by these performances; and there can be no question that the nation has really been made stronger by them.

The philosophers of the "humanity" school condemn all these things as vulgar, brutal and barbarous. They look upon them as the contrary of *refinement*. They represent it to be an act of cruelty, for a crowd of horsemen to hollow after a pack of dogs in pursuit of a poor animal, who they say has done them no harm, and, in whose torments they feel delight. I notice this more particularly as I perceive the sickly sentimental taste to have made great way in America. But, what is there more cruel in a fox-chase than in those sports with the gun, in which the Americans are so famous, and to their early pursuit of which they, probably, owe their liberties?

I have thus, though in a desultory way, described what appears to me to be the real foundation of the *strength of England*; and, it is of great importance that we, and that you, should form a correct judgment on the subject. It is always the object of the government to make us believe, that whatever we have *we owe to it*. It was, during the Duke of York's famous affair, asserted by Mr. Charles Yorke, that it was His Royal Highness, *who had made the English Army what it was*, and if any man happens to know of any assertion more impudent, ever uttered from a pair of lips, I shall be obliged to him to point it out to me. While Pitt was in high reputation his parasites ascribed the prosperity of the nation to him. It was *his financial system* that had

made England what it was; and his successors, though they acknowledged him as their founder, have, until now, continued to take to themselves the merit of having *done a great deal for us*. Now they lay the *miseries* of the country upon *chance*, upon a combination of *unfavourable causes*. The truth is, that the real, the solid means of the country, they have not been able to take away; but by Pitt and by them such a system of management has been adopted and pursued, that the whole of the affairs of the country have been thrown into confusion; a convulsion in matters of property has taken place; the hand of industry has been arrested; confidence between man and man (which is our *real birthright*) threatens to be destroyed, or, at least, suspended; and, as a necessary consequence, comparative feebleness must ensue. This is the way, in which their fine plans and projects have made the country *prosperous*.

Give me leave here, before I proceed further, to caution you against a very dangerous error. I see, much oftener than I could wish, very exaggerated praises bestowed on the memory of GENERAL WASHINGTON. Doubtless you owe him great gratitude. His skill, fortitude, and valour contributed largely towards your success. But, to call him the *Father of your country*; the *Father of your Independence*; is a little too much in our courtly style, and has a very dangerous tendency. Names are always mischievous, especially in Republics. One Name is, at last, put in opposition to another Name, and then the public soon drop out of sight. Amongst all our innumerable follies, we have had the sense to get rid of Names; and, it would be provoking indeed to see you persevere in this greatest of all follies after we have cast it off.

Another notable trick that has been played off upon us, and with astonishing success, is the attributing of our prosperity and strength to the increase of our *external commerce*, which, for what reason official impudence itself has never ventured to explain, is ascribed *wholly to the ministers*. Just as if they gave us the wool and cotton and iron, and also the sugar and coffee and wine, and gave us the ships and sailors, and found us the customers! Besides, there is a gross and monstrous folly running through the whole thing. It is a mass of notions as

false, as ridiculous, and as despicable as are any of the legends of Popery. A thing, called an "account of Imports and Exports" is *faced-up* for us every year; and there are nine hundred and ninety nine out of every thousand persons, who really believe, that the amount is so much money *gained*, and gained, too, by some *contrivance of the ministers*, with which the people of this country have nothing at all to do; and, when the augmentation of the taxes used to be talked of, in Pitt's time; "aye," said that impudent fellow, "but look at the augmentation that I *have made* in the commerce of the country." Just as if it had not been the industry and enterprize of the people, which had created all this additional commerce; and just as if, after all, the internal resources, arising from this industry, were not the only means of rendering this external commerce of any use in point of revenue. Ships and Docks and Warehouses and Custom houses make a great *show* and a great noise. The imports from the East and West Indies. Our numerous colonies. All these make a monstrous figure in news-papers and in talk. But, when we come to see, that the duties of Customs all put together, that all the taxes raised upon ships and upon foreign goods, *do not amount to nearly so much as the taxes yielded by that part of our own barley which is made into drink*; when we come to see this, the illusion vanishes in a twinkling.

They tell us of the advantage of the East Indies, and how much the article of Tea alone *yields us* in taxes. Just as if we did not *pay these taxes ourselves*! Just as if the East India Company *gave us* the amount of these taxes! Just as if the means of paying them did not arise out of the fruits of our own internal industry, that great and only source of national wealth and strength. This is a favourable time to endeavour to impress these truths upon the minds of the nation. For, we now see and feel, that, when our *internal affairs* are disturbed; when the hand of industry is *arrested at home*; when confidence is once shaken between man and man *here*; when this takes place, we see, that all is distress and misery; we see, that the grand display of Exports and Imports and Tonnage is all empty noise.

The present ruin has been brought

upon the country by the mismanagement of its affairs, and those only are responsible, who have been guilty of this mismanagement. They have done what they pleased with the resources of the country. They have employed them in wars, in subsidies, in conquests, in contracts and salaries. To facilitate the execution of their schemes, they have created a fictitious currency, liable to fluctuations in value. A revolution in the state of this currency has, at last, all of a sudden, produced a transfer of real property and of goods from the owners to the owners of money. It has rendered the former insolvent, and that, too, almost without benefit to the latter, while the labouring class, who depended solely upon agriculture and trade, have been hurled down into the state of paupers. Since my return home, I find, that it is now become a common practice to *discharge* almost the whole of the labourers, send them for relief to the *parish*, and then to *hire them of the parish* at sixpence a day; thus reducing them to the lowest possible scale of bodily sustenance, and degrading them to nearly the level of beasts. Yet, what are the farmers to do? They have not the means of paying any thing worthy to be called *wages*. They have put a total stop to all *improvements*; to all the means of enriching land; there will be hardly any fallowing; the riches that are in the land will be drawn out of it; springs will be suffered to overflow; fences will fall out of repair; and, in two years, if things continue thus, the improvements, the sources of wealth and strength, acquired by the industry and enterprize of twenty years, will have been lost.

And is there to be no *responsibility* for all this terrible mischief? Are we to regard it as a visitation of Providence for our sins? Are we to sit down and cry, and to blame nobody upon earth for it? A poor attempt has been made to make the nation believe, that all this misery has arisen from mere ordinary causes; that such scenes are the natural consequence of a sudden transition from war to peace; and, some have been impudent enough to assert, that similar distresses occurred at the close of the *American War*. What a barefaced falsehood! No: there was then no fictitious currency; there was then no revolution in property;

there was then no such distress. Our miseries are the consequence of the mismanagement of our affairs

It is impossible for things to go on in this course. There must be some *great change by law*. If it were *just*, that the present owners of land and stock in trade should yield their property to the owners of money and to persons in the pay of the government, the thing **CANNOT BE**. To effect the transfer is physically impossible. Before it were half carried through the high-ways would be strewn with starved and putrid carcasses. If, in some parts, whole parishes have already been deserted by the farmers, leaving the Parson and the Poor to eat the dirt and the hedges, what is the thing to come to in the end? What have we to look for before two more years are over our heads? But, men *will not* be ruined and starved in such numbers. It is impossible to make *millions* of men submit to ruin and starvation. After having witnessed such measures as the Brown-Bread law; the Corn Bill; the Soup-shop project; the Potatoe Project; and some others, it would be presumption even to *guess* at what may be resorted to. Nor, indeed, need we much *care* what is *now* to be done; for, certain it is, that, in spite of the brilliant prospects opened to us by the marriage and marriage settlement of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, *something of great importance must be done*.

But, shall we endure all this misery without *calling to account* those, who have had the management of our affairs? Shall we submit \*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\* but, I must, close this letter at New York.

WM. COBBETT.

## MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT

*For the Princess Charlotte of Wales.*

On the 14th. instant a message was delivered to the House of Commons, by Lord Castlereagh, who backed it with a curious speech. The next day came the Chancellor of the Exchequer with an account of the *charges* for the settlement and the "*out-fit*," as he called it.—I will here insert these precious documents; and then make such remarks upon them as are

*called for by truth, sincerity, and common sense*, without any particle of dread or disguise.—Attend, reader, to the passages in *Italics*.

MESSAGE. — "G. P. R. — The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, having given the Royal Consent to a marriage between his Daughter, her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta, and his Serene Highness Leopold George Frederick, Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld, has thought fit to communicate the same to this House. His Royal Highness is fully persuaded that this alliance *cannot but be acceptable to all his Majesty's faithful subjects*; and the many proofs which his Royal Highness has received of the affectionate attachment of this House to his Majesty's Person and Family, leave him no room to doubt of the concurrence and assistance of this House in enabling him to make such a provision, with a view to the said Marriage, as may be suitable to the honour and dignity of the Country.

"G. P. R.

"[*Cries of hear, hear! followed the reading of the Message.*]

"LORD CASTLEREAGH said, it was the practice of the House to refer to a Committee of the whole House the consideration of the Message on similar occasions; but under the auspicious circumstances, to which the present Message of his Royal Highness referred, and the importance of the alliance to that family with which the honour of the country was so closely connected, and which formed the best security for our liberties, it would be proper for the House immediately to express its gratitude to the Crown and the deep interest they took in every thing which affected the welfare and happiness of the Royal Family [*hear, hear, hear!*]. No arguments were necessary to awaken the attachment of the House to the illustrious individual who with so much honour to himself and advantage to the State, directed the affairs of the country, and to the illustrious individual who was the object of the Message: The alliance which had been communicated to the House promised as well domestic comfort to that illustrious individual, as general advantage and glory to the

“*British Empire*. He felt it impossible to  
 “abstain from *congratulating* the House  
 “on the individual with whom her Royal  
 “Highness was to be united. It would  
 “ill become him to use any thing like  
 “*flattery*, but he did not overstate the  
 “fact, and he spoke in the hearing of  
 “many who could judge of his correct-  
 “ness: he said there was but one opinion  
 “throughout Europe with respect to his  
 “principles, manners and habits, indeed,  
 “as to all those qualities which rendered  
 “him *a fit Consort* for the Princess Char-  
 “lotte of Wales. What provision the  
 “Committee might think proper to make,  
 “he should *not presume to anticipate*,  
 “but he did not *doubt* it would be such,  
 “as in *their best judgment* they con-  
 “ceived would mark their attachment to  
 “the Crown, by uniting the liberal policy  
 “by which they had always been guided  
 “on similar occasions, with that *due at-  
 “tention to economy* which it was always  
 “the duty of Parliament to observe.  
 “One principle only he hoped would be  
 “kept in view, that the first settlement  
 “for these illustrious pair should be such  
 “that it would not be necessary for them  
 “hereafter to recur to the liberality of  
 “Parliament [*hear, hear, hear!*]. The  
 “Noble Lord concluded by moving that  
 “an Address be presented to his Royal  
 “Highness the Prince Regent, returning  
 “the Thanks of the House to his Royal  
 “Highness for his gracious Message, and  
 “congratulating his Royal Highness on  
 “the intended Marriage of her Royal  
 “Highness the Princess Charlotte with a  
 “Protestant Prince of *so illustrious a  
 “family*, which promised to increase the  
 “happiness to his Royal Highness and  
 “his illustrious Daughter, and to prove  
 “beneficial to the best interests of the  
 “country; and to assure his Royal High-  
 “ness, that the House will immediately  
 “proceed to consider *his gracious Mes-  
 “sage* in such a manner, as would prove  
 “the *zeal, duty, and affection* of the  
 “House to his Royal Highness's Family  
 “—its sense of the *eminent virtues and  
 “merits* of the Princess Charlotte, and  
 “its due regard to the honour and dig-  
 “nity of the Crown.

On the 15th inst.—“The Chancellor  
 “of the Exchequer rose and said, that as  
 “he had observed the *unanimous feeling*  
 “which had prevailed in the House when  
 “the Message had been submitted to the

“House, he anticipated *no difference of  
 “opinion* as to what would be a suitable  
 “provision for her Royal Highness the  
 “Princess Charlotte, and her intended  
 “husband. The object of the House  
 “would unanimously be to provide every  
 “means for the *domestic comfort* and  
 “splendour of the illustrious Personages,  
 “paying at the same time the *due atten-  
 “tion of economy* and moderation, which  
 “at this, and indeed at all times, was the  
 “duty of Parliament. To attain these  
 “ends, he should in the first place pro-  
 “pose such an annual allowance, as  
 “might be thought proper for these ex-  
 “alted characters, and at some time here-  
 “after, in a Committee of Supply, he  
 “should move that such immediate assist-  
 “ance should be given, as would enable  
 “them, without encumbering their in-  
 “come with debts, to form their domest-  
 “ic arrangements. The annual sum  
 “which he should propose was 60,000*l.*  
 “a year, of which 10,000*l.* would form  
 “a Privy Purse for her Royal Highness,  
 “and the remainder would defray the  
 “domestic expences of the Prince of Co-  
 “bourg's Establishment. This sum he  
 “should propose to grant to these Illus-  
 “trious Personages during their joint  
 “lives. The uncertainty of human af-  
 “fairs made it necessary to guard against  
 “an event which it could not but be  
 “painful to contemplate. If the Prince  
 “of Cobourg should die before his Royal  
 “Consort—the whole sum would be con-  
 “tinued to her Royal Highness during  
 “her life. If, however, the Prince of  
 “Cobourg should survive her Royal  
 “Highness, the sum of 50,000*l.* a year  
 “would be continued to him, being the  
 “whole of the allowance now proposed  
 “to be granted, deducting only the  
 “10,000*l.* which formed the Privy Purse  
 “of the Princess. It was intended that  
 “the allowance to the Princess from  
 “the Civil List should cease, which  
 “would be a saving to the public of thir-  
 “ty thousand pounds a year, as would  
 “be seen by referring to the account.  
 “With respect to the vote for outfit,  
 “which he should hereafter propose,  
 “the House would feel that a just eco-  
 “nomy in life depended on a suitable es-  
 “tablishment at the outfit. How many  
 “inconveniencies arose from debts and  
 “incumbrances at first, which drew on  
 “a system of procrastinating payments

" which could not be afterwards got rid  
 " of [*Hear, hear!*], and prevented the  
 " recurrence to an orderly system of ex-  
 " penditure. He should, therefore, pro-  
 " pose a vote for outfit to the Illustrious  
 " Personages, equal to one year's expen-  
 " diture. Out of this sum it was cal-  
 " culated that 40,000*l.* would defray the  
 " expence of furniture, plate, equipages,  
 " and wine; 10,000*l.* would be expended  
 " in articles of dress for the Princess;  
 " and 10,000*l.* to increase her Royal High-  
 " ness's jewels. This vote of 60,000*l.* for  
 " outfit, though he should not then pro-  
 " pose it, he had thought it proper to  
 " mention, that the House might have  
 " the whole subject under their view.  
 " The House, he thought, would be con-  
 " vinced that the proposal was on the  
 " whole, *temperate and judicious* [*Hear,*  
 " *hear!*]. He had only to mention one  
 " other point for the attention of the House.  
 " Hitherto it had not been possible to fix  
 " on a residence for the reception of her  
 " Royal Highness and her Consort. When  
 " that was determined on, it might possi-  
 " bly be necessary to apply to the House  
 " for further aid; and he had no doubt  
 " that proposition would be received with  
 " the same affectionate and loyal attention  
 " with which the House received the pre-  
 " sent proposition. He concluded by  
 " moving a Grant of 60,000*l.* a year to  
 " the Illustrious Personages, out of the  
 " Consolidated Fund, under the limita-  
 " tions before mentioned."

The first remark that offers itself here,  
 is, that *not one single word was said by*  
*any body against this expence of 60,000*l.**  
*down and 60,000*l.* a year; and that*  
*Messrs. Tierney and Brougham, expressed*  
*their approbation of the measure.*—Now,  
 let us proceed to comment upon the whole  
 of the matter. \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\*.

### EXQUISITE FOLLY!

#### KENT COUNTY MEETING.

At this Meeting, held on the 13th instant,  
 a petition was agreed to against the *Pro-*  
*perty Tax*, and more especially against  
 (or about) *Tythes*. The speeches, upon

this latter part of the subject of the Peti-  
 tion were the most exquisitely foolish  
 that I ever read in all my life. Pray,  
 reader, go through them with attention.  
 You can hardly want any assistance to  
 enable you to perceive their monstrous  
 absurdity; but, I will add a few observa-  
 tions upon them.

" Mr. LANCE TADMAN (of Northfleet)  
 " addressed the Meeting as follows:—  
 " Gentlemen, when first we endeavoured  
 " to bring about this meeting respecting  
 " Tythe, I was in hopes that it would  
 " have fallen to the lot of some more  
 " able person than myself, to have opened  
 " the business in this assembly. I assure  
 " you, Gentlemen; I feel myself intirely  
 " inadequate to the task. I believe, Gen-  
 " tlemen, England throughout well knows  
 " the heavy and vexatious burthen of  
 " Tythe in kind: the industrious farmer  
 " finds it to be the greatest possible check  
 " to the improvement of agriculture, as the  
 " better he farms, the more he has to pay  
 " to the Clergy, or to the Layman, which  
 " is harder still. What he obtains beyond  
 " the common course of tillage, ought, I  
 " consider, most certainly to be for the  
 " support of himself, his wife, and family.  
 " Therefore, Gentlemen, could any plan  
 " be devised so that the Clergy of England  
 " might receive a fair compensation in lieu  
 " of Tythe in kind, it would be a great  
 " benefit to the country, not only on ac-  
 " count of agriculture, but also of re-  
 " ligion, as all litigation between the  
 " Clergy and the people would be done  
 " away. Do not suppose, Gentlemen, I  
 " wish in the smallest degree to injure the  
 " Clergy; on the contrary, I wish them  
 " supported most liberally, and respected  
 " by every one; for, I am thoroughly  
 " convinced, that unless our Established  
 " Church of England is well support-  
 " ed, ENGLAND HERSELF MUST  
 " FALL. Gentlemen, I can see no rea-  
 " son why all persons of property should  
 " not pay towards supporting the Church,  
 " as well as ourselves, as we so materi-  
 " ally contribute towards supporting the  
 " State. Do not they, with ourselves,  
 " reap equal advantage from that Church?  
 " Why then should not they assist us in the  
 " maintenance of that Church? Let me  
 " now, Gentlemen, propose to you our  
 " sending a humble Petition to Parliament

“ imploring that Honourable House to al-  
 “ low the Clergy of England a fair com-  
 “ pensation in lieu of tythe in kind, which  
 “ now bears so heavy and unequal on us  
 “ all. I hold in my hand some Resolu-  
 “ tions, and a Petition to that effect.  
 “ Should they be approved of, let us sign  
 “ the Petition immediately, and request  
 “ our Honourable County Members to  
 “ present it to Parliament, not doubting  
 “ but that the wisdom of that House will  
 “ grant relief if there is a possibility  
 “ of doing it.—Gentlemen, accept my  
 “ warmest thanks for the patient hearing  
 “ you have given me. I now beg leave to  
 “ resign the matter into more able hands  
 “ with my most hearty wishes for its  
 “ complete success.

“ Mr. RUSSEL (of Swanscomb):—In  
 “ seconding the Resolutions of my friend,  
 “ Mr. Tadman, I wish to avoid all politi-  
 “ cal discussion, and I beg to observe,  
 “ that I do not wish to say any thing dis-  
 “ respectful of the Reverend body the  
 “ Clergy, but only to point out to you,  
 “ the grievous hardships which the Agri-  
 “ culturists of this County labour under  
 “ from various causes; but more especi-  
 “ ally from the present vexatious method  
 “ of collecting Tythes in kind, which is  
 “ one of the greatest obstacles to reli-  
 “ gion, as well as to the improvement  
 “ and increase of produce on Arable  
 “ Farms, already too much depressed. I  
 “ am aware that some of you will say,  
 “ the system is ill understood and en-  
 “ veloped in great obscurity—but it may  
 “ be questioned, whether any other great  
 “ point in the science of our political  
 “ economy, is so well understood as this  
 “ is,—in the universal outcry against it,  
 “ in the notorious evils of its practical  
 “ operation, and in the *stupendous mass*  
 “ of information which the press has com-  
 “ municated, enough may be found to su-  
 “ percede the necessity of farther discus-  
 “ sion, and to justify an opinion, that it  
 “ requires only the helping hand of the  
 “ Executive Authority, to alter and  
 “ amend the system with equity and pub-  
 “ lic advantage. I do not, myself, mean  
 “ to propose any specific mode of altering  
 “ the system, but leave it entirely to the  
 “ wisdom of Parliament. But, I have no  
 “ doubt, many Gentlemen among you,  
 “ could devise a better method than the  
 “ present, which is vexatious and grind-  
 “ ing in its nature, and disgraceful to a

“ free country. And although of very  
 “ ancient origin, it cannot be supposed,  
 “ that the Israelites of old, who at the  
 “ time were a wandering race, without  
 “ any fixed habitation, and consequently  
 “ only a precarious subsistence for their  
 “ Priests, had it in contemplation, they  
 “ should enjoy the tenth of every Far-  
 “ mer's labour as enforced at this day.  
 “ Neither could the blood-stained assas-  
 “ sin Offa, who first in this country gave  
 “ the church a civil right in them, by  
 “ way of property and inheritance, to be  
 “ recovered by the coercion of the Civil  
 “ Power.—Surely, Gentlemen, the expia-  
 “ tory gift of this weak and perfidious  
 “ Prince, who was better qualified for go-  
 “ vernaing a convent than a kingdom, and  
 “ who lived in the dark ages of ignorance  
 “ and Monkish superstition, (and who  
 “ possessed but a small part of this coun-  
 “ try, the most considerable part of  
 “ which he was compelled to partition,  
 “ by his son) never meant it to be the  
 “ *tenth of the goods of every English*  
 “ *Yeoman*—if he did, it is high time some  
 “ revision took place, for it is impossible  
 “ it can long exist in this enlightened age,  
 “ when every one must acknowledge, that  
 “ the times have produced new circum-  
 “ stances, which the founders could not  
 “ have foreseen, and which require the  
 “ correcting hand of the Legislature.  
 “ Some Gentlemen, may, perhaps, say,  
 “ Tythes are not so oppressive as many  
 “ people imagine, as they stand in lieu of  
 “ rent, but every Farmer knows, when  
 “ he takes his farm, the exact sum he  
 “ has to pay his Landlord, whether he  
 “ expends his capital to improve his farm  
 “ to the utmost extent or not; but if by  
 “ expending a large capital, a super-  
 “ abundant crop is the fruit of his pecu-  
 “ liar industry, the Rector gets his tenth  
 “ of the extraordinary crop, (or rather  
 “ the seventh of it, as he has it with all  
 “ the expense attending it) besides which  
 “ the land is deprived of a tenth part of  
 “ its manure annually; this surely is a  
 “ great hardship to the tenant, and it is  
 “ likewise a great hardship upon the pub-  
 “ lic, if the grower is to be remunerated,  
 “ as he must sell seven quarters for the  
 “ price of ten. Tythes taken in kind,  
 “ are not only vexatious and unjust, but  
 “ frequently demoralizing, for if a farmer  
 “ has lands lying in two parishes, and he  
 “ makes a composition with one Rector,

“and the other takes them in kind, (not unfrequently the case) he is naturally inclined to plant hops, or fruit, or the most valuable productions, in the former parish, and the most *invaluable* in the latter, whereby the Rector is *defrauded* of his right.—I have pointed out to you that the collecting of tythes in kind is a great *obstacle to the growth of corn for the support of the people*; and I will now point out to you the inequality of tithes in general, in which I think the Clergy themselves will agree with me, viz.—can it be equitable that a Farmer, who rents 500*l.* a year, should pay 200*l.* per annum for his tythes, when his opulent neighbours, who return ten times his capital in manufactories or warehouses, pay only a few shillings; yet all have an *equal advantage of hearing their common pastor*. Tythes also create animosities between the Clergy and their parishioners, which is a religious evil much to be deplored. I hope nothing which I have said will be deemed invidious to the Clergy, for *whom and their doctrines, I have the greatest respect and veneration*, and I wish them to be paid a liberal remuneration. Many of them, I know, are pious good men, and virtuous characters, and have an arduous duty to perform, which they do with great credit to themselves and *advantage to others*: indeed so high an opinion do I entertain for that reverend body and their doctrines, that I have always placed *my son under the tuition of a clergyman*; and if I could have placed him on the foundation of the Charter House, it was my intention to have brought him up to that profession. I beg, therefore, to be clearly understood, it is not to the seculars that I object, but the oppressive and unequal system of tythes, which were established long before the present race had existed.

“Mr. WADDINGTON considered the Petition as too tame and feeble, the Freeholders of Kent ought on a subject of such vital importance, to have spoken loudly. He could tell them that from a return made to the House of Commons, out of 10,000 Clergymen only 3,000 resided on their livings and did duty, the rest spent their time at watering places, or other fashionable places of amusement, feeding in luxury

“on the very vitals of the country; he could tell the meeting, that their petition was inefficient, and *not worth a quid of Tobacco!* He then entered into the origin of Tythes, which he considered as every thing, but founded on a rock—they were below low-water mark; and concluded by reading a long paper on the subject, which our limits will not permit us to insert.”

Now, I believe, that Mr. WADDINGTON stated a fact as to the non-residence; and I perfectly agree with him, that the petition was *not worth a quid of tobacco*. But, as to the rest of these speeches, I do declare, that I never met with such a mass of nonsense since I have been able to read. It would be cracking a flea with a sledge-hammer to pretend to argue with such childish trash; but, it is mischievous, because it tends to mislead the multitude of farmers from the *real causes* of their distress; namely, the general weight of the taxes, now doubled in fact by the alteration in the value and quantity of the currency. When people are *sore*, they lose their reason. They fall out with the first person or thing that comes near them. During the prosperous times of the farmers, their favourite toast was; “*Church and King, and down with the Jacobins.*” Now they have found out, that it may not be amiss to imitate the French in *getting rid of Tythes!* Oh! these distresses are wonderful teachers of reform!

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#### “LADIES’ PETITION.”

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL said, at the Kent Meeting, that, amongst the Petitions to Parliament, there was one “*from the ladies in defence of their husbands concerns.*” This is very good. The thing works as I described it in the case of SQUIRE JOLTERHEAD. The *Pianos* are disappearing; the boarding-school misses are coming home to milk the cows and



feed the pigs; and some of them will soon be going out to service. Well, the *Lady of the brave Marshal Ney* petitioned to! Aye, wince and writhe and cry as long as you like, my *ladies*, you cannot get out of it. Besides, are you not to have a Waterloo Column? Did you not beg, for a kiss from "Old Blucher?" How can you expect to have all these delights for nothing!

### LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

MR. BROUGHAM has, it appears, a motion upon this subject in contemplation. If he means any thing short of a repeal of all the laws, which abridge the freedom of the press, and which have been passed under the Administrations of Pitt and Perceval; if he means to leave untouched the mode of appointing *Special Juries*, in cases of alleged libel; and if he means to leave the Attorney General with the powers, which he now has with regard to the time of bringing alleged Libellers to trial; if this be the case, I, for my own part, beg leave to say before hand, that I would much rather he would let the thing remain as it is. I want to hear no *pointless* talk about the liberty of the press.

### PAPER MONEY.

SIR,—The attempts of our modern financiers from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Vansittart, to assimilate paper and gold, are like the undertaking to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. It was no doubt for wise purposes, that his Majesty's guineas, those sterling works of art, those more than household gods of Englishmen, were forced into exile, and miserable paper imitations substituted; and this severe moral lesson might perhaps be intended for our benefit in the same point of view, as the recent emptying of the Louvre was designed to improve the morals of the French. But, Sir, to shake off the incumbrance of paper to step out of the magic circle which sur-

rounds us; that is the great work to be performed, or as the Poet says, "*hic opus, hic labor est.*" It is on record that Newton discovered the laws of falling bodies from observing an apple drop from a tree; and if expressions which dropped casually some years ago from a village barber, first suggested to my mind an infallible plan for removing the paper yoke from our necks, I do hope, nay, Sir, I lay claim to the having my name inscribed next after that of the "*celestial man*," on the towering brazen pillar which must be soon erected to public credit. I have, however, full confidence in the gratitude of my country, and shall therefore not dwell longer on this subject, but proceed to state, that a few years ago, a village barber in smoothing the chin of a near relative of mine, broke silence in these memorable words, "*ah! sir, the bank at N—— on the T——*" "has stopped, and I have eight of their "*one guinea notes.*" Now, Sir, if he had closed his lips here, there would have been nothing remarkable, and the great discovery would not have been made; but the keenness of his feelings, like a new set razor, carried him onward, cut through all decorum, and he finished the sentence with this dreadful ejaculation "*I wish*" "*that my eight one guinea notes stuck in their g-t-s,*" meaning, Sir, and I shall, for the sake of propriety, use a more decent term, the intestines of the said unfortunate bankers. Not being a proficient in the dead languages, I cannot decide in matters of life and death, but must humbly submit to the faculty whether sudden dissolution, or merely a constipation of the bowels a sort of restriction bill on the ordinary functions of nature, would have been the consequence if the guinea notes, according to the barber's cruel wish, had made a lodgement in the very citadel of life; however, be this as it may, men must abide by the results of their own imprudent acts, and, as in matters of trivial moment, persons have been forced to eat their own words, for the sake of promoting forbearance and harmony in society; why, let me ask, should not every banker and all public bodies, be compelled to eat their own notes, or at least to be aiding and assisting in the great work. I am convinced Sir, that the beauty, the facility, the importance, the extreme simplicity of the plan, delight you, and that you see at one glance, the moderate and cautious issues

of paper which would ensue from the adoption of my scheme—perhaps not enough to supply the privy purse under a liberal and broad-bottomed administration; but such futile objections must not restrain the hand of improvement, nor should we consider this great plan merely as it may affect our pecuniary concerns, but as it may beneficially influence our health comfort and morals. There is, for instance, honest Mr. John Bull, who is supposed to be suffering from a dropsy, but his proper element is the water, and his complaint is really a distressing distension arising from a too copious and flatulent paper diet. His eldest son, too, worthy Hodge, the farmer, the hopes of his age and flower of his flock, has been observed to droop lately, and though to all appearance fat and sleek, yet, feel him with the experienced touch of a grazier, and you find that his flesh is spongy, hollow, and flabby. The empirics told him that it was good lasting English corpulence, not merely a French enbonpoint; but he has since learned that these quacks were formerly nothing more than teachers of the art of swimming on bladders in partnership with the keeper of an apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned. The Farmer is not racked by his Landlord, but by these would-be-doctors, who always called inflation, health, and even now assure him that as long as he retains his pot-belly his constitution can never break. Hodge however begins to suspect that these hypocrites consider all flesh as grass, and are determined to make hay while the sun shines; he says, too, that he might as well pasture his cattle on his wife's old ironing cloth as trust to the meagre diet which they prescribe. Amidst all this distress, some miserable jesters who had rather lose their best friend than their joke, tell the Farmer that he must live on bubble and squeak as the only means of saving his bacon: others of a more serious turn recommend to him to beguile his leisure hours with amusing publications, such as "the Lay of the last shilling," by a Northern Poet, "A sure guide to the "Workhouse," supposed to be a posthumous work by a late Minister. "The art and mystery of kite flying" by Random Van Spongem Esqr. a Dutch Banker, and "the whole duty of a Beggar," first

printed at Halle in Germany, a magnificent work enriched with copper-plates, and conjectured to have been written originally in the old Saxon by the learned Doctor Wolfgang Piffer, Professor of Mendicity; his most judicious friends however lay the greatest stress on an anonymous work, entitled "the Financial situation of Great Britain a warning to the world."

If the groans of the Farmer are loud, they are echoed back by the Clergy of every denomination, who lament that the harvest is scanty and the labourers many, that the golden rule of "do unto others as you would be done by," is derided and considered as waste-paper; that millions of promises are broken even under the stamp of authority; that the flood-gates of vice are opened, and the land irrigated with iniquity, and that the moral building is fast falling to decay notwithstanding the well meant costly white-washings of Bible Societies, the frugal sand-dash of Lancasterian Schools and the expensive interior rose-coloured papering of Saving Banks: I speak from experience when I assert that the very principal of evil is embodied in the paper system, for I well remember in my youth seeing some country notes with this motto upon them "Strike, Deakin, the Devil is in the hemp," and yet it was seriously recommended at the last Bath agricultural meeting to cultivate hemp, which would be no other than raising Belzebug himself. It is by trusting to such infernal devices that we have had the Devil and all to pay ever since; and, with such striking instances as these before us, must we not suppose that our great Bard was in his cups, and really meant to say, "Every inordinate note is unblessed and the ingredient is a Devil." It also occurs to me that the venerable Methusalem himself, who must have carried his ideas pretty far, at least as far as most folks, would have been startled at the suggestion of an acquaintance of mine, which was, that we might live to see bills made payable at the last t-u-p; what a breathing time, what a respiro, as the Lombards call it, did his exuberant fancy contemplate. I am happy, however, to see that by the late act, imposing higher stamps on long winded bills, such airy and extravagant notions are anticipated and wisely guarded against; but, after all, with a pro-

per curb on his vagaries, I would humbly propose such a man to be placed at the head of what might be called a pneumatic council, to raise the wind in our present deadly lively situation. Our morals, however, must be overwhelmed unless the Society for the Suppression of Vice boldly push out their life boat to our assistance; perhaps the pecuniary means of the Society are scanty; but let them establish a Saving Bank, crave assistance from the sinking fund, or adopt another buoyant expedient to bear us up like gulls on the waves of adversity.

If, however, our morals are contaminated, it is some consolation to know that the dirty linen of an Englishman will go as far as the precious metals in other countries, and that honest Mr. Bull, by the magic of merely changing his shirt, put Bonaparte to his last shift. How delightful, too, the reflection that the abundance of our rags constitutes the riches of the state, and that under the present auspicious system, the funds, for the comfortable maintenance of a numerous army, can never fail. A well disciplined military force may perhaps be intended to give a

salutary impulse to public credit, and in proof of this suggestion, I need only mention that some years ago the miners in the North stopped working, and that a regiment of cavalry was sent to reduce them to obedience and to make them return to their labour. Not long afterwards a Bank in the same neighbourhood stopped, and these profound pitmen seriously recommended to send the cavalry to force the Bank to go on again. Do you think, Sir, that the large standing army intended to be kept up can be applied to this truly national object. I know the danger of judging by analogy though supported by men of such deep research as those whom I have mentioned; I, therefore, merely ask for information, as I am diffident of the success of such a plan for extricating us from our pecuniary difficulties. I beg pardon for this long digression from my principal object, and hoping that you will not consider it as a trespass on your valuable time,

I remain, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

AGRICOLA BULLION.

*Lynn, 27th February, 1816.*

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF SOUTHAMPTON.

LETTER II.

*Bolton, 30th March, 1816.*

I had not, last week, time to address you fully upon the subject of the treatment you have received at the hands of Rose; or, rather, on the subject of that conduct, on your own part, which has made it *just* and *proper* that you should have been treated by him, in the manner that I need not again describe.

It is perfectly notorious, that, if you have a mind to exert yourselves, you are able to insist upon having, in the House of Commons two Members of your own choice. It is also perfectly notorious, that, for many years past, the elder George Rose, or his son, the Younger George Rose, has been one of your Members. Hence, it is very clear, that, either through your choice, or, through your indolence and want of public-spirit, these persons have been empowered to give their voice in the making of laws to govern us, in imposing upon us those taxes, and in carrying on that system, under which, at last, we are all plunged into misery, which no craft can longer disguise.

You complain now, that George Rose the elder has abused you in his degrading descriptions of those of you who have petitioned against the income tax. But, what *right* have you to make this complaint, any more than a farmer would have a right to complain of the devastation in his hen-roost by a fox which he himself had let into the habitation of his poultry? "Curse the Cat!" exclaimed my cook, the other day, when she herself had shut

the poor thing into the pantry. Now, was it not known to you, that the Roses live upon taxes, as well as it is known to a farmer that foxes eat hens, and as well as it is known to cooks that cats gnaw joints of meat?

It is now nearly twenty years ago, that Old George Rose published a pamphlet, the main object of which was, to persuade the people of this country, that, unless they continued to pay *heavy taxes*, the French would come and *take away all their property*, and, what was a great deal worse, he said, "deprive them of the *blessed comforts of religion*" and make them atheists. The passage, to which I now more particularly allude, was in these words: "It would be a slander to the sense and virtue of the people, to suppose *an abatement of that spirit which has enabled government to call forth those resources*. The prosperous state of the empire which affords all the power, furnishes all the motive, for continuing the contest; a contest, the support of which to a successful issue is *to secure us in the enjoyment of every national advantage*, and to protect us from *the infliction of every national calamity*. The imperious and awful necessity of the present crisis unavoidably subjects us to heavy burdens. It has been said that they ought to be considered as a *SALVAGE* for the remaining part of our property. In the consideration of property, to which it was applied, the figure is sufficiently striking; but, in other respects, the metaphor, though just, is *inadequate*. What Tariff shall settle the difference between *national independence and inexorable tyranny?*

"between *personal liberty* and *requisiti-  
ons, prisons, and murder* ? between the  
" BLESSED COMFORTS OF RELI-  
" GION and the gloomy despair of  
" atheism ?"

We will not stop to remark on the *impudence* of this, or on the contempt which the brazen pamphleteer must have had for the understandings of the people of this country. But, let us see how Georgemanaged this business of "salvage." He says, "the salvage upon *our* property." What, then, was *his* property, and how did *he* pay salvage? You were to pay salvage; but he did not tell you, that he himself was one of the *receivers* of the said salvage. At the time when he wrote this pamphlet, he and his sons were, as they still are, in the receipt *annually* of public money to the following amount.

Old George Rose, as Treasurer of the Navy. ....	£4,324
Old George Rose, as Clerk of the Parliaments, which is a sinecure, and is for his <i>life, and is granted also for the life of his eldest son</i> , Young George Rose, your present Member. ....	3,278
Old George Rose, as keeper of the Records in the Exchequer, another sinecure place ....	400
William Stewart Rose, second son of Old George Rose, as Clerk of the Exchequer Pleas, which is also a sinecure place,	2,137
	<hr/> £10,139

Such was the annual sum, which the blessed comforts of Religion yielded this man. What wonder that he was so much afraid of Atheism? This income, or an income to this amount, out of the public money, these persons have received, I believe, for, at least, 24 years. How much *more* they may, amongst them, have

received, in other ways, I know not. At any rate, here is a sum of *Two hundred and forty three thousand, three hundred and thirty six pounds of principal money*. If we add the interest, the amount will be nearer *four hundred thousand* than *three hundred thousand pounds*.

This being very well known to the people of Southampton, and they having, with these facts before them, elected and re-elected the Roses to assist in the making of laws and the imposing of taxes, what right have they now to complain, that these Roses, these eaters of taxes, do all that they can to prevent any tax from being abolished? But, "Mr. Rose has done so many *kind things* for you!" That is to say, he has got so many smaller sums of the public money to be given to some of you in the shape of *offices* and *posts*. This was very *kind* in him, to be sure, and very *honest* in those amongst you who gave their *votes* in exchange.

I was at Southampton, once, when there seemed to be a great bustle in the town; the people were gaily dressed and flocking down to the water side. "What is going on," said I to a very fine looking young man, who was pushing down the street in haste. "Why," said he, "don't you know, Sir, that this is *Mr. Rose's annual sailing match*?" Upon further inquiry, I found, that he amused the town with a sailing match annually for a prize of 20 or 30 pounds! What a scandalous thing for such a town to be gratified with such a gift from such hands! There is, in this instance of servility, a meanness, a baseness, which I cannot describe. When any portion of the people discover marks of respect, bordering on self-abasement, towards persons of ancient families, whose names have been pronounced with a sort of veneration for ages, it may be, though not commended, excused; but, in a case like this, when all the well known facts are taken into

view, one's foot almost rises involuntary to kick the base and degenerate crew.

But, the scenes at Winchester have been still more humiliating. I have seen the magistrates, the gentlemen, the Baronets, the Lords, following this same George Rose up the street and down the street like so many lackeys. I have seen a Grand Jury, having on it several Baronets of ancient family, and one Lord, at least, all in waiting, 'till George Rose came to be their *foreman*! Upon one occasion I saw a whole *possé* of Noblemen and Gentlemen following at his heels down the street, when he, as if he wished to exhibit them in their true light, went into a shop and remained there several minutes, and they actually stood waiting 'till he came out, upon which they resumed the order of their march.

The example, however, of this prostrate herd is no justification for you. You all know your duty. You all know your rights. You all know what this man has been and what he is; and, if you choose him to represent you, or choose one whom he nominates, to be ground to the earth with taxes is a punishment as mild as you have any reason to expect. To be called *paupers* and *chimney-sweepers* by George Rose is what a *majority* of the people of Southampton merit at his hands. Paupers and Chimney-sweepers are, indeed, infinitely more worthy of respect than the men who have been the upholders of the Roses, considering the motives from which they have acted. And, of late years, it is in vain to say, that they have been *deceived*. Twenty years ago they might. But, at this day, there is not a man in the whole kingdom, who can be ignorant of how he ought to feel and act towards such a man as George Rose.

We shall see whether you are now to be *kicked into courage*; we shall see whether you will re-elect a person of his

pointing out: I say, we shall *see* this; for, if I have life and health 'till the next election, he, or his son, be it which it may, shall, if he offer himself, have *me* for an opponent; and, if you re-elect him, you shall not, at any rate, have ignorance to plead in your defence.

This is not, you will say, a very *flattering* electioneering address. These are not the times for flattery. We have been brought into a state of misery that no nation ever before experienced. Nothing but great public spirit and resolution can extricate us from it. The palaver of courtiers and the cant of selfishness only tend to utter ruin. It is not "*mild, moderate, inoffensive*" men that we want. Let those, who are willing to be reduced to the state of pauperism, indulge their partiality for inefficient men, whom they like because they resemble themselves; but, let all those who wish to make their voice heard and attended to, choose men who are able to be the interpreters of their wishes. The hunks who prate about moderation and exclaims against *violent men*, because he thinks that justice to the people at large might place his masses of wealth in some degree of jeopardy, will find, if he live only a few years, that his cant will be of no avail. He will find, that radical reformation must come, and that ninety nine of his neighbours will not live in misery, lest his tremulous nerves should be for a moment, discomposed. It is the interest of the rich (if they have acquired their riches fairly) that a reform should take place, and that it should come *speedily* too; for, if it should be delayed till imperious events produce it, it will, in all probability, be attended with numerous evils, the whole of which might now be avoided.

Amongst a great many admirable qualities, possessed by the people of England, they have some of a different nature, one of which is, that *credulity*, that facility to

be deceived, which exposes them to the designs of craft and cunning. An instance of this really disgraceful to human intellect, is, the greediness, with which they have begun to swallow GEORGE ROSE's bait of *saving banks for the poor*, while he and his sons are actually receiving out of the public money more than would maintain all the poor of ten extensive parishes! By this trick he is working to gain popularity that may assist in propping up his declining influence. He knows very well, that it is the burden of taxes that makes paupers; and, while he is making paupers by the receipt of taxes, he is publishing pamphlets to show how the poor may become rich by the saving of their own pennies. The impudence, the insolence, of these publications are only to be equalled by the stupid, the brutal, credulity, with which they have been received. But, these tricks now come too late. All the coaxing of the poor and the terrifying of the rich will be of no avail. The glass of the system is nearly run out; and the numerous crowds of selfish cowards, who have lent their hands to prolong its existence lest their tranquillity should be disturbed, must make haste to get under ground, or they will yet have the mortification to hear the shouts of freemen succeed the silence of slaves.

I am your friend,  
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

### LETTER VI.

*First heavy blow to the Pitt System.—*  
*'Squire Jolterhead and George Rose.—*  
*Loans resolved on.—John Bull not so*  
*passive an animal as Ld. Castlereagh*  
*appears to have thought him.—Malt*  
*Tax abandoned.—New Era.—Lymington*  
*Petition.—Important change in fa-*  
*vour of the cause of freedom.—Salaries.*  
*Regent's Health.—Recorder and Lady*  
*Wilson.—Scotch petitions for taxes.*

Batley, 30th March, 1816.

In No. 8, which, I hope, is, by this time safely arrived at New York, I told you that it appeared to me, that the

persons, who have so much to do with *the seats in parliament*, were resolved to put an end to the *Property Tax*. This they have now done. On the 18th instant the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a proposition for the continuation of it in part; and which part, if it had been continued, might soon have been augmented. The landholders seem to have, at last, made up their minds to make a stand against the further progress of the Pitt System. They seem to have perceived, at last, that unless they began to resist now, the whole of their estates must pass away from them. 'Squire Jolterhead felt his pocket growing quite empty; and he resolved not to give up his last shilling. There were 201 Members for the Tax, and 238 against the Tax. If you now look back into the *American part* of No. 7, and which, for my health's sake I did not publish *here*, you will see how well I guessed at what would take place. I beg you to bear in mind the *reasons*, which I gave you for thinking that the Tax would be lost. Thus, you will see, that though you will not have the Register 'till about six weeks after the publication of the London part of it, you will really always be, with regard to true information, even in point of *time*, before-hand with the people here, as far, at least, as my means of information go; because I dare to say to you what no one dares to say here.

I say, and so will you say, that it is hardly fair in 'Squire Jolterhead to refuse to give up his "last shilling;" seeing that he so often pledged himself to give up, not only his last shilling, but the last drop of his blood also. But, he now pretends, that the pledge was only *figurative*; and he says, besides, that he understood, that *all others* were to do the same that he was to do. But that, at the end of all this glorious work, he finds himself reduced to poverty, while others (and especially those who *backed him on*) are grown amazingly rich; that they, who had nothing at the out-set of the war, are become rich as Lords, while he, who was rich at the out-set, is become a beggar, or, at least, is brought to the eve of beggary.

'Squire Jolterhead reasons thus with OLD GEORGE ROSE. "George," says he, "you told me in your pamphlet, "which you published and re-published,

"during the war, that it was necessary for me to part with part of my money in order to save the rest, and in order to prevent the French from making me an *atheist*." "Well," says George, "and have you not been saved? Have not the Church and our religion been preserved?"—"yes," says the Squire, "but I have lost almost the whole of my estate, while you have been gaining a fine large estate. I am got to be so notoriously poor a fellow, that the people of my village will hardly pull off their hats to me, though my ancestors used to give away a hundred hogsheads of strong beer in a twelve month; I am hardly known now in the county, while you are become a *Right Honourable Gentleman*, and have Barons and Lords dancing at your heels."—"Aye," replies George, "but, only think of the service I have rendered you. Your estate! Why, you would not have an acre left, if I had not stepped in and saved you. The Jacobins would have had your lands, and Satan would have had your soul."

This was George's language. This was the way, in which he urged the people on to pay taxes. I remember, that, when I was in Philadelphia, I used to read George's pamphlet with delight; and there were a great many Americans, who used to read it with delight also. We did not then know what was the manner, in which George was paying *salvage* himself; and which manner I have pretty well explained, in this Number, in my second Letter to the people of Southampton, to which Letter I shall add some *Notes for your information*.

Squire Jolterhead thinks it rather hard, that, while he has been paying *salvage*; that is to say, while his estate has been passing away from him, George should have been *gaining an estate*. It is not quite a new thing to see a great man's estate become the property of his *steward*; and this is very much the case of Old John Bull at this time. Whether any steps will be taken to put this matter to rights is more than I can say.

The debate upon the Property Tax was very important. Lord Castlereagh urged the House to agree to it. Without this tax he said, "they would plunge the nation into all the dangers of an imper-

fect system of finance; that they would remain stationary in their debts; that the tax was not an expedient, but was absolutely necessary to the well-being of the state; and he *conjured* the House, and *solemnly intreated* them not to refuse this only means of saving the country." It was all in vain. The utmost impatience was discovered, and the proposition was rejected as stated before. Nay, it was so evident to the Ministers, that the land-owners were determined to make a stand in their own defence, that, the next night, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House and affirmed his intention to *abandon the War tax on Malt*; that is, a tax of 2s. a bushel, which, incredible as it may appear to the rest of the world, has yielded upwards of 2 millions of pounds, or 8 millions of Dollars, a year. The whole of the tax upon Malt was 36s. a quarter (or 8 bushels); it will now be 20s. But, here are 16s. a quarter lopped off; and, if no tax be imposed in lieu of it (and no tax can), this is a real saving to me, for instance, of, at least, 32s. a month; or 20 pounds a year.

This is *doing something*; and, as my motto was, before the parliament met, "*something must be done*," events have already proved it true. Thus, then, the system has received a *blow*; a *body-blow*, which, as we, in England (amongst whom boxing is a real science) well know, is worth a score of black eyes and bloody-noses. These are soon got over; but, a good body-blow, or, what is called a *doubler-up*, makes a man remember it for a long while, and he must have much more *bottom* than I take Castlereagh to have, if it does not render him very shy for ever after, whenever he sees his antagonist's eye directed towards the vulnerable part. Thus it happened upon this occasion. The body-blow on the Property Tax night made Mr. Vansittart hasten to *give in* upon the subject of the Malt Tax, seeing that the land-owners had their eye fixed on the old point again.

These are, however, but *beginnings*. There must be more and still heavier blows given to the system before this day twelve months. Loans have now been resolved on; but loans are a mere expedient to put off the evil hour. What must be the con-



sequence of borrowing money to pay the interest of money already borrowed, all the world knows. Under such a system, *arising avowedly from a state of distress*, who can suppose, that the funds will, or, can, long support any degree of credit? The distress has not arisen from any *temporary* cause. The cause, the inability to pay, has arisen from a cause that cannot be removed, without again making the exchange 30 per cent. against us all over the world. The distress is daily and hourly increasing; and, to suppose, that the indirect taxes and assessed and Stamp taxes will yield as much as they have yielded is, it seems to me, little short of madness.

But, the lopping off of taxes will not stop here. The assessed taxes on farming horses is to be reduced; aye, and taken off too. This will scarcely amount to less than a *million* of pounds; and thus will about 18 millions of direct taxes have been taken off; and if, after this, enough be collected to pay the interest of the Debt and the demand of the sinking fund I shall be very much surprized, unless the *guinea* and the *bushel of wheat* rise in value. As Mr. JEFFERSON (I believe it was) said of the American Constitution, the Pitt System of Finance "is now in the *full tide of Experiment*."

A grand effort has been made on the part of the Ministers to persuade the nation, that the land-owners have got rid of the Income Tax *for their own sakes*, and that they care not what load they leave upon the *people*. I exposed the fallacy of this in No. 9 of this volume; but, still the effort has been continued. It has, however, not been attended with success; and Castlereagh, with all his hardihood, has manifestly sunk under the weight of the popular voice, joined with that of the land-owners. He was vastly bold and dashing at the out-set; talked in the Pitt-style; made long and rattling periods; affected to hold his opponents in contempt; and flung out a tirade now-and-then against *popular clamour and ignorance*. Faith! he has found, that John Bull, though he will bear a great deal when his belly is full, is not so very good humoured when it is empty. When John is well off, he is insolent towards all the rest of the world; when he is pinched, he is ill-tempered at home. I must, nevertheless, do John the

justice to say, that he has, upon this occasion, behaved well. I do not like to flatter him; and I bear him as much-ill will as I can muster up for his envious disposition towards foreign nations; for his deadly hatred of freedom upon the Continent; for his having approved of many deeds, which I dare not name; for his exultation at the fall of so many brave men in France; but, still I must say, that, in this season of distress, he has behaved well. The *forbearance* of landlords and parsons towards the farmers; the general forbearance of all creditors; the voluntary assistance; the kindness of neighbours towards one another; the unshaken confidence which has been displayed between man and man: all these certainly do John Bull a great deal of honour, and shew, that, if he should happen to pick up a little sense during his calamities, he may yet be fit for something better than merely working like a Jack-ass to earn money to pay German and Russian Troops to fight against the republicans of France.

The manner, in which the Ministers have sneaked out of the War Malt Tax is very curious, and clearly discovers their conviction, that the landlords are not to be trifled with. They say, that, seeing that the *rich* had refused to pay the Income Tax, *they* thought it right, that this Malt Tax should be given up to the *poor*. The shallowness of all this set of notions has been shown a hundred times over. But, taking the Ministers upon their own ground, how has this been a boon to the *poor*? There is a tax upon *beer*, besides the tax upon Malt. But, this beer tax is only upon beer *sold in public houses by retail*, or sold by *brewers*, who sell it out by the barrel, &c. There is no tax upon the *beer*, brewed in private houses; and, as almost the whole of the *gentlemen* and *farmers* brew their own beer, the beer tax, according to the notion of the Ministers, and other shallow politicians, *falls exclusively upon the poor*. Therefore, to have given a boon to the *poor*, they should have abolished the *beer* tax, of which the Gentlemen, according to their notion, pay no part. This only shows the miserable shifts that they resort to in order to disguise their defeat, and the approaching dissolution of the system. The real fact is, they saw, that those who had refused the Income Tax would also refuse

this tax; and, therefore, they made this miserable excuse for not bringing it forward.

Then, again, as to the loan to supply its place, they said, that, since they *must have a loan, they might as well have a loan for two millions more as not*. Very true: they "might as well be *hanged for a sheep as for a lamb*." Verily this was a most miserable quirk! One would have thought, that, having lost one tax, which they represented as absolutely necessary to the safety of the country, they would, if possible, have given up no more. Two millions of money added to a *peace loan* is no trifle; and that they will find, when they come to make that loan. But, will the landlords and the people let them make loans? Oh, yes! As long as they please. They would let them borrow the whole, if they would; the whole 60 millions: all that is objected to is *taxation*; and this now must and will be diminished.

To you, in America, it may appear strange, that we should make such a fuss about the refusal of a tax, seeing that taxes are often proposed by your Secretary of the Treasury, and refused by the Congress, without any *anger* on either side, and without exciting any particular interest amongst the people. It is widely different here. Here it is a very cut-and-dry affair in general; and, until now, nobody has, for many years, ever expected to see a tax much opposed, much less did any one ever suppose that a tax would be finally *refused*.

This is, therefore, a *new era* in our affairs; and, as we always keep running on in any direction, when we are once set going, I am not without hopes, that the Minister will, before this session is over, find his taxing code very much simplified, and his army of tax-gatherers very much reduced. But, we are arrived at a new era in another respect. Those sentiments of justice and humanity, and that love of freedom, which have been smothered for so many years past by the out-cry against Jacobins and Levellers and by the dread of revolution and bloodshed, have never been wholly extinguished, and they now begin to be openly expressed. Several of the Petitions have expressed disapprobation of taxing the people of England for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons. In that of the

town of *Lymington*, in Hampshire, were the following words: "Your petitioners were repeatedly assured by His Majesty's Ministers, that, on the termination of the war, ending with the Peace of Paris, the Property Tax should be renewed; but, in spite of promises, so often made to the people, that vile and odious tax was again imposed on them, in their opinion for the base purpose of re-establishing a tyrant on the throne of France, in direct hostility to the wishes, so often expressed, of the French nation. Your Petitioners cannot, therefore, view the projected renewal of the Property Tax but as a premium to be paid by this oppressed nation for the purpose of maintaining Louis 18th, nicknamed the *desired*, on the throne of France, in opposition to the wishes of the French people, and by the aid of a foreign army to be paid by this country."

These sentiments are not new to the minds of hundreds of thousands of the people of England; but, the open expression of them by any body of men, is wholly new. This is, in my view of the matter, a *great* point gained; a great point for *France* as well as for England; for, it must be quite clear, that, this nation being once sensible, being once thoroughly convinced, that its own misery has been produced by its intermeddling in the affairs of France, will not be easily prevailed upon to intermeddle a second time, if the French people should again rise to assert their rights. It is now fast becoming a general opinion, that the war ought never to have been begun by us against the French. The principles and objects of that war are now becoming clear to all men, in spite of a corrupt press. To *renew* delusion will, I hope, be impossible.

The truth is, that, as the fruit of English industry and the valour of Englishmen (including, in this appellation, our bretheren of Ireland and Scotland) have been the principal cause of the final success of what has been insolently termed "*legitimacy*," and which, in fact, is neither more nor less than the submission of nations to the absolute will of an hereditary master: the truth is, that if this detestable cause lose the support of England (and how scandalous it is to think of

its having her support!), that cause is wholly ruined; and the *legitimates* will soon find their situation much more perilous than ever.

If we look back at the history of the late wars, we see, that all the *legitimates* were subdued; that they were humbled in the dust; that they appeared to have no hope left; but, that the perseverance of this country alone, and the lavishing of her immense resources, *gained time* for all the humbled kings; and, in a lucky moment for them (produced by the vanity and ambition of Napoleon), poured forth the means of securing their restoration. The passions and prejudices of this people, worked upon by a crafty and corrupt press, were arrayed in favour of all that the cool sense of this same people would have held in abhorrence. These passions and prejudices have now, by the aid of that severe teacher, *misery*, been made to give way to the dictates of reason and justice; or, at least, these latter are fast returning to our minds. And, therefore, the *legitimates*, if they have any sense, will see that their only sound prop is actually slipping from beneath them.

This is a change singularly favourable to the cause of freedom all over the world, and affords much better ground for hope of the final success of that cause than any that has appeared for a quarter of a century. The Ministers and their minions have taken infinite pains to keep up the *glory delusion*, and to make the country believe, that it is necessary to its safety, that it should *maintain a high station in Europe*. So it is; but, the question is, *in what way* we ought to do that. There is no fear but we shall be at the head of every thing; and, one of the *follies* of Napoleon and of the republican rulers, was, to pretend, that we were, and must be, "*a second rate power*." This talk, which arose from mere vanity, did much of the mischief. Those who made use of it knew as little of the resources of England as they did of the English character. They appear to have had no idea, that there was not one single English Jacobin, who would not have sold the shirt off his back to purchase powder and ball, rather than have made a peace, in which it should have been allowed, that England was *second* to any nation upon earth. Yes,

it is very right that England should maintain a *high station* amongst nations. But, it is not right that she should be at the head of a league of *legitimates*. Her natural place is the head of the sons of freedom. She should stand high; always stand high; but it is not in the estimation of Despots, Popes, Jesuits and Dominican Monks, that she ought to stand high; it is not for her people to think it *glory* to have received a consecrated banner from his Holiness of Rome; it is not for them to wish to stand high with *Vandean*s and *Gossacks*. And, *ah* this the people now begin pretty clearly to understand.

While this change has been taking place in the public mind, as to taxes, some very serious inquiries have been begun as to *salaries*, &c. Instead of *reducing* the pay of persons in public employ, their pay has, in many cases, been actually augmented; and instances have been brought forward in the Secretary to the Admiralty and the Commissioners of Excise. One Croker, an Irish Barrister, who laboured so hard in the case of the Duke of York, has a salary very nearly as large as that of your President; and each Commissioner of Excise has nearly as many *pounds* annually as Mr. Monroe or Mr. Dallas has *dollars*. The falling off in their rents have, however, made the law-makers look into these things; and, before the session is over, I expect to see the nails of the Ministers pretty closely pared.

After the war, in the reign of Queen Anne, a most vigilant search was made, at the Queen's request, after the money, *which individuals had unjustly got from the public during the war*. Something of the same sort will, I hope, take place now. It may be a while before this will come; but, come it will I have no doubt. This would not only be an act of moral justice, but it would afford great relief to the country.

I have, in Number 8, given you an account of the *real state of the Prince Regent's health*, and in No. 10, I have informed you about the *prisoners in Newgate, condemned to death*. It is curious that these matters should have been stated by me, and the statements actually on their way to America, before the subjects were mentioned in any *public way* here.

Within a few days, Mr. BENNET has made a motion, in the House of Commons, for a return of all the prisoners in Newgate, waiting the decision of the Prince as to whether they are to live or die. It appears that there are 58 of them, and that some of them have been kept in this horrible state from December to this day. The Ministers said, at first, that, the Prince having a bad fit of the *gout*, they advised him not to come to London from Brighton; and, that it was *inconvenient* to assemble the law-officers at Brighton to advise him as to whom he ought to pardon. LORD MILTON having expressed his indignation at such an excuse, and another Member having shown, that no officer except the Lord Chancellor was wanted on such occasions, *besides the Recorder of London*; and the thing having roused the public a great deal, the Ministers now say, that the Prince *never heard* of the state of the prisoners, 'till he read an account of it in the debates! And, they say, that he is now better; that his *gout* is gone; that the feebleness in his feet, occasioned by the said *gout*, is nearly removed; and that he is going up to London forthwith. For more than three months we have been told (by the news-papers) that he was just about to remove; but now, I suppose, London will once more have the honour to possess him.

It was pity, that the Ministers should have thought it adviseable to keep the Recorder from his Royal Highness's presence on account of this *gout*. Many Councils have been held; the parliament has been opened by a commission signed by the Prince; the Marriage of his Daughter has been settled, and a Message, signed by him, has been sent to Parliament on the subject. It is pity (dont you think it is?), that the poor wretches in Newgate should never have been mentioned to the Prince, and that he should first hear of their situation through the common news-papers!

A very curious incident has happened (if what the news-papers say be true) as to audiences given by the Prince. But let me, while I think of it, state, that the corrupt part of the press has been almost daily telling the public of audiences given by the Prince, and of "*select parties*" at the Brighton Pavillion. What I am now

about to state is, however, curious in the extreme. Sir ROBERT WILSON's Lady has come over from Paris to obtain an audience of the Prince in behalf of her husband. It was, some weeks ago, announced in the news-papers, that her Ladyship was gone down to Brighton for this purpose; and, it has since been very ostentatiously stated, *that she has had an audience of the Royal Personage*. I suppose this fact may be true; but, I am very sure that the Ministerial news-papers state a falsehood, when they say, that "*Lady Wilson saw the Prince*;" for thousands are able to swear, and I for one, that Lady Wilson, though a most beautiful and amiable woman, IS STONE BLIND!

Now, be it observed, that Lady Wilson's business was to intreat in behalf of a prisoner. She went to the Prince to relieve the anxiety of herself, her husband, and children. Far be it from me to impute, that it was not just and laudible to pay immediate attention to her; and I most sincerely hope, that the *legitimates* will not dare touch a hair of the head of Sir Robert Wilson or of his gallant associates; but, it ought to be borne in mind, that the unhappy men, in the condemned cells in Newgate, have fathers and mothers and wives and children; and that these have their anxieties as well as other people. The mother of the Drum-boy, who was executed in 1812, actually dropped down dead when the fate of her son was announced to her. There are, probably, not less than 500 persons connected with the condemned prisoners. And is it *nothing* to relieve 500 anxious minds and aching hearts?

What indignation has been felt for half a century at the answer given to those who were gasping for breath in the Black-Hole of Calcutta! "*The Commander was asleep and no one dared awake him!*" The Prince had the *gout*, and the Ministers did not think it right to report to him, that many unhappy prisoners were waiting in anxious suspense to know his pleasure as to their life or death!

An attempt has been made to raise a *House-of-Brunswick* cry in consequence of some words uttered by Mr. Brougham a few nights ago. But, all that I shall do, with regard to this matter, is to insert below the passage of Mr. Brougham's

speech here alluded to, and the remarks, which by Castlereagh and others, have, as the news-papers tell us, been made on it.

The County of *Perth* and several other parts of Scotland have petitioned for the the Income Tax. As to *Perth*, at the head of which appears to have been the *Duke of Athol*, there is little matter of surprise. His Grace receives a large sum out of the taxes annually; and, he is too just and reasonable a man to expect the Ministers to pay him out of their own pockets. He is a considerate man, and knows that for the government to pay a grant, the government must have money to pay with. So does George Rose; and, therefore, the conduct of both, upon this occasion, has been perfectly consistent: much more so than that of those persons who are for large establishments and high salaries, to-day, and for low taxes to-morrow. But, as so many of the people of Scotland have petitioned for the Income Tax, it may not be amiss to see what proportion of it Scotland has been paying. For the last year

England paid £13,016,041

Scotland paid 1,255,924

Now, it is very certain, either that Scotland is a very insignificant country, or, that it does not pay its due share of the taxes. When we consider, besides, the very large share of *places* and *pensions*, enjoyed by the Scots; when we consider, that, for many years, very large sums of money have been paid by England to make roads, bridges, and canals in Scotland, while such undertakings, in England, are carried on by private means, one wonders how John Bull can have been such an egregious ass as to seem to acknowledge, that the people of Scotland are more industrious than he is, and even that their country is a finer country! To read the writings, published in that seat of all that is impudent, mean, corrupt, and persecuting, Edinburgh, one would imagine, that there was neither morality, learning, courage, industry, nor wealth in any other part of the kingdom than Scotland. It is a fact, which I have before stated in detail, and from official documents, that England, and Ireland too, have been, for many years, paying large sums in taxes to make canals, &c. in order to prevent people from emigrating from Scotland. These sums have been granted upon this very

ground, expressly stated in the reports on which the grants have been founded. To say nothing, at present, of the folly of this, what do you Americans think of its justice? What should you think of granting the money of the Union to make canals in Connecticut to find the people employment and to prevent them from migrating to Indiana?

Under any circumstances, at all times and seasons, this partiality to Scotland is a subject of just complaint; but, the facts merit pointed notice, when we see a considerable part of that country petitioning for a tax, which has been so loudly condemned in England. I have often acknowledged the great merits of Scotchmen; but, I will never allow them to have all the merit that exists in the world; and, as to politics they are in general worthy of any thing but imitation. The truth is, that the people of Scotland are held in a state of vassalage unknown in England. The rod of authority reaches, in that country, to the very school-masters. "Education," indeed! God forbid that I should ever see the people of England enjoying the benefit of such education! An education that is very well calculated to make clever sycophants and excisemen; but which is good for nothing else. There are many sound and zealous politicians in Scotland; but, I have never met with one of them, who did not most bitterly complain of the general servility of his country.

I will now return to the Duke of Athol, and will speak of his affair with perfect freedom; but, I will not do it on this side of the Atlantic!

WM. COBBETT.

## "HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK."

The out-cry which has been made, especially in the Courier news-paper, about what has been called an attack upon this House, merits, at this time, particular attention. Because, a similar out-cry was set up in 1809, when the Duke of York's affair was brought forward by MR. WARDELE. I will, therefore, here insert the Debate, in which, as is pretended, the attack was made.

“**MR. BROUGHAM.**—If the House should agree, as he hoped they would, to the motion which an Hon. Member had so properly made, they would acquire the lasting gratitude of the country. They would for ever deter all man in authority from squandering the public money. They would shew that no Court favour could avail any person a penny, much less avail him 1000*l.* a-year :—[Hear, hear, hear!] And that to entitle any one to public remuneration, he must be actively serving the public, and not be the indolent holder of an office kept in existence for the sole purpose of continuing to him its salary. [Hear, hear, hear!] He repeated, that if the House consented to the motion of the Hon. Member, who deserved so well of the public by his having given Parliament an opportunity to pronounce on this question, they would be indeed entitled to the confirmed gratitude of the country. They would prove that it was too late to allow a system of blind and profligate expenditure of the public money, founded, not on the public exigency, but on Court favoritism alone, to continue for a single hour. [Hear, hear, hear!] He would have those who had access to persons in high stations remember what had taken place in former days. It was not by squandering one sum, it was not by the commission of one profligate act, it was by the general determination not to regard that universal voice from one end of the Island to the other, which loudly cried for retrenchment in the smallest as well as in the greatest of the national expences—it was the turning of a deaf ear to that awful voice of the people, which proclaimed ‘there is no such thing in England at present as a trifling or an inconsiderable extravagance’—this was the conduct that threatened the most fatal consequences. [Hear, hear, hear!] Much better would it be to listen to that solemn voice than to build monuments to the descendants of the victims of legitimacy. [Hear, hear, hear!] Much better would it be, instead of doing honour to that family, to profit by its example; [hear, hear, hear!] to recollect, that by thwarting the prejudices, opposing the wishes, and pressing on the sore

places of the nation, they were at length ousted from its throne. [Hear, hear, hear!] And yet their conduct was comparatively harmless and innocent. They were in a great measure betrayed by the tenderness of their consciences, by the nicety of their religious scruples. Far otherwise must those be estimated who entertain no scruples of religion, who experienced no tenderness of conscience; who, in utter disregard of the feelings of an oppressed and insulted nation, proceeded from one wasteful expenditure to another; who decorated and crowded their houses with the splendored results of their extravagance; who associated with the most profligate of human beings; who, when the jails were filled with wretches, could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements, to end the sad suspense between life and death; who, alone, or surrounded only by an establishment of mercenaries, and unable to trust to the attachment of the nation for their security, yet desired the House of Commons to enable them to lavish on their favourites the money wrung from the people of England. [Hear, hear, hear!]

“**MR. W. POLE** thought that if any Gentlemen on one side of the House said that he had no respect whatever for Gentlemen on the other side, no great disposition to candour could be expected from that Gentlemen. But the disposition and principles of the Learned Gentlemen to whom he alluded could not, he presumed, be doubted, after what had fallen from him that night; not merely relative to his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh), but with respect to his insinuations regarding the illustrious Personage who at present presided over the government of the country. [Hear, hear! on the Ministerial Benches.] For that Learned Gentlemen, whose words he had taken down, thought proper to observe, that ‘the conduct of the House of Stuart was somewhat excusable, because it was the result of religious scruples and some tenderness of conscience, but that recent conduct proceeded from those who had no scruples or tenderness of conscience whatever.’ Such were the insinuations which, in his (Mr. Pole’s) mind were utterly inexcusable, and left no doubt of the Learn-

"ed Gentleman's meaning. [Hear, hear, hear!]

"MR. BROUGHAM (*who had been out*) begged to know whether what had reached him with regard to some words, in allusion to his speech, which had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, was correct? He (Mr. B.) regretted that he had not been in his place when those words were used; but if he had been correctly informed, and he was certain that he had not been wilfully misinformed, that Right Honourable Gentleman had said, that he (Mr. B.) from principles which he had developed in the course of the evening, held a hostile and unfriendly feeling towards the illustrious House of Brunswick. [Cries of No, No!] He (Mr. B.) thought such a charge no tripping one against any public man, and however humble he might be in public estimation, one which he should not submit to. He should sit down and wait to hear the explanation of the Right Honourable Member.

"MR. WELLESLEY POLE replied, that what he had said was still in the recollection of the House, and he was certain they would agree in saying, that he had not used any words in the sense in which the Honourable and Learned Member (Mr. Brougham) had just stated.

"MR. BROUGHAM observed, that he was then to understand, that the Right Honourable Member did not only not use the words alluded to, but had made no allusion as to the unmasking of his (Mr. B.'s) principles.

"M. WELLESLEY POLE repeated, that what he had said was in the recollection of the House. He had merely observed, that from what he had heard from the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, and from the principles which he had developed in the course of his speech, he was satisfied at his not agreeing with the measures of his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh), and he had expressed a hope, that those measures should continue to be such as should not meet with that Honourable and Learned Member's approbation, but in saying thus much, he had not meant to accuse the Honourable and Learned Member of any hostility to the House of Brunswick.

"MR. BROUGHAM rose amidst loud cries of "Question," and observed that he did not wish to delay the House unnecessarily; but the charge which had been made, though perhaps of no consequence to Gentlemen on the other side, was one of importance to him. It was also, in one sense, of consequence to the House; for he conceived that if such words had been used as those on which he had remarked, it was the bounden duty of the House to exert its authority as on similar occasions, and to animadvert strongly on them. [Cries of Spoke, spoke! Order, order!] Those words had been denied, and all he should say farther on them was, *that he was as sincere and as warm in his attachment to the House of Brunswick as the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite* (Mr. W. Pole) or any of his colleagues, though he had taken a different method of shewing his attachment, by wishing them better advisers. [Hear, hear! and loud cries of Question, question!]

"MR. BANKES, in adverting to what had fallen from the last Speaker, expressed his regret at some passages which it contained, passages which he himself had doubted at the moment whether he was not bound to animadvert on, and to call for explanation of their meaning [Hear, hear, hear! from the Treasury Benches.] Those words to which he alluded had given him much pain, because he felt great respect for the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who used them, and who he believed was not aware of their import at the time.

The Courier, however, not content with Mr. BROUGHAM's clear and full declaration of his "*sincere and warm* attachment to the House of Brunswick;" not being able to forgive him for his description of an imaginary character, falls upon the Learned Gentleman in the following effusion of loyal zeal.

"That MR. BROUGHAM could have uttered so atrocious a *libel*, or that the Commons of England could have permitted it to be uttered, is *impossible*. The thin shelter thrown up by hypothesis and reference, still leaves the mean-

ing so palpable and direct, that no Jury could fail to pronounce the Sovereign of England to be the party alluded to. He has lately ordered a monument to be erected to the last of the STUARTS, to whom his father humanely allowed a yearly sum to render his declining years comfortable. Their example is held out as a warning to him. They were dethroned, one of them beheaded, for conduct harmless, nay, innocent, compared with that of the REGENT, who has neither religious scruples, nor tenderness of conscience: who oppresses and insults the nation; who wastes the public money in extravagance, associates with the most profligate of human beings, and cannot suspend his amusements for a moment to end the sad suspense between life and death of wretches crowding our jails (alluding to the delay of the Recorder's Report.) Let any man read the passage and doubt if he can that the REGENT is meant. The man would be laughed at who should start a doubt on the subject in a private company. The libel is not so much on the public conduct of the Chief Magistrate as upon the private conduct of the man. He has neither conscience nor religion! His companions are the most profligate of human beings! So coarse and detestable an attack upon the Sovereign never was made in Parliament or out of it before; upon a Sovereign, too, who has conducted this country to the highest pitch of glory and of power;—upon a Sovereign confined to a sick bed!—It is most brutal. Can the Commons pass over in silence, in consequence of a subterfuge, that which a Jury could not fail of pronouncing a treasonable libel? And will they still go to the foot of the Throne declaring they are the faithful Commons of the Crown?—The vague, the wanton, the general nature of the charges, admit of no refutation. It would be to countenance the slander to attempt to answer. In imputing this foul calumny to MR. BROUGHAM there is a peculiar malice. He has been the official adviser of the wife, and, it is said, he pretends to give counsel to the daughter. He is, too, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, of that Opposition which aims at be-

coming the servants of the Sovereign whom he is said to have represented as a monster! If such outrages pass with impunity, there is an end of the Constitution. If the Sovereign may be stigmatized as the veriest wretch on the face of the land, away with all respect for "hired Magistrates, Parliaments, and kings"—"No Magistrates"—"No Taxes"—"The People"—The Mob—confusion for ever!

But when the House of Commons meet, it will, no doubt, rescue itself from the suspicion of having suffered so abominable an attack to be made upon the Sovereign, whose character and person are by the Constitution held sacred. As for "the most profligate of human beings," whom the REGENT makes his associates, they will of course look after their own character. If MR. BROUGHAM had used the language so falsely imputed to him, they would look to him for a disavowal of it. Nay, they would insist upon his acknowledging that the private associates of the REGENT are fit company for any Gentleman. If they did not, they would pronounce their own exclusion from society."

That the closing part of this effusion of loyalty is intended to rouse up some persons to shoot Mr. Brougham, or to cut his throat, there can be no doubt, but it will not answer its end; for, either there are no persons answering to the descriptions of Mr. Brougham, or, if there are any such persons, fighting is the last mode of obtaining vengeance that they will resort to. I have a particular dislike to these *House of Brunswick out-cries*. They always indicate a bad cause. And, indeed, as Mr. Brougham has since observed, and, as I observed about ten years ago, I do not see how a man is to refrain from making pretty free with the personal conduct and character of any one, whose personal conduct and character are brought forwards as grounds for the confidence, or the proceedings, of the House. If, for instance, the House were asked to grant a sum of money to a king, on the ground of the king being a very



frugal manager of money, would it be improper to inquire into the facts, upon which the proposition rested? In short, it clearly appears to me, that, if it be improper to *censure*, it is equally improper to *praise*, the king in the speeches in parliament. To admit the contrary of this would be to make it a rule, that Members of parliament are never to open their lips about the king, or his family, except in the way of *praise*; than which nothing could more completely stamp them with the character of parasites. The author and printer of the EXAMINER news-paper (two brothers) were put into separate jails for two years, and were loaded with heavy fines, for publishing what was deemed a *libel* on the Prince Regent. But, this publication was provoked by the *Morning Post*, which had put forth a string of most fulsome falsehoods in the way of eulogy on the Prince. Now, what was to be done in this case? Was the eulogy to pass uncontradicted? Was it to go forth as the public voice? Yet, if to contradict it was to be guilty of a libel, forth it must go in that light. But, in *Parliament*, things are not come to this pass. *There* assertions of any sort may be met with contradictions; and, therefore, in order to avoid all contests, with regard to the king and his family, the best way is for the Ministers to make no assertions, relative to their character and conduct. Praises of this kind should be left wholly to that part of the press, which is disposed to deal in them; for here, after the example of the Examiner, there is no fear of contradiction or criticism.—The truth is, however, that, amongst other changes for the better, dawning upon us in consequence of our enlightening miseries, the fulsome and slavish language with regard to the king and his family is fast going out of fashion. “THE Sovereign—the FOOT of the throne—laying addresses, &c. at His Majesty’s FEET—the best of kings—

“the father of his people—a devoted people—the Monarch,—&c. &c.” Which are only of about 25 years standing, and which are unworthy of an English king and the English people, are not now everlastingly upon the tongues of even the servile crew that, at one time, seemed to know the use of hardly any other words. The apparent success of the *legitimates* has had an effect, in England, precisely the opposite of what most people expected.

#### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

A Bill is now in progress through the House of Commons, the object of which is to establish an uniformity of Weights and Measures throughout England and Scotland, and it will no doubt receive that mature deliberation which its great importance demands.

The principle object of this Bill is to abolish all the present measures of capacity, that is, all liquid and dry measures, and to adopt one uniform measure throughout the realm in their stead, which is to be ascertained by weight instead of gauging as heretofore; thus the weight of 10lb. avoirdupoise of pure water, at the temperature of  $56\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, is to be the new gallon, and all its divisions and multiples to be in proportion.

This gallon has been found to contain 276,481 cubic inches, which is nearly 20 per cent. more than our Wine gallon, 3 per cent. more than the corn or Winchester gallon, and about 2 per cent. less than the ale gallon.

No alteration is to take place in our weights or long measure; for the latter the present Parliamentary yard is retained, which is to be corrected, if ever necessary, by the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds of mean time in the latitude of

London. The standard weight is to be the pound Avoirdupois, which is to be occasionally adjusted by measures of pure water of the aforesaid temperature, being equal in weight to 27 cubic inches, and six hundred and forty eight thousand parts of a cubic inch of said water. It should be observed that the troy pound has been hitherto the standard by which other weights have been adjusted, and it was recommended to be continued so by the Committee of weights and measures appointed by the House of Commons, in 1758 for the following important reasons, "Because it is the weight best known to our Laws, and that which has been longest in use; that by which our Coins are weighed, and which is best known to the rest of the world; that to which our learned countrymen have referred in comparing ancient and modern weights; and that which has been divided into the smallest proportions of parts."—*See Kelly's Cambist, Vol. I. p. 15.*

The reason given for adopting the Avoirdupois, instead of the Troy Standard, is not noticed in the bill; but in the report of the committee, printed last year, it is stated to be, because a cube foot of pure water, of the above temperature weighs 1000 ounces Avoirdupois. This weight however as well as that of the gallon might be with equal, perhaps with superior accuracy, expressed and recorded in troy grains.

This new system is to commence on the 24th June, 1816. All bargains, sales, and contracts made in Great Britain must be effected according to the above standards, under the penalty of forfeiture, that

is of making null and void all bargains of articles measured with a different standard. Severe penalties are likewise annexed to other misdemeanours relating to this new system; but it is probable that this bill will undergo many changes and modifications before it is finally carried into a law, and it may therefore be premature to enter minutely into particulars.

It may be observed that a uniformity in weights and measures has been considered of the greatest importance in all commercial countries, and yet in no large nation has it been ever fully established, except in France; and though this uniformity was enforced by the strong power of an arbitrary government, it required many years to carry it into general effect, nor is it yet fully established. Hence it may be inferred that one year, as allowed in the proposed bill, will not afford sufficient time for preparation; and as we have no experience of so important a change, we cannot form any accurate estimate of the great trouble, expense, confusion and litigation which must inevitably occur during the period of alteration. Not only in our Excise Customs, Shops, Inns, and Public Houses, &c. but almost in every private house throughout the kingdom must changes be made; every pewter pot must be melted, every measure altered, and therefore the bill will require not only great considerations in its plans and provisions, but likewise much indulgence in its execution, particularly in the early stages of its adoption. Nor will the change of vessels or measures be the only object of discontent and suspicion, but an alteration in prices must likewise follow,

which will open a door to every kind of fraud and imposition.

Upon a question of such vast importance it is natural to think of other plans, or theories, for effecting a measure which, though productive of much temporary inconvenience, may ultimately lead to permanent advantage. The trouble and expence would certainly be very considerably diminished if our present wine gallon had been adopted as the standard, and its weight could be ascertained with as much accuracy as the new standard gallon; nor does the advantage of a round number seem at all to equal the convenience of adopting some vessel already established, and making all the rest conform to it. The question will likewise very naturally occur, if a great change is about to take place, why not adopt the *decimal* system and standard as recently established in France, and which is universally allowed to be the most simple and convenient system ever devised. The mercantile world would find great advantage in such an assimilation, as it must greatly facilitate the commercial operations between the two countries, and other nations would probably follow an example so worthy of universal adoption. The decimal system would likewise greatly simplify our most regulations, if any change in the standard

of our coins should be deemed advisable and a corresponding change might be easily made in their weight.

This question which is of such immense magnitude does not appear to have yet excited that attention or inquiry which its importance demands. If it be good for England and Scotland, why not extend it to Ireland, which is so intimately connected in commercial as well as political intercourse, all other British colonies too should be included.

Thus, it appears in every view, partial and defective, and calculated only to increase the confusion and fraud which it proposes to remedy.

The history of weights and measures sufficiently shows the great difficulty of undertaking to equalize them, or even to alter any usage that custom has established for the regulation of property. It is well known that more than thirty acts of parliament have passed to enforce a uniformity of Corn measures, and all without effect. Hence it is that much time and alterations have been bestowed on the subject in every age by learned individuals, societies, and Parliaments, but hitherto their plans have proved abortive, and their attempts impracticable.

A. B.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER VII.

*John Bull dangerously ill.—His disorder described. — Consultation of Physicians.—Their divers opinions as to the causes of the disorder, and as to the most proper remedies.—Shyness of the Physicians in giving their prescriptions.—The probable termination of the disorder.*

Batley, 6th April, 1816.

In spite of all your anger against John Bull on account of the proceedings of Capt. Henry in peace, and on account of those of the Cochrane and Cockburns and Rosses in war, as detailed in the memorable "Exposition" of February 1815, I cannot help hoping, and, indeed, believing, that you still have a sort of sneaking kindness towards the Old Gentleman; and that, having before heard of his illness, you will be anxious to know how he is now, what is the nature of his complaint, and what hopes his medical friends have of his recovery. But, before I proceed to give you information as to these matters, I cannot refrain from observing, how the Cossack Priests and Governor Strong and John's friends at Hertford and Essex and Mr. Goodloe Harper and Judge Martin and Mr. Otis and Mr. Timothy Pickering and my old friend the talking and wise Mr. John Randolph of Virginia; I cannot help observing how these worthy personages, together with all the whole body of the New England Noblesse, Grand Crosses,

Commanders and all, must have been astounded, when they first heard John's illness announced through the Speeches in his own parliament. They had, indeed, heard me *predict* his illness; but they, I dare say, like their fellow *loyalists* on this side of the water, compared my predictions to the croaking of a raven, or the howling of a dog, or the screeching of an owl. They have, nevertheless, come out true, at last; and, as it is certain, that Old John is in a very dangerous way, his friends must be anxious, not only to hear how he is at present, but what are the hopes of his recovery. I shall, therefore, give them and you an account of a recent consultation of his *physicians*, stating the opinions of each of them as to the *cause* of his illness and also as to the *remedy* to be applied.

The disorder of this Country, or, to drop figure, the *distress* which prevails, has been before described to you. It is of a most extensive nature. It has plunged more than one half of the nation into *deep suffering*. But, of the nature of the distress we have already seen enough in former Numbers; though we must listen to a little more upon the subject by and by.

The debate, or, rather *consultation*, which took place in St. Stephen's Chapel on the 28th of March deserves particular attention. You were before informed, that Mr. WESTERN (a Member for the County of Essex) had brought forward a list of resolutions upon the *distresses* of the Country. These Resolutions, together with my comments on them, you will find in No. 12 of this Volume; that is to say, under date of 23d of March. On the 28th the House went into a Committee on

these resolutions. Here it was that the Members gave their opinions, relative to the *cause* of the complaint and to the *remedy* proper to be applied. I am now about, in the first place, to give you a brief analysis of what each speaker said; then, I shall endeavour to show you what the points of difference, in their opinions, are, as to *cause* and as to *remedy*; and, as I go along, I shall throw into *Notes*, an account of the *character of each speaker*; for, as I mean to make you all well acquainted with what is doing here, and of the real state of things, you ought to know the *actors*. I shall, therefore, in the form of *Notes*, give you an account of the character, state of life, seat, &c. of every man, to whose words I refer.

MR. LITTLETON (See Note A) opened the discussion, by observing, that a petition, on the subject, had been presented from the County of Worcester, complaining of extravagance in the public expenditure; calling for economy; disapproving of expending, in such a time as this, large sums upon public buildings and in the purchase of works of art, praying for the abolition of sinecures, and for a check on the Civil List expences; and, finally, *deprecating all interference in the policy of other kingdoms*—This is quite new language altogether; but, the *last* sentiment is invaluable as coming from a meeting of the whole county of Worcester, Nobles, Clergy, and all, who, as you will perceive, now express the very sentiments, *which the Jacobins expressed*, in 1793! In the petition of Wiltshire the same sentiments are contained (See No. 13 this Vol.); in that of Somersetshire, Middlesex, and the City of London these sentiments are echoed and re-echoed; but, in that of Somersetshire there is a prayer, that *our shame* may not be perpetuated by monuments of *Stones and Mortar*.

MR. WILKINSON (B) then followed Mr. Littleton. After saying that the state of

the country was very alarming, he said that the primary cause was an accumulation of produce beyond the demand; that, this produced a fall in prices; that fall produced a diminution of the quantity of paper-money in circulation; that from these causes *a transfer of property had taken place from the tax-payers to the tax receivers*. Then, as to *remedy*, he wanted the Malt Duty further reduced, wanted the duty taken off English Spirits, and wanted such duties imposed as would prevent the importation of corn, wool, flax-seed, rape-seed, clover and other seeds, all which, except corn, are now freely imported according to law.—I cannot refrain from observing here, that, if this opinion about the *transfer of property* be not perfectly correct, I must be content to pass for an ass, having stated it, urged it, and re-urged it, over and over again, at different times, for the last 12 years! Truth must prevail first or last.—Mr. WESTERN concluded with the following motion: "That the consumption of Barley, and, consequently, the demand for it, were very materially reduced by the excessive duties, to which it was subjected, and that these duties ought to be repealed."

MR. BRAND (C) came next. He began by a description of the distress, which prevailed, and which description I will give you in his own words; because I wish Governor Strong and persons Osgooda and Parish and Gardiner to hear the description of "*the world's last hope*" from the lips of those, whose statements they will not even affect to doubt. They do not doubt my word; but, they affect to do it. They shall, therefore, have the description, in this instance, from Mr. BRAND, a member for the County of Hertford. He said, that "His Majesty's Ministers were not aware of the distress which prevailed throughout the country. The alarming and extraordinary sufferings of the lower classes must

"excite the sympathy of every well con-  
 "stituted mind. No additional priva-  
 "tions could be demanded of them; and  
 "unless their present distress were *imme-*  
 "*diately* relieved, they must groan under  
 "wants at which every good man must  
 "revolt. *He had anticipated* in the  
 "course of last Session, the situation to  
 "which the agricultural labourers would  
 "be reduced, and every thing which he  
 "had then ventured to express as a mat-  
 "ter of prophecy, *had actually come to*  
 "*pass.* The time had arrived when the  
 "occupation of land had been suspended.  
 "There were many parts of the rich  
 "counties in which the agricultural  
 "classes laboured under a state of dis-  
 "tress which must *rend the heart of every*  
 "*person that was capable of feeling.* He  
 "could state many facts to the House  
 "which had come to his personal know-  
 "ledge, and had received various com-  
 "munications on the subject, which de-  
 "manded the most serious attention. A  
 "magistrate of the greatest respecta-  
 "bility, in one of the most opulent parts  
 "of Cambridgeshire, had sent him a let-  
 "ter that morning, in which he stated  
 "the extent of the distress that prevailed  
 "among the labouring classes. He would  
 "take the liberty of reading the following  
 "extract: 'I am sure you will not be  
 "surprised, after what I mentioned on  
 "a former occasion, to hear the dis-  
 "tresses of those who are engaged in  
 "agricultural pursuits in this neigh-  
 "bourhood. Only *eightpence a day* is  
 "given to strong, healthy, single men,  
 "who are capable of the greatest  
 "labour.' (*Hear, hear!*) *Dreadful as*  
 "*this situation was, he feared a much*  
 "*worse state of things.*—Shortly be-  
 "fore he left the country, a respectable  
 "farmer, residing on that spot which  
 "Camden had called the garden of Eng-  
 "land, came to ask his advice respecting  
 "the payment of *poors' rates*; *he was*  
 "*the only remaining cultivator in that*

"*part of the country, and had become*  
 "chargeable with all the *poors' rates* of  
 "the parish. When he was asked where  
 "the other occupiers were, he replied,  
 "that they had been obliged to abandon  
 "their farms, and *the landlords would*  
 "*not occupy the land, lest they should*  
 "*become liable to the rates.* He was  
 "told, that, under these circumstances,  
 "he must bear the burthen. 'But, pray  
 "tell me,' said he, 'when I leave my  
 "farm, what is to become of the poor?'  
 "I replied, 'They must go to the neigh-  
 "bouring parishes.' This had been the  
 "fact; but as the surrounding parishes  
 "were unable to sustain this crowd of  
 "transfers, *the poor had spread them-*  
 "*selves out, and occasioned devastation*  
 "*and distress wherever they proceeded.*  
 "This circumstance alone must con-  
 "vince the Committee of the absolute  
 "necessity of applying *some immediate*  
 "*relief,* or this country would, in a very  
 "short period, be reduced to a situation  
 "in which it would be *impossible to apply*  
 "*a remedy.*"—Now, parson PARISH,  
 what do you think of this? When you  
 and your fellow-labourers were forming  
 processions; when you were joining with  
 the Russian Consul and other friends of  
 "Social Order" in putting up thanks-  
 giving for the entry of those Social beings,  
 the Cossacks, into Paris; when you were  
 chaunting, with sweet nasal twang, the  
 praises of John Bull's Masters, and call-  
 ing them "the Bulwark of Religion,"  
 did you suppose, that they would bring  
 things to this pass? Did you suppose,  
 that all the sacrifices of blood and trea-  
 sure, which John was making, would  
 yield him this sort of reward? If you  
 did suppose so; if you did expect to see  
 the English people plunged into all this  
 misery, in consequence of the war, you  
 ought to be counted amongst our most  
 cruel enemies; and, if you did not  
 expect it, you must be men too shallow,  
 too weak, in short, too foolish, to merit

any degree of public confidence in future. This result, or consequence, of the war, is a sad blow to the *Hertford Convention* and canting tribe of *Benevolents*, who, with the word benevolence on their lips, have been, for years, applauding measures of the most atrocious and cruel nature and tendency. Nay, this description of persons in America, by the encouragement which their language and acts gave to the enemies of freedom in Europe, have really a portion of our present sufferings to answer for. Their newspapers (the only ones which reached England from America) were quoted by our hireling press; the sentiments, which they contained, sentiments always hostile to freedom, were flung in our faces as a *proof*, that *even the people of America* were on the side of the war that our government was carrying on. The amount of the mischief that these men did in this way is not easily calculated; but, it is certain that the extent of the mischief they did us had no other limit than that of their power; and, I am quite satisfied, that I can, whenever it shall be thought worth while, prove to the conviction of any unprejudiced mind, that, *to the aristocrats of America*, and to them alone, we owe all that part of our Debt which was created by the last American war, and to them both countries owe the shedding of rivers of blood. It was the opinion, that *the American Government had secretly leagued with Napoleon to destroy the naval power of England*; it was this opinion imbibed in England that made the people of England really call for that war, and for its continuance after March 1814. And, the firm belief in this charge against the American government we owed to the "*Benevolent*" priests of that country, which were constantly quoted by our hireling press, and which finally produced and prolonged the war. So, parson Parish, you see, that you have a good deal to answer for; and, really, when

you now hear whole counties of "*the fast-anchored Isle*" now putting forth the sentiments, which your opponents have all along held, if your *shame* be little, your impudence must be monstrously great. Not, mind, that I am disposed to *ridicule* your appellation of "*the fast-anchored Isle*;" but, the truth is, that it was *not to England* that you felt attachment. It was to the cause and the efforts, which were hostile to freedom; and to these you felt attachment, because they favoured your own views of religious domination and of political revenge and ambition.—From this digression I proceed to the REMEDY of Mr. BRAND, who wished for duties on wool and seeds imported; also a change in the *poor-laws*; and further for something to be done about *tythes*, which he called "*a destructive impost*."—Stop with me here, a moment, Parson GARDINER; and, let me recal to your mind, that, when the war against the republicans of France was begun, the Clergy in England were amongst the loudest in its favour. Nay, it is well known, that the cause was said to be more peculiarly the cause of the *Church*. It is also well known, that the Clergy have all along been most zealous in support of the war; that they anxiously sought the restoration of the Bourbons in France, with their long litter of priests at their heels; and, that, now when the work of butchering Protestants has recommenced, not one single meeting of the Clergy of the Church of England has been held upon the subject. Well, Parson Gardiner, is it not curious, that this same war for "*Social Order and our Holy Religion*" should have produced a state of things, which induce even Members of parliament to call *tythes* a "*destructive impost*," and seriously to propose to do something about them? Is this not a curious thing? Here is the nation in a state of shocking distress in consequence of the Debt created by the war. The



war, then, has produced *shocking distress*; and, one of the proposed remedies is, to give *relief* to the farmer on the score of *tythes*, which are called a "*destructive impost*." Do you not think, Mr. OSGOODE, that your Reverend brethren in this country may soon be led to think, that they were not so very wise, when they urged on the war for the Bourbons? For my part, I care little about the tythes. I know that it is fallacious to view them in the light of a destructive impost: but, if "the friends of Social Order and our Holy Religion" have a mind to view them in that light, upon my honour I have no objection to it, and am quite willing to leave the Social Order people and the Clergy to settle the matter in their own way, being very certain, that, do what they will, and do it when they will, that which they will do will, in the end, be beneficial to the cause of freedom all over the world.

LORD LACELLES (D) spoke next after Mr. Brand. He said, that the CAUSE of the distress was the *alteration in the value of the Currency*. He objected to duties on wool imported, on account of the injury it would do to manufacturers. *The best relief was a reduction of taxes*, he said; but that he did not think, that much good could arise from the *interference* of the House, which, notwithstanding the notions that prevailed, "*was not omnipotent*."—In which last opinion I most heartily concur with his Lordship; but, I humbly presume to believe, that the parliament has the power to *reduce the taxes*, and, I will venture to assure the Noble person, that, if it would but reduce the taxes to about 30 millions a year, it might safely separate to-morrow, and leave the people to re-start in a career of prosperity.

COL. WOOD (E) Member for Breconshire, followed Lord Lacelles. He agreed, that the principal CAUSE of the distress was the *alteration in the currency*. His REMEDIES were the taking the tax off *salt*, and imposing duties on *cheese* imported. He did not approve of taking off the duties on English spirits; he, on the contrary, wished them to be *added to*, that more beer might be used. He praised the measure of reducing the Malt-Tax; said that the people of England loved beer very much, and would now be enabled to get more of it than they had of

late years. He wished the tax to be taken off the riding horses of little farmers; and he expressed his belief, that some *new measure about tythes* would be *favourable to religion*; and, that it was a pleasing reflection, that *peace* was now come to give us *leisure* to attend to these domestic affairs.—I give my hearty assent to the proposition of the gallant Colonel, that the people are *extremely* fond of beer, especially if a large proportion of malt be employed in the manufacture of it; and, if he can but as easily obtain the assent of the Clergy to the proposition, that *doing something about tythes* would be favourable to religion, I should really begin to hope, that the House would soon enter upon the remedy of *parliamentary reform*, without which, I am fully persuaded, that the country will go on from bad to worse.

MR. CURWEN (F) began by pronouncing a high eulogium on the diligence and accuracy, which his honourable friend, Mr. WESTERN, had shown in the collection of his information, and on the great ability which he had displayed in laying it before the House; but, he was sorry to say it, he *differed* from his honourable friend both with regard to the cause of the distress and to the remedy which ought to be applied. He said, that there was *no surplus* produce; that the CAUSE was the *withdrawing of a large part of the paper-money lately in circulation*; that this, and this alone, caused prices to fall. His REMEDY: a loan, *from the government to the farmers*, of 12 millions: the loan to each farmer not to exceed half a year's rent: the government to have joint security of landlord and tenant. He agreed, that Mr. Western's *pawning plan* might do as far as related to London and its vicinity. Wished for a radical change in the poor-laws; and was very desirous to see *some measure adopted about tythes*.—When I came to Mr. CURWEN's name, immediately after the speech of Colonel Wood, who had so highly extolled the taste of the people for beer, I expected to hear the Colonel's doctrines most ably controverted, the former gentleman having written and published a book of considerable bulk, the chief object of which is, to convince the people of England, that strong beer is a very bad beverage, and that *milk* is the drink, to which they ought to stick from the first



to the last moment of their existence. Whether this gentleman will obtain the *loan* for us from government, I know not; but, I am sure he will fail, if his arguments in favour of the loan do not prove more successful than his arguments in favour of milk, as a substitute for beer; for, having actually tried the force of the book upon more than a dozen of my servants, at different times, I am able to state positively, that, though I read it with all the emphasis that I am master of, there was not one man of them who did not, at the end of the lecture, laugh in my face.—There was one observation of Mr. CURWEN which calls for a little notice here. He said, that he once saw, in Norfolk (at Norwich) 100 farmers, who were worth from 5,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* each. “*Proud sight!*” exclaimed he; “such as no other country can present!”—With all due deference for the superior judgment and taste of the proposer of the loan of 12 millions and the author of the encomium on milk, I beg leave to say, that I differ with him in opinion with regard to the *sight* here mentioned. I do not stop my view at the great, fat, rosy-gill’d farmer, in England, any more than I would at the not less great, fat, and rosy-gill’d Monk in Spain or Portugal. When I see a great farmer, I know that he has from 40 to a 100 poor wretches of *paupers*, or of *half starved labourers*, at home; and, if he were to bring all these with their rags and long beards and lank jaws and sunk eyes and scabby heads; if the 100 farmers, whom Mr. Curwen saw at Norwich, had brought their five or six thousand of these poor creatures along with them, the “*sight*” would not have been so very “*proud*,” though, as I verily believe, it would have been a sight to be seen “*in no other country on earth*,” thanks to the war, by which we have restored the Bourbons and loaded ourselves with 60 millions of taxes a year. Instead of these 100 English farmers, with their five or six thousand of miserable wretches left at home, I should prefer 500 American farmers, not worth more than 3,000*l.* any one of them, but who would leave no miserable wretches at home. I should think this a much *prouder sight*; and so, I am persuaded, would Mr. Curwen, if he could but see it.

Mr. LESLIE FOSTER (G) said we were *arrived at a dilemma*; that we must sub-

mit to a *subtraction from British Capital*, or continue to contend against the low prices of foreign markets. His REMEDY was an exclusion of foreign corn.

SIR JOHN NEWPORT (H) said the CAUSE of the distress was the *great load of taxes*. His REMEDY non-importation of agricultural produce, especially wool.

MR. PEEL (I) said, that, great as the distress was in England, it was *still greater in Ireland*, where no relief whatever had been given. He stated no cause; but his REMEDY was a preference of the produce of Ireland before the produce of other countries; and was happy to state that a bill was about to be brought in to protect Ireland against the importation of foreign butter.

MR. ROBINSON (K) made a speech, in which his principal object appeared to be to prepare the ground for *rejecting all the propositions relative to a check to importation*. He said, that, if this scheme were acted upon to any considerable extent, it would cut up commerce by the roots. He thought that Mr. Western’s arguments in favour of non-importation were fallacious, and would appear so upon examination.—Mr. ROBINSON was right; but, they had been *examined* in my No. 12 of this Volume; that is to say, in the Number of 23rd of March; and, if examined to the end of time, I defy any one to show the fallacy of the propositions in a much clearer or stronger light. Indeed, the Resolutions stand there convicted of total inefficacy, except that which I allowed to be efficacious; namely, *the taking off of taxes on Milk*, provided they were not imposed on any other articles, or in any other shape.

MR. FRANKLAND LEWIS (L) began by regretting that his honourable friend, who spoke last, (and who is at the head of the Board of Trade) seemed to hold out no hope of any thing being intended, by the ministers, to be done for the interests of agriculture. This gave him great uneasiness, though he did not pretend to impute blame. “He would,” he said, “entreat the House, however, not to let the agriculture, the main interest of the state, fall into decay, without deliberately considering every measure that might avert such a calamity. It was not this or that branch of manufactures, it was not Spitalfields or Coventry, whose existence was at stake: it was

"that of England itself, to which all  
 "other interests were mere appendages.  
 "The question was, whether the land-  
 "owners of England shall be reduced to  
 "the lowest rank in the scale of society.  
 "If they were pressed down to the earth,  
 "then would perish the safeguards of the  
 "Constitution—the frame of the whole of  
 "English society; and, though the lan-  
 "guage might remain, *England would*  
 "*never be again that for which she had*  
 "*been admired.* (HEAR, HEAR!) He  
 "had anxiously listened to all that had  
 "been said in the Committee; and he  
 "must say, that if ever there was a re-  
 "markable coincidence of opinion on all  
 "sides of the House, it was manifested on  
 "the present occasion. Here the Hon.  
 "Gentleman briefly enumerated the cau-  
 "ses to which the agricultural distresses  
 "might be ascribed, concluding with the  
 "more recent one of the *withdrawing of*  
 "*the country-bank circulation.* He had  
 "listened anxiously to his Hon. Friend,  
 "expecting to hear some observations  
 "from him *on the money circulation of*  
 "*the country.*—When attention was di-  
 "rected to this topic, it would naturally  
 "occur, that from the distress prevailing  
 "among the farmers, there was likely to  
 "be a diminished supply and consequent  
 "high prices. This was not a consolatory  
 "prospect to the people, though un-  
 "doubtedly a remedy would in this way  
 "be afforded to the agricultural interest.  
 "But then, *from the altered value of our*  
 "*currency, there were no means of obtain-*  
 "*ing relief.* He calculated that the  
 "price of wheat had fallen within these  
 "five years from 100s. per quarter to  
 "50 shillings. Of this fall in price he  
 "ascribed 20 per cent. to the altered  
 "value of our currency, which had now  
 "risen nearly to its own standard, and  
 "the other 30 per cent. to the fall in the  
 "real value of the commodity, occasioned  
 "by peace and other circumstances.—  
 "*Was this, he would ask, to be the per-*  
 "*manent state of things?* This was by  
 "far the most important part of the pre-  
 "sent discussion. The fall in the real  
 "value of grain was a matter beyond the  
 "regulation of the House; but the fall  
 "of price, to the amount of twenty per  
 "cent. occasioned by the rise in the value  
 "of our currency, was the point to  
 "which the attention of the Legislature

"ought to be mainly directed, *as being*  
 "*within its controul.* He would conjure  
 "Ministers and the House not to leave  
 "the country at sea, *the sport of this*  
 "*most dangerous system.* The deprecia-  
 "tion of currency was not attended with  
 "the same hazardous consequences un-  
 "der the despotic government of the Con-  
 "tinent as with us. What these govern-  
 "ments once did in adulterating and  
 "depreciating the currency of their re-  
 "spective states could not again be un-  
 "done, and hence all contracts accom-  
 "modated themselves to the change. In  
 "this way the value of the ruble in  
 "Russia had been depreciated from  
 "half-a-crown to 10d.; but here we had  
 "got to this situation, that our notes  
 "could be diminished in value to almost  
 "any extent, and then increased in  
 "value in the same proportion. Hence  
 "our system was one of infinitely greater  
 "hazard than any other course that ever  
 "was pursued. If our standard of cur-  
 "rency *was to be maintained at every*  
 "*sacrifice,* why did not Government,  
 "taking advantage of the present price  
 "of specie, compel the Bank to re-  
 "sume payment in coin? Then, at least,  
 "we should have the certainty, that the  
 "fall of 20 per cent. on agricultural pro-  
 "duce could never be recovered. If,  
 "however, cash payments were not re-  
 "sumed, then he believed that a great  
 "part of that paper that had been with-  
 "drawn from circulation would be gra-  
 "dually re-issued, increasing the prices  
 "of every commodity, and proceeding  
 "exactly in the same course as that  
 "which the country had already witness-  
 "ed. *Something must be done to secure us*  
 "*from the dangers of the system.* Better  
 "would it be to sit down with the loss of  
 "20 per cent. than gradually to increase  
 "the circulation of the country to an  
 "indefinite extent, and thus expose the  
 "country to the dangers that might arise  
 "from a sudden panic. The system to  
 "which he now alluded had in its effects  
 "been the chief cause of our agricultural  
 "distress. It was true *there were diffi-*  
 "*culties*—we had borrowed hundreds of  
 "millions in a depreciated currency,  
 "which we had now to pay at par.  
 "[HEAR, HEAR!]  
 "—From this circum-  
 "stance a greater share of the property  
 "of the country was transferred from the

"land-holder to the stock-holder than had been contemplated at the time of the loans. If the price of all articles of life, and even the expences of the state, (which he trusted by the exertions of that House would happen) should be reduced, yet the sum to be paid to the holders of stock remained the same. It had been thought strange by some that an exuberance of produce should be a source of calamity. But the real source of the evil was, the alteration in the value of this produce in exchange." —Aye, this is all very true, you, in America will say; "but, why do you, Mr. Cobbett, tell us of it in the words of Mr. Lewis, when you have told it us, and proved it all to us, as clear as day-light, in your Letters to your Chancellor of the Exchequer, more than five months ago? What do you pester us for with this opinion of Mr. Lewis, of whom we know nothing at all?"—Patience, my friends, I know, that you know all about the matter. I know very well, that this report of Mr. Lewis's speech only repeats what I have said and proved many times over. I do not know Mr. Lewis any more than you do. I never heard of him before in my life. I did not know what seat he filled, till I looked for his name in the Court Kalendar. But, his speech is made in *parliament*, and he calls Mr. Robinson his honourable friend, which will have great weight with parson OSGOODE and the other friends of "the Bulwark of your Religion." There is no imputation of sterility of mind due to any of the Members on account of their repeating my opinions and arguments; for, I defy them to say any thing rational, upon the subject, which I have not said before them; and, what is more, I defy them to do any thing effectual in the way of remedy, that I have not more than ten times pointed out.—Mr. Lewis, after expressing his disapprobation of the loan project of Mr. CURWEN, and, observing, that he did not see why we should find the means of enriching the planters of Virginia and Maryland, concluded by proposing an export of wool, and the growth of Tobacco in England.

Such, then, Americans, was this consultation. It broke up, and was to be resumed on the 2nd instant; but, I could

not wait for that. Besides, nothing new will be said, perhaps; and, I am quite certain, that nothing will be done, before I shall write to you again.

Now, then, what is the sum total of what was said upon this occasion? I will endeavour to state it in distinct propositions thus:—I. That the COMPLAINT of the country is, the greatest degree of distress and misery; that whole parishes have been deserted by the cultivators of the land; that the owners of the land refuse to take it in hand lest they should be made liable to pay the rates; that the labouring people are almost all become paupers; that, in some cases, having nobody to relieve them, they have spread themselves over the country, carrying devastation and alarm with them; and that the evil threatens to become greater instead of less.—II. That the principal CAUSE, if not the only cause, is, an alteration in the value of the paper-money, which alteration has transferred a great part of the property of the owners of lands, farm-stock, and stock in trade, from these owners to the owners of money and receivers of taxes.—III. That the REMEDIES to be applied are a loan of money from the government to the farmers, the non-importation of the produce of foreign countries, and (though none but the Malt is named) a reduction of taxes.

The complaint and cause confirm what I have been telling you for many months. But, alas! What remedies are here? Taking off taxes, indeed, is a remedy; for it is the taxes which have produced the misery; that is to say, taxes kept on at full while the produce was reduced in value more than one half. But, as to a loan to the farmers, whence is it to come, except out of taxes first raised? And, what good would the loan of half a year's rent be to any man? He must pay the money back again, and pay interest for it. However, though this project will answer no other purpose, it will serve to give you a pretty good idea of the state, to which this country has been reduced by its wars, which have ended in the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Inquisition, and which have enabled those Bourbons to put to death the brave Marshal Ney. The propositions for taxing foreign cheese, butter, corn, seeds, to-

bacco; wool, &c. &c. are all grounded in error. The tax, if paid, must be paid by the people here; if the tax amount to a prohibition, it will operate most heavily against the commerce and manufactures; and, indeed, as Mr. Robinson observed, we should, in this manner, be doing precisely, only more effectually, that which Napoleon expected and endeavoured to do by his *continental system*.

To you, in America, it will be matter of great surprise, that the remedies proposed are so inadequate to the nature of the complaint. A loan to A out of A's own money, to enable A to keep up under the pressure of the continual demands of B, is such an idea! It is such a remedy! Such a cure for poor A's complaint! Yes, it must puzzle you to find out, why the *transfer of property* is not attempted to be put a stop to. The truth is, that many men, and, perhaps, a very great majority of the two Houses, clearly enough see what can alone afford real protection to the landlords and farmers; but, they do not like to speak out. As a matter of theory Mr. Western talks of the transfer of property from the land-owner to the fund and salary owners; as a matter of theory Mr. Lewis says, that we have borrowed hundreds of millions in a depreciated currency, the interest of which we are now called upon to pay in a currency at par. As matter of theory these important truths, long ago stated by me, are now stated in parliament. But, as to practice; as to any practical proposition on the subject, no one has yet ventured to bring forward any such thing: nor do I believe, that any such measure; that is to say, that any thing *effectual* will be attempted, 'till pressed forward by absolute necessity.

WM. COBBETT.

#### MR. HOLDSWORTH'S LETTER.

The following letter from this gentleman, who is a Member of Parliament for Dartmouth, in Devonshire, and who has upon this occasion, written to a friend in that County, is worth particular attention. It contains, in my opinion, erroneous notions about the cause of the distress, and, as to any remedy, it is so vague that one cannot even guess at the meaning of the writer; but as an exhibition of the state of the country, the Letter is valuable.

Let the Cossacks of New England read it; let them bear in mind that it comes from a member of Parliament, who was a staunch friend of "*Social Order*;" let them reflect, that these evils are the consequences of that war, on our part, which they so much applauded, and of that system of government, which some of them have had the impudence to prefer before that of their own country. Let them bear all this in mind, and then, if blushing be not wholly exploded amongst them, they will, surely, feel some little warmth in their cheeks as they read.

A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN DEVONSHIRE, ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY. BY A. H. HOLDSWORTH, ESQ. M. P. FOR DARTMOUTH.

London, March 2, 1816.

The miseries we anticipated are now finding their way to the City of London. I yesterday learned from a friend there, to whom I was talking on the subject, that the wholesale dealers, who have been round the neighbouring districts for orders, are scarcely able to procure any, "*as the farmers*," they are told, "*are no longer able to purchase any luxuries*." To him who will look into this remark, who knows all the points on which it touches, it is a volume on the state of the nation; on the melancholy change which we have seen for the last eighteen months taking place.

It tells you, that till now, London had to learn into what state we had fallen: pointing out the height of luxury to which all ranks had risen, it shews to the statesman whence his indirect taxes were procured: to us, it but confirms the first part of the gloomy picture we had drawn, to the finishing of which we have looked with so much fear and anxiety.

But what could any men of thinking minds expect, when they saw so many estates untenanted, and in the hands of the landlord; others turned into pasture, or tilled without manure; stock every day decreasing; farmers paying their taxes from their capital; and those who have not any (a) leaving their farms in the

(a) Many men who have been thus obliged providentially to dispose of their stock, have so contrived as to get their neighbours to assist them with their carts; and no one might have removed every thing portable to another part of the country: this is known by the familiar term of "*going clear off*."

high; covenants no longer of any (b) service;—binding only the landlord; cattle sold to pay rates and taxes, making scarcely any (c) return; all improvements in estates naturally at an end; and in consequence (d) labourers of all ages on the pay of the parish; the circulation of money decreased to one-third; and much of that on the western coast taken to (e) France for brandy: what, I say, with such a picture as this before their eyes, could any thinking men expect, but that the tradesman must stop his payments or shut up his shop; and that with him the London trader, the import merchant, and the Custom-house, must inevitable fall.

The landlord, whose sole dependence is on his rents, living in the midst of his tenantry, the bulwark of our country, must cut down his establishment, diminishing his *direct taxes* on the one hand, but his *indirect taxes* ten-fold on the other; or fly, as too many have felt compelled, to spend his small remaining rents in a foreign land, depriving his native country of its circulation and support, and in proportion filling the coffers of a foreign treasury.

Such is the state of our country at this momentous crisis; at the glorious termination of a war, in the attaining of which the efforts of the statesman and the warrior are beyond all praise.

I will now endeavour to shew what has brought about this sudden change; why estates which were let at high rents, (imprudently as some conceive, who forget that to let under the proper value is to deprive the State of its revenue,) are now worth so little. From the great demands of Government for the supplies of the army, navy, and prisoners, the markets had attained a considerable height; they

were certain and regular, and the farmer knew when he took his estate how to calculate its advantages; he knew that as long as the market could be regularly fed, a fair price could be obtained: he was no longer that man, of whom we have heard some sixty years ago, who walked to the market with his basket on his arm, or his single bag of corn on his horse: farming had become a science; it had changed to a trade, and every market was an exchange as much as that on Cornhill: there prices were settled, and business transacted, as in the City of London and to keep up a regular supply for all our cities and Government contracts, this was absolutely necessary: the effects grew out of the cause; the illiterate men, who compose that society, could not bring this about from their own invention; but the change of our society produced the effect in them: they were but the instruments of natural events.

But their taxes, tythes, and rents must be paid. The merchant in London, whose credit is good, who is known to be carrying on a just and fair trade, when suddenly wanting cash, takes his bill to the Bank of England, and it is changed into notes: the same system was as necessary to the country. The farmer, called on for his taxes, having his cattle in their stalls and the stacks in his yard, went to the country banker and discounted his bill, well knowing that before the two months should expire at which it was drawn, he would be enabled to sell so much of his stock at a fair and proper price as to redeem it. And what has now brought him to the state he is in? That which would bring two thirds of our merchants into the same situation if the Bank of England, alarmed at the state of trade, was suddenly to stop its discounts. The great glut in the market from the stoppage of government contracts, and the double difficulty arising from the improvident importation of corn, frightened the country banker: he refused to accommodate. The farmer, still pressed for his taxes and poor rates, was obliged to draw on his capital, or possessing it (as is always best for the country) in the character of farming stock, was obliged to take it to a market already overloaded: in vain to him to tell the tax-gatherer to look at his stalls, his dairy, and his stack-yard; in vain to him to shew the estate without a weed which was once a wilderness: his corn unthrashed, his cattle half fed, must

(b) Covenants cannot be any longer of service when the tenant has not any thing which you can seize for your rent.

(c) A friend of mine sent a man to the fair at Brent, in Devonshire, to buy him one or two good colts, and gave him twenty pounds for the purpose: the man bought seven, and returned two pounds ten shillings in exchange.

(d) In many parishes in Devonshire this is the case, the men receiving five shillings per week from the parish funds, and employing themselves in the most unproductive of all labour—breaking stones on the road.

(e) There is a very large increasing trade at this time carried on from our coast with the town of Roseau, near Melaitz, where the spirits are paid for in English Bank Notes.

fall under the relentless hand of the law; and that country, which two years since was the seat of every comfort, nay of luxury itself, must, unless this blow be averted, return to misery and want. (f)

And here let me pause to say a few words on the difference of the situation of the tenant as regarding his natural landlord, and those who have now unconsciously usurped that character—the government and the poor. The farmer, when his rent day arrives, if his tenant is unable at the moment to pay him; if he sees that he is going on properly with his estate; that his cattle are not fit for the market, or the market ready for his corn, will wait until they are. Not so these new landlords: they must be paid the moment they require it, without any feeling for the soil; without any natural affection: like a conqueror in a foreign land, they take it regardless of consequences, leaving the owners of the soil to starve with their tenants.

But can this system last? If during the last year the tenant paid the taxes at the expense of his capital; if that which when ripe for the market would be worth 50*l.* be sold for 20*l.* must not his property be deteriorated, and can he do the same this? Those, who are acquainted with agriculture, well know that the moment things are thrown out of their course, destruction follows like a whirlwind. Who can command the corn to grow, or the cattle to feed? You must regulate your manure for your corn; your grass for the beasts; and if the arrangement is destroyed the whole system is lost. Need I, after this, ask if £—(g) were obtained last year by dint of executions on the tenant, or loss of rent to the landlord, whether the very circumstance will not be the cause why half cannot be got now? and that to prove

(f) This system is strongly exemplified by the present situation of the county of Devon, where very much agricultural distress is felt, but where I do not remember that any bank has failed, shewing that the prudence of the banker in refusing, on the first alarm, to discount country paper, and getting his notes out of circulation, has saved himself, whilst the farmer has fallen a little sooner than he would otherwise perhaps have done

(g) It is not any consequence what was the amount of the exact sum obtained from landed property; the argument will be the same.

that £—were obtained for the taxes, without a market for farming produce, is but to shew that you put the farmer into a state to prevent him paying the same this year, and the landlord, either to cheat his tradesmen or put down his establishment, with either of which the indirect taxes must sooner or later equally fail.

And before I leave this subject, let me add, that, as wild is it to say that the quantity of country bank notes have been the cause of our sufferings, as to tell you that port wine is poison because some immoderately make use of it. Without country banks your system never could have been kept up, your war taxes never raised. Some, it is true, as in all other walks of life, have made an unfair use of them: yet those, who cry down this system in the present state of society, might expect to raise oranges in Lapland without the assistance of horticultural science!

But, say others, this will all be set right when we return to our good old system—when all again is cheapness and plenty. What does the stock-holder answer? You forget that you owe me forty millions per annum; that the Chancellor of the Exchequer requires thirty more for the use of the Government; and that the poor require between (h) ten and twelve in a direct tax on the land for their support. To those who are in the habit of attending to parochial duties, we need not mention the extent of evils growing out of the *Poor Laws*; and the state, in which our parish poor now are, but too clearly proves how sadly the best, the most charitable of humane institutions

(h) The Poor Returns to the 25th of March, 1815, amount to 7,023,386, exclusive of 854 which made no return. An intelligent friend of mine takes the total at nearly eight millions; and assures me, that from what he has seen of the increase to this time, the amount for the year 1816 to 1817 will be nearer twelve millions; whilst in the year 1783, the amount of the same expense was only 2,184,904*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* shewing an increase to the year 1816 of more than five times that sum. And comparing this statement with one sent me by the same person from his own parish, which is of small extent, and without a manufactory or town, in the south of Devon, the increase will be found nearly the same.

In 1784 it was 11*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

1786 ..... 35*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*

1813. .... 174*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

1815 ..... 164*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*

Which sum he expects this year will be increased to one-ninth more.

may in time be perverted. Those Laws, once the safe-guard against misery in old age or infirmity, are now the reward of idleness and vice; and not only is the disgrace of going to the parish done away, but the person that can impose on its officer is accounted the most clever in his society. To go into instances of this would fill a volume, and be foreign to the subject; suffice it to say, that if the increase is not speedily stopped, the poor will be sole possessors of the profits of the estates, leaving their natural owners badly paid as their stewards. For it is now well known and understood, that in the same degree as agriculture declines, do the claims on the parish purse increase, (i) and the indirect taxes diminish.

From this state of difficulties how are we to get out? When we had the entire command of the seas, when we obliged every passenger to call at our door, we could regulate our affairs as we liked; we could raise taxes at our pleasure; like the man who keeps the only inn on a road, we could charge what we pleased. But when now every other country is open to the traveller, when he can stop where he likes, will he buy (j) from us at a

(i) When labourers received half-a-crown a day, they could buy tea, sugar, &c. and many other little luxuries, which at nine-pence, and one-shilling, their present daily pay, they are obliged to forego.

(j) To shew the rivalry we must expect in foreign markets, I need only ask what must be the situation of the Newfoundland merchant—Can he expect to sell his fish in Spain or the West Indies, when, to encourage their fisheries, and, above all, to make seamen, the French now give a bounty of twelve francs per quintal for all fish caught by themselves in Newfoundland and carried to the West Indies; and as Spain has imposed a duty on all fish of above five shillings per quintal, a bounty of five francs per quintal is given for all carried to that country direct, and six francs for such as may first come to any port in France, and afterwards be transported thither; with the duty of twenty-two francs per quintal on all foreign fish that may be imported into France, and other bounties to their own fisheries not necessary to mention?

Fish, when ready for the market, in Newfoundland is worth about twelve francs.

(k) It is supposed by many that the result of the present state of agriculture will be a scarcity of corn, at no very distant period, and that the country will consequently be relieved from its present distress. I fear, however, that it will be found to have a very different effect. It is a cer-

pound what he can get from others at ten shillings? Nay, are we so patriotic, that when we can purchase from abroad at half the price of our own markets, we shall not be tempted to do it? Ask our farmer why he gives his friend brandy and water rather than strong beer: "Because," says he, "I sell my barley at twenty shillings per quarter, and the king's duties alone, when I buy it again, make me pay for it at eighty;" ignorantly unaware, that to support an illicit trade must in the end be his ruin. And must we not expect the same will happen in all other sorts of merchandize! for, from the system of those who are engaged in this traffic, the expense of stopping them, I fear, will be equal to the revenue that will be saved by it: the greater the temptation from high duties, added to the want of other employment, the more they will dare, and the more they will increase.

If, then, the maxim be a just one, that you must bring down your taxation of the price of your commodity, or raise the price to taxation, what a picture is before us! For myself, I will only say, that to face the danger is, I trust, half the battle; to know its extent, the only chance of finding its remedy.

Let every man who lives on the taxes of our country take care to keep the sources whence they flow in the most flourishing condition; let him take the burthen from the industrious, or assist them to bear them; let him stimulate industry in every way in his power; remembering that it is from the rapid circulation of money that the treasury coffers are filled; that there is not a money transaction between men which does not directly or indirectly leave something to the state.

Let the public creditor and public officer remember that when the farmer cannot live, when the tradesman gives up his shop, and the merchant his counting-house, their revenues are at an end.

tain and regular market, that can alone restore public credit; individuals, it is true, may profit by high prices, but the system will be as disorganised as at present. Agriculture, as all other trades, must be confined to the limits prescribed by the capital employed in it; in proportion as the value of its produce is certain and regular, will men be induced to advance money for it, and in that proportion only, can we, I believe, hope to see it restored.

Let the land-owner remember, that to stimulate the manufacturer, the merchant, and the tradesman, to industry, is the only means of improving his rents.

In fine, let the idle man be ever forward to assist the industrious with his purse, when, (k) *public credit being restored*, England shall yet support her character as the first nation of the world.

My dear—

Yours very faithfully,

A. H. H.

MR. AUSTIN'S LETTER

TO

MR. WESTERN,

*On the subject of the Resolutions of the latter.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WEST BRITON.

Place, Fowey, March 26, 1816.

SIR,—The answers, &c. of the Special Cornwall Agricultural Meeting, to the Honourable the Board of Agriculture, having appeared in your paper, under the sanction of my name, as President, I shall feel obliged by your inserting the following extract from a letter that I wrote immediately after the said Meeting, to Mr. Western, relative to our proceedings, &c.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOS. THOS. AUSTIN.

“I cannot say that I agree with you as to the buying up of our corn by Government, and though only one Gentleman\* at the Meeting coincided with me in opinion, I am convinced that ultimately it will be productive of evil. Corn is a part of the *real* wealth of a nation—money only the means of dividing, or distributing of it according to our wants. The price of corn, the demand and supply being the same, will always be determined by the amount of the circulating medium. Upon this principle, when there was one third more paper-money in circulation than at present, the Farmers' produce would naturally sell for one third more. But, say you, there is now no sale, or next door to it, at any rate.—

On a large scale, as we used to sell by the score or by the hundred of quarters, there is not. People, however, eat bread as usual—perhaps more—if not—they certainly waste more. Yet they buy at just what price they chuse to offer, for this very good reason—the Farmer is obliged to sell. However lenient the Landlord may have been, hitherto it is notorious that the Tax-gatherer has shewn no mercy! The Farmer in fact is obliged to sell to meet his current expenses, which, before the diminution of paper-money, he did by drafts. By this means he was very properly enabled to become the national store-keeper; and, as he had an undivided interest in the stores, they were husbanded with the least possible waste. Will this be the case if Government becomes the store-keeper? If loans were out of fashion, and Ministers were actually to send round the country to obtain from us fifteen millions of money to purchase our corn with, as a method of relieving our distresses, we should see the folly of the thing at once.—It is, however, tantamount to this—fifteen millions are borrowed, on our security for the payment of principal and interest, and Commissioners are appointed, with pretty good salaries, to lay this money out in the purchase of corn, which, instead of being put into regular granaries, is housed in whatever houses can be hired for the purpose, and there kept till in weight and quality its intrinsic value is reduced one half. Now, not to mention all the job-work that will be necessary to carry this scheme into effect, the increase of patronage the salaries of Commissioners, and the rent of warehouses, can any man, in his sober senses, think that the poverty of a nation is to be relieved by destroying one half of its real wealth?”

P. S.—I said at the Meeting how Cobbett would laugh at our sanctioning this Granary resolution, and I now refer those who heard me to his Register, published the Saturday following. Though excess of taxation is the parent of our difficulties, those which press on the Agriculturist would be much lightened had he the same facility of getting credit at country Banks on *real* property, as Merchants in town have been accustomed to have from the Bank of England on *personal* property.

\* The Rev. Darel Stephens, at Trewornon.



## MEMOIRS

OF MAJOR GENERAL BROWN, *Commander-in-Chief of the Peace-establishment army of the United States of America.*

GENERAL JACOB BROWN is now about forty-five years old. He was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a few miles below Trenton; his father was a respectable farmer of the society of Quakers, and in their religious principles and habits of life young Brown was educated. His early education was such as the youth of that sect commonly receive—accurate and useful so far as it went, without aspiring to elegant literature, or mere speculative science: but his mind was naturally top active and inquisitive to rest content with these humble rudiments, and by seizing upon every opportunity of improvement in the course of his very diversified life, he has gradually acquired a large fund of various and well-digested knowledge.

During some period of his youth, he was employed as the teacher of a respectable Quaker school in New Jersey. This he left at the age of twenty-one, when he removed to Cincinnati, in Ohio, where he resided about two years, and followed the business of a land-surveyor. From thence he migrated again, and fixed his residence in the city of New York, where he took charge of the public school of the Society of Friends, which he taught for several years with great assiduity and reputation. In this situation, which afforded him little opportunity to mix actively in the busy world, he continued to improve his mind by general reading and study, and by attentive observations of passing life and public transactions. It is said that, at some time about this period, he had determined upon studying law, and trying his talents at the bar: happily for himself and his country, his fortunes took another direction. In 1799, he was induced, by the offer of an advantageous purchase of a large tract of land, near the shores of Lake Ontario, to remove thither and establish a settlement. The current of population, which has since run with so strong and full a tide toward the western part of the state of New York, was then just beginning to set in. Brown established himself on his new possessions, entered actively into various schemes of business and speculation, soon attained influence and importance in the district around him,

and after a time, as his lands rose in value, from the increase of population, acquired considerable wealth. As the country continued to improve, Brown rose with it in importance and public estimation. He was appointed a county court judge, and became a leading man in all the public business of that part of the country.—He now gradually threw off the dress and manners of his sect, and on a change which took place in the organization of the militia, was appointed to the command of a regiment; and not long after, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.

In this situation, which gave him military rank, without affording him much opportunity for acquiring military knowledge, the late war found him; and when the first detachment of the western militia of New York was ordered into the service of the United States, Gen. Brown was designated by Governor Tompkins to the command of a brigade, and entrusted with the general care of the northern frontier. He applied himself, with his usual diligence and activity, to the discharge of these new and important duties; doubtless, at first, with no further views of military life, than the natural and laudable desire of filling the station in which he was placed, for a short term of service, with credit and usefulness.

By constant and unwearied activity, he soon placed the most important points of the line of the frontier committed to his charge in a respectable state of defence.

Every one who has seen any thing of the militia service, knows the numerous difficulties and perplexities attending it.—In meeting and obviating these, in soothing discontent, and repressing disobedience, Brown's knowledge of mankind, and adroitness in business, made him eminently useful; but, except in repelling an attempt of the enemy to dislodge him from Ogdensburg, he was not, during this campaign, placed in any situation fitted to evolve his military talents; and, at the close of it, retired to private life with the character of an active and intelligent militia officer; but without its being known by the public, and probably, without knowing himself, that he was possessed of every requisite of a great commander.

In May, 1812, General Dearborn, understanding that an attack was meditated by the enemy upon Sackett's Harbour, from

which a considerable part of our regular force, together with the whole of Com. Chauncey's squadron, had been withdrawn for the purpose of co-operating in their enterprise against Fort George, wrote to General Brown, requesting him to repair with such militia force as he could collect, to Sackett's Harbour, and take the command there. Brown, knowing that Colonel Backus, a regular officer of character and experience, was then in command at that post, at first hesitated at assuming this responsible and arduous command. But the request being again repeated, and urged by Colonel Backus himself, he finally yielded, and immediately set out for that post, where he arrived with a small body of militia early on the morning of the 28th of May. On the morning of the 30th, at day-break, Sir George Prevost landed at the head of 1,000 picked men, under cover of a heavy fire from his gun-boats. General Brown, depending chiefly upon the well-known superiority of the American marksmen, had posted 500 of his militia, to receive the enemy on their landing, with orders that they should lie close, and reserve their fire until the enemy had approached so nigh that every shot might hit its object. But the trepidation and confusion of the moment excited one of those sudden panics to which undisciplined volunteers are so subject; and the whole line fired at the very instant of the enemy's landing, with considerable effect, indeed, but then suddenly rising from their covert, they broke and fled in disorder. Brown threw himself among them to stop their flight. Having rallied about a hundred men, with this handful of raw troops he gained a position on the enemy's left flank, and harassed them by a galling fire, by which they were held in check until they were met by our regular troops (about four hundred in all) under Colonel Backus. General Brown now hurried to this point of action, and found the gallant Colonel Backus dangerously wounded, and the battle still raging, but with very evident advantage on the American side. After a short conflict he was completely victorious, and Sir George Prevost retreated rapidly to his ships, leaving a number of men and several officers killed and wounded on the field.

A few days after this attack Commodore

Chauncey returned, and General Brown once more retired to his farm and ordinary occupations. But his military reputation was now established, and public expectation was anxiously turned towards him as one to whom the fortunes and honour of our arms might be confidently entrusted.

Soon after the successful defence of Sackett's Harbour, the secretary of war offered him one of the new raised regiments. Brown now felt his own value, and respectfully declined the commission; at the same time, intimating to his friends, that he was willing to serve his country, in the regular army, in any rank not inferior to that which he bore in the militia of his own state. In the course of a month or two he was nominated by the president to the senate, and commissioned a Brigadier General in the army of the United States.

In the autumn of the same year he was employed in superintending and directing the transportation of the army down the St. Lawrence, in General Wilkinson's unfortunate expedition against Montreal.

In the descent itself he commanded the *élite* of the army, and at French Creek, repulsed, with his own brigade, the naval armament which had been sent out to harass and retard the expedition. He was not present at the battle of Williamsburgh, on the 19th of November, 1813.

During the following winter General Brown was left in command of the regular troops in the northern military district of the state of New York, and was laboriously and constantly employed in providing for their comfort and good order, and in improving and familiarizing himself in the theory and practice of modern tactics. During the winter session of 1813, upon the formation of the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, it was determined to entrust the execution of it, on the Niagara frontier, to Gen. Brown; he was accordingly appointed Major Gen. and took the field early in the spring.

The rest of his military career who does not know? Were it in my power to fill up the magnificent outline of his exploits, already familiar to every mind, by the relation of additional facts and circumstances, or any of those minute incidents and traits of character which are ordinarily overlooked in contemplating the

great results of high achievement, I could expatiate with fond partiality on a theme so pleasing and so splendid. But, why should I again relate the oft-told story of the noble fields of Chippewa and Niagara?—These are proud recollections treasured up in the memory, throbbing “in the heart of hearts” of every true American.

In these encounters General Brown was distinguished as much by his personal activity and impetuous courage, as by his skill and conduct. In the battle of Niagara he received some severe flesh wounds, which obliged him to retire for a short time from active service. After a few weeks he resumed the command, and soon after planned and executed the sortie from Fort Erie, on the 17th of September, when, in broad day-light, with an inferior and in part, an irregular force, he surprised the enemy, drove them from their entrenchments, spiked their cannon, destroyed their works, and carried off 400 prisoners—an exploit which, if it be regarded rather with a view to the sagacity, the address, the conduct and courage displayed in it, than merely with respect to the scale of operation and its immediate results, must surely be considered as entitled to the very first rank of military merit.

In consequence of this discomfiture, General Drummond shortly after abandoned the siege, and fell back on Fort George, and the campaign closed in that quarter.

General Brown returned to his home, exulting, not so much at having vanquished the vanquishers of the world, the heroes of Talavera and Vittoria, as in the consciousness of having stood forth, in the hour of extreme peril, the champion and bulwark of his country, and of having preserved one of the fairest portions of her from indiscriminate ravage and desolation.

During the last winter he had meditated and organized a plan for the ensuing campaign, and in January, 1815, went on to the seat of government for the purpose of conferring with the secretary of war. On his return from Washington, he was on his way to call upon General Snyder, in order to make the necessary arrangements for calling out the western militia of Pennsylvania, when the news of the arrival of the treaty of peace overtook him.

Since his return from the frontiers, General Brown has every where received the most ample testimonials of public gratitude and respect. Votes of high approbation have been passed by Congress and the State Legislatures, accompanied by presents of swords and services of plate; and our cities have vied with each other in paying him every civic honour. Small things these in themselves! yet, such as have power to rouse the generous mind to loftiest enterprise—to kindle national gratitude—to animate national feeling—to exalt national character.

In contemplating General Brown's progress to fame and fortune, we cannot but be forcibly impressed with a sense of the inestimable advantages which this country enjoys in the facility with which talents of every kind find full range for their enterprise and activity. In most other countries, society is divided by ancient usage, by law and positive institution, or by the natural effects of bad government and a too crowded population, into *casts* completely separated, and, as it were, walled off from each other, so that every trade and profession seems to have become the peculiar property of those individuals who have been trained from infancy to move in its narrow routine, and guard it with jealous caution against all intrusion. Here, on the other hand, talents of every species are suffered to roam at large, without restraint, over the whole field of human science and art and enterprise.

*A real remedy! a real remedy!*

*Rags! Rags! Rags for ever!*

Aye, my friends, I told you, that we must have more paper-money, or, that the thing could not go on. I told you, that the Bank would not pay in real money; or, that, if it did, all the landlords and farmers and tradesmen would be utterly ruined, unless the interest of the Debt were diminished. In 1811, while Perceval was yet alive, the Bullion Committee proposed to compel the Bank to pay in real money at the end of two years. Five years have passed, peace is come, Napoleon is on our prison-rock, and NOW a bill is brought into parliament to protect the Bank against the demands in cash for TWO YEARS LONGER! Now, John Bull; Big John Bull; Sensible John Bull; Cunning John Bull, what sort of a figure do you think you make in the eyes of the world! You have got Napoleon in your clutches: you have seen Labedoyere and the brave Ney put to death. You have seen the brave Marshal Brune (with whom the Duke of York capitulated at the Helder) murdered by the Royalists, You have seen the Pope, the Bourbons, and the Inquisition restored: but you have not seen money payments restored at the Bank. You are a great Believer, John; but, I think this new proposition will stagger your faith.—However, this is a matter not to be hurried off one's hands. I intend to have a fair slap at your wise pate next week.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

# LETTER VIII.

Prince of Saxe-Cobourg's tooth-ache.—  
Poor-rates and Paupers in England.—  
In London.—Lincoln Paupers—Prince  
Regent's house-keeping.—Schemes for

lessening poor-rates.—Reduction of salaries.—Despair in many parts.—Repentance for the past.—Proposed taxing of Emigrants.

Bolton, 13th April, 1816.

Before I enter upon any other matter, I must inform you that the Prince of SAXE-COBURG has had a tooth-ache, and that, as you will, doubtless, be rejoiced to hear, the pain has been removed, but, unfortunately, not without the pulling out of the tooth. However, it is, as you will see, very gratifying to us to know, that His Serene Highness loses no time in studying our language and laws. The following are the words, in which these facts are communicated to the public.

"From the Brighton papers it appears  
"that Prince LEOPOLD of Cobourg had  
"been relieved from a painful tooth-ache  
"by the successful extraction of the dis-  
"eased tooth. We understand that the  
"operation was performed by Mr. Bew,  
"the skilful dentist of that town.—  
"Prince Leopold of Cobourg regularly  
"devotes the early part of the day to  
"study, and the greatest proportion of  
"it to reading, in order that he may be-  
"come conversant, not only with the  
"English language, but more particu-  
"larly its history, laws, customs, and  
"manners.—The Rev. J. S. Clarke ge-  
"nerally attends his Serene Highness on  
"these occasions. That Prince Leopold  
"should not be diverted from his present  
"application is assigned as one important  
"reason for his Serene Highness defer-  
"ring his introduction at the Drawing-  
"room to-morrow."

Now, upon the reading of this para-  
graph, which I take, mind you, from the  
Morning Chronicle, which is not what is  
called a Ministerial print, you will burst  
out: \*\*\*\*\*

But, this would be wrong. It would  
only show, that you know very little  
about the real state of the public mind in  
England. Let me hasten, then, to other  
P

matters, as to which you will be able to understand me.

Your example may, in many respects, be useful to us; but, in many more, ours may be useful as a warning to you; and, in none more so, than on the subject of *pauperism*, which has increased upon us in a degree, which, at last, threatens to destroy the very roots of the social system in England. In a Letter, which I published on the 15th of November, 1814, addressed to a friend in America, on the Expences, Taxes, &c. of England, compared with those of America, and which Letter, I perceive, has been re-published in your country, I could not, upon the subject of the poor-rates, speak *positively*, there having been no official report made upon the subject, since the year 1803. But, I spoke of them by way of *computation*, the basis of which was the increase of the poor-rates in the parish of *Bishop's Waltham*, with the particulars of which I was but too well acquainted. According to this computation, the poor-rates, I said, of the year when I was writing, would amount, for all England (including Wales), to 7,896,556*l*. I do not perceive, that any doubt of my accuracy, in this respect, has been started. But, *now*, we have fresh *official* accounts before us, made up to March, 1815, that is to say, four months after the date of my computation, or estimate; and, I must confess, that, in laying its contents before you, I do feel some degree of pride. In this official return are not included all the parishes, for want of time, perhaps; so that the return is not quite complete. But, from the following figures, taken from the return itself, you will see how surprizingly near my computation was to the reality.

" In 13,922 Parishes—returned .. L.7,023,386  
" In 854 Parishes—not returned ..

The Parishes not returned are principally in populous parts of England. So that the total amount of the rates, if all had been returned, would, I dare say, have been within 100,000*l*. of the computation. However, we have now the fact before us, and a dreadful fact it is. Mr. HOLDSWORTH, whose Letter I insert for publication in America, because the *Cossacks* should have nothing to gain say,

estimates the poor-rates as being much higher *now*, than they were last year. I do not, if we speak in *positive* amount; because it requires less to feed people with cheap corn than with dear corn. But, as the positive amount has not been diminished, the *relative* amount has been dreadfully augmented, because the means of support have been greatly *lessened*.

During the war, and what were called days of prosperity, I never could obtain a hearing upon this subject. When Pitt and Rose and Perceval used to be boasting about the prosperity of the country, the flourishing state of the country, the resources of the country, I always bade them look at the increase of the poor-rates and paupers; and asked them, whether a country with so large a part of the people paupers, could be said to be prosperous. *Now*, however, this subject is pressing itself forward with irresistible force. It *now* comes arrayed in all the horrors of misery and all the terrors of desperation. *Millions* of people never yet submitted to be *starved*. Those who raise the food and raiment by their labour must and will have some of it. Laws, coercion, nothing can prevent this. The body, however miserable, will not lie down and die without a struggle.

You have seen before, that many Members of Parliament have *complained* of the amount of the poor-rates. But, of what avail is complaint on such a subject? Any man may as reasonably complain of his great age; for, as it is impossible for any law to make him younger, so is it impossible for any law to diminish the poor-rates, unless by diminishing the number of paupers; and that is only to be done by a *total change of system*, which these gentlemen are very careful never to propose, and which, indeed, they seem always prepared to reprobate. What should we think of a man who *complained* that strong beer made him drunk, and who still continued to drink strong beer by the gallon? Yet, such a man's conduct would be just as consistent as is that of those persons, who complain of the increasing amount of the poor-rates, while they steadily support a system, the unavoidable effect of which is to create paupers.

As to the *extent* of the evil it is not to be described in all its parts. Young and old there can be little short of 2 millions of

paupers in England, including common beggars and persons in hospitals and almshouses; and that is, upon an average, about *one* pauper, or beggar, to every *four* who are not paupers or beggars. I have, upon a former occasion, given particular details of *country* parishes. I will here give an account of the paupers and rates in the Parish of ST. SEPULCHRE, which is in the heart of the City of London. I have lying before me an official account, given to me by Mr. MILLER of that Parish, signed by Wm. SCAIFE, vestry clerk, and dated on the 11th of Jan. 1816, which states, that there were then,

Paupers in the Work-house ..	227
Children at Nurse .....	25
Insane Poor .....	8
Relieved out of the House ....	92
Relieved in the Country .....	9

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Besides those paupers who receive *occasional relief*.

Now, the number of persons *who pay* poor-rates in this parish was, at the same period, 612. The *annual* amount of the expences was about 6,600*l*.

This is a pretty picture of the *prosperity* of the *opulent* city of London. Facts like these are food for reflection with sensible men. Such men must see, that it is not an *act of parliament* to make a new arrangement as to the *mode of raising the rates*, which will cure this most dreadful evil. Before the wars against the people of France; before those wars, which have ended in restoring the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Inquisition; before those wars, during which, by way of episode, the Washington Buildings were burnt and Alexandria was plundered; before those wars the paupers in this country were not *one third* part so numerous as they now are. So that here is a change, which the Cossacks should never forget, when they are boasting of the achievements of that "*glorious contest*."

Of the manner, in which the paupers are treated, it would be difficult to give any general description, seeing that it varies very much according to the ability of the people to pay and to the disposition of the persons having power over them. But, what *may* be done with them, and what *is* done, in some cases, may be gathered from the following speech of

SIR ROBERT HERON, made in the House of Commons on the 2nd instant.

"SIR ROBERT HERON moved for leave to bring in a bill, for amending certain clauses in an act recently passed respecting the Lincoln Poor Rates. He was not aware of any good which resulted from particular local Acts respecting poor rates, as he thought the Act of the 22nd George II. was admirably suited to every case. After a painful recital of the miserable state of the workhouse in that city, he mentioned that there were five cells strongly guarded with iron bolts, not for the reception of lunatics, but for the punishment of such poor persons as might fall into any transgression. In each of these there were strong iron staples in the wall and floor, to which the poor delinquent was chained. Among several instances of cruelty, the worthy Baronet mentioned that a Chelsea pensioner, *seventy years of age and totally blind*, had been for a whole fortnight chained to the floor because he had been drunk! That a very young girl, having contracted a certain disease, had been chained in a similar manner to the floor, lest she should contaminate others. One chain fixed round her body had been weighed, and would the House believe him when he stated, it was not less than *twenty-eight pounds weight*!! These facts he pledged himself were true. therefore, for leave to bring in a Bill for amending the present Act."

I dare say that the Cossacks of Massachusetts will maintain, that all this is very right; or, at any rate, that it is much better that this should take place, than that the French nation should have been suffered to remain free. But, they may be well assured, that this state of things cannot last for *many years*. The number of the paupers is now become so great in proportion to the population of the country, that some serious consequence is at no great distance from us. So that, unless the Cossacks put up prayers for the system, it will fail, at last, as sure as they are born.

However, you in America, must not suppose, that we are *all* paupers; that none of us live in a good style. We are a very liberal people towards our great folks, as I have before shown you. But, that you may have some idea of the way,

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in which our Royal Family live, I will here give you an account of the expence of the Prince Regent's *living* for a *quarter of a year*, as stated in the *Lord Steward's* account up to the 5th of January last. The Lord Steward may be regarded as head servant in the family, who orders in the eatables and drinkables, and pays the in-door servants and the tradesmen. There are other great men, who manage the *other departments of Expence*. The amount is as follows :

Bread, Butter, Bacon, Cheese and Vegetables.....	£1,121	19	10½
Butcher, Poulterer and Fish-monger.....	3,411	13	1½
Beer and Cider.....	586	9	0
Wax and Tallow Lights.....	1,460	19	7
Grocery, Oilery, Linnens, &c. Tea, Milk and Cream.....	3,235	15	7½
Wine.....	2,120	3	10
Lamps.....	818	6	7½
Washing.....	210	18	0
Fuel.....	1,090	16	0
Stationer.....	96	19	6
Turner and Brazier.....	375	1	0½
China and Glass.....	259	19	3
Linens.....	101	13	5

Kew Palace.....	14,890	14	8½
Windsor Cottage.....	0	0	0
Disbursements and Entertainments.....	137	19	0½
	6,250	0	0

Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte.....	21,278	12	8½
Gardens.....	2,614	0	9
Treasury and Exchequer Fees..	4,375	5	0½
Salaries to Officers and Servants including Wages and Board Wages to Chapels.....	29	10	0
Compensation Allowance in lieu of Tables.....	£4,800	3	3
Do..... to retired Officers.....	2,245	9	6
Superannuation Allowance and Bounties to Poor Servants, and Annual Bounty to Widows of deceased Officers and Servants....	1,192	10	0
	4,206	11	5

12,444 14 0  
£40,942 3 6½

How the Cossacks will smack their lips at the sight of this Bill of Fare! Forty thousand pounds a quarter is 160,000 pounds or 640,000 Dollars a year! Therefore if you think that John Bull is a niggard, you are very much deceived.

Your President receives altogether, only 25,000 Dollars, or, about 6,000*l.* a year; but, then, he is only one of yourselves. He has no Royal blood flowing in his veins. It is not, therefore, proper, that he should be paid as kings and other Royal personages are paid. You see, in this account, the item of wages and board wages to *Chapels*. What would these Cossack Priests give to belong to these chapels! This, I dare say, is one of those "*venerable institutions*" upon which they constantly have their eye. No wonder that they should prefer the British government, "*Monarchy and all*."

To return, now, to the poor-rates and paupers, I have so many times, proved, as I think, that *pauperism*, that the misery of the labouring people, is a *necessary consequence of heavy taxation*; I have, even in the present Volume, so clearly demonstrated this fact, that I will not here repeat my arguments on the subject. But, a fact or two that I have not recently stated, I will state here. In the reign of Charles II. the poor-rates of England did not amount, in a year, to more than 200,000*l.* And, though the population of England has *increased*, it has not increased in the proportion which is generally supposed, a proof of which is, that hundreds of thousands of acres of land, *formerly cultivated*, now lie in the shape of *Downs*. Near London there has been a great deal of waste land enclosed; but, in Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and even in Hampshire and Sussex, the old marks of the *plough*, which no time seems capable of effacing, remain on large tracts, where the plough has not gone for a century. London and its neighbourhood have enormously increased in buildings and population; but, whole villages, once populous, in the distant parts of the country, have become depopulated, or, they contain only a few miserable hovels, built of mud and thatch, surrounding a lofty and beautiful old church, built of stone, and of dimensions to contain a thousand people. From these facts, which I defy any one to contradict, I conclude, that nearly all which some parts of the country have gained in population, other parts of it have lost. It is true, that by the vast improvement derived from a knowledge of the arts and science, applicable to agriculture, an acre of land has been made to produce, upon an aver-

age, more than formerly ; but, then, the waste of luxury has made the demand greater, for the same number of mouths. Therefore, admitting, that, upon the whole, the population of England has increased, it cannot have increased in any very great degree; but, how fearful has been the increase of the poor-rates and paupers!

Heavy Taxation being the principal cause of this increase, what remedy can be applied other than that of making taxation no longer heavy? It is useless to bring forward abstract propositions as to the existence and increase of the evil. It is useless to declare, that *something ought to be done*. The only question worth agitating is, *what ought to be done?* and, the only rational answer to that question is, *render taxation no longer so heavy, that the labourer cannot receive more than a bare sufficiency to sustain life*; take less from the employer in the shape of taxes, and the labourer and journeyman will then have more in the shape of wages, and will want less, or nothing at all, in the shape of pauper-pay.

There is something so childish in the proposition to make tradesmen and other mere house-holders assist the farmers, in the country, in paying the poor-rates; or, to levy the amount of them by a *general tax*, that I can hardly bring myself to treat it seriously; just as if every creature who eats bread, or, at least, who pays for bread, did not now assist in reimbursing the farmer for what he pays in poor-rates! But, there wants a good long essay, one of these days, to show, in a manner more full and clear than I ever yet have shown, that a tax laid upon the land only; that is to say, for instance, if 50 millions a year were raised in England from the occupiers of land alone, and if there were no other tax in the country, this would be the best, surest, and fairest possible mode of raising the 50 millions. This position, which I think myself able to prove to the satisfaction of any man, who will take time to reflect, and whose head is not uncommonly muddy, is a very interesting one to you, in America, who are not yet so far gone in Custom-houses, Excise-offices, and Stamp-offices, as not to be able to stop. As a measure of mere *foreign policy*, it may sometimes be necessary to meet imported goods at the water's edge; but, the system of a *variety* in taxation, and all the notions

about not taxing *this* or *that* article because such tax *would fall upon the poor*; the whole of this system and set of notions have arisen piecemeal with the wants of governments, are supported by no one solid principle, and can never stand the test of reason clearly and forcibly applied.

From this radical error, however, what a multitude of mischiefs have arisen! Amongst a thousand others, we now see before our eyes the mazes in which so many men of good intentions, and good talents, too, are wandering. They first fly on upon this tax, then upon that tax; one wants relief for the Barley grower, another for those who live on salt meat; another wants the *little* farmer's riding horse to go untaxed; a fourth calls for relief for the butter and cheese farmer; a fifth requests the House to relieve the leather trade; a sixth calls aloud for the price of beer to be forced down; a seventh wants a regulation to compel brewers to make their beer of a certain strength! Why, if these gentlemen, some of whom, like Mr. BRAND, for instance, are not only upright but very able men, had not imbibed the false notions of multifarious taxation; if they could but, for a moment, completely divest themselves of that confusion of ideas, they never would talk thus.

I have been watching narrowly to see whether my LORD FOLKESTONE had his peculiar point of pressure to relieve. No, he, at any rate, knows well, that there is but one remedy, and that that is, to lessen the *general load* of taxes; and, he knows, too, that it is of no consequence where the work is begun or where it is ended, except, indeed, that the *worst* tax always is that, be it on what it may, which employs, in proportion to its amount, the greatest number of tax-gatherers, and gives to the government the greatest degree of undue influence. His Lordship must laugh when he hears the leather and salt tax described as bearing with *peculiar weight* upon the labourer; for he has a head capable of tracing these taxes to the consumers of bread, meat, cheese, butter, cloth, &c.; he knows well, that *these* are the persons who finally pay the tax on the leather of the labourer's shoes and on the salt which he puts in his broth.

After all, then, the remedy for *pauperism* is the same as for every other species



of pressure; that is to say, a *reduction of taxes*; and, if this reduction take place to any considerable extent, how is the interest of the Debt to be paid? How are the *grand army* and the *navy* and the *civil list* to be supported? There is a most furious out-cry for *economy*, on the part of those, who promised to expend their last shilling and the last drop of their blood in the late contest. But, how has economy been begun? Look at the late divisions, and, you will see, that it has been proposed to take 2,000*l.* a year from Rose's emoluments, but that the proposition has been rejected. You will see, that a similar proposition to get rid of a Secretary of State for the *war department* in time of *peace*, has shared a similar fate. And, I assure you, that I do not expect, that, out of the proposed 29 millions for the peace establishment, *two millions* will be lopped off. *Reason and justice* demand a reduction of all salaries and allowances and pay to the standard of 25 years ago, seeing that *food and wages* are gone back to that standard, and seeing that the salaries, &c. were raised expressly on account of the rise in the price of food and wages. This reduction is so manifestly just and reasonable, and so clearly necessary to the public good, and even to the tranquillity of the country, that you will be astonished that the measure should have been delayed for a moment. But (a word in your ear,) there are so many of the \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\* who have \*\*\*\*\*  
 that \*\*\*\*\* without a reform of parliament.

Yet, 'till this be done, 'till the salaries and pay and civil list be all brought down to the standard of 1792, it would be most atrocious injustice to reduce, or even to talk of reducing, the interest of the debt. It is very true, that at this time, the Stockholders are receiving, in fact, a great deal more than five per centum for money lent since 1797. 'To bring this matter to a fair state, however, all salaries and pay and allowances must *first* be reduced; or, how can the parliament attempt to find a justification for reducing the interest of the Debt? This is the *great obstacle* to a restoration of the nation's affairs; and, as I have told you before, it is pretty certain, that this obstacle will operate effectually during *this session* of parliament. I do not know,

that the thing will not go on thus, 'till all the present landowners, except the *very great ones*, and except those, who, in some way or other, receive part of the taxes, will have lost their estates, which are now passing away from them at a full gallop; and, thus, we may, at last, live to see, that the system of Pitt was, in reality, the best and most effectual way of producing *equality*. Every year now gives the aristocracy a furious push downwards. Their estates are continually coming to the hammer. You would be surprised to see how the Commissaries, Contractors, and others, who have grown rich by the war, are shoving them out of their old mansions. You will say, that this is a change for the better; and, in *some* respects, it certainly is. At any rate, it is a natural consequence of the measures, which the aristocracy themselves have supported. They are entitled to *no pity*. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT told them, in the House of Commons, years ago, that, "while they were zealously "attending to the improvement of the "cultivation of the soil; while they "were so active at Agricultural Societies "and Cattle-shows, they seemed not to "perceive, that the *land itself* had, in "fact, been taken from them, and that "they would make the sad discovery "when it would be too late." These were nearly his very words. The landowners, who heard these words, paid little attention to them. They thought Sir Francis Burdett "a *violent man*." They now find, that it was *wisdom*, and not *violence*, which dictated this memorable advice.

Since the date of my last letter to you the state of the country has certainly been going on from bad to worse. Despair, in many cases, has made shocking havoc. The sales by distress warrants for rent and taxes have become more and more common. The property at these sales is really *given away*. A plough, which, only a year ago, cost, perhaps, 5 pounds, is sold frequently for 10 or 15 shillings. A threshing machine, which cost *fifty* pounds, was, the other day, not far from my house, sold for *five* pounds. At no great distance a farmer, a fine young man, not married many years, and who had a good fortune, has just *cut his throat*. Two others, within my observation, have gone *mad*. Hundreds quit their farms by *night*,

steal away their goods, and flee the country. I know what *you* will say to all this. I know, that you will say, that you feel for the sufferings of all mankind: but, that you cannot think us more entitled to your compassion, than were the pillaged French people and the brave Marshal Ney and others, whom our allies, the Bourbons, have put to death. I know you will exclaim: \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*. It is all very true. Certainly, if we had not done these things, we should not, at this day, have experienced such miseries as we now experience. These miseries are the natural consequences of such conduct. I must, however, put in this plea for the people of England, that they have been most infamously treated by a *press*, which is not less wicked, and far more powerful, than that of your *ossacks*. The people were, perhaps, envious enough of the freedom and happiness of France; but, they never would have acted as they have done, had it not been for a most wicked and powerful press. I know, that you will say, that, when you look back to the scenes at the *River Resin*, at *Frenchtown*, at *Hamp-ton*, and at those which were intended for *Baltimore* and *New Orleans*; and when you reflect that our present miseries arise out of the Debt partly contracted to carry on the war against you, it is impossible for you to cry your eyes out at hearing of these our miseries. And, if I do not ask you to do this, I must, at any rate, beg you to believe, that we have not *all of us* merited this severe visitation of the Pitt system, of which many amongst us have always disapproved.

Lord WELLINGTON has lately observed, in the House of Lords, on the subject of the conduct of *the people*, that they most cheerfully gave their money to carry on the war, and that, "amongst all the Petitions there was not to be found one *word of repentance at our past efforts*" This is stated in the report of the speech; and, if the words were uttered, they were, I dare say, true, as to petitions to the Lords; but, with regard to those, laid before the Commons, there is *repentance* enough expressed for our past efforts, or, at least, for the consequences of them. The petitions of *Middlesex*, *Somersetshire*, *Worstershire*, *Wiltshire*, and many, many others, express disapprobation at our having interfered in the internal affair

of other nations. LORD HOLLAND is reported to have said, in a recent debate, that, "With regard to the majority of the people who were said to be in favour of the Income Tax, he could not help considering it a *majority of the same description as that in favour of the Bourbons in France*, and he suspected that if both majorities were sent were certain individuals had been sent, to *Elba or St Helena*, that either of these islands would be fully large enough to contain them." His Lordship, who is really a very good, and a very able man, has been abused for this by some of our venal writers, but you will not, on that account, pay less attention to his words, which, you may be assured, did not drop from his lips in a casual way, and without solid grounds for believing the fact.

The hired part of the press is continually at work to make the people believe, that the miseries of the country have *not arisen out of the war*. The motive for this is manifest enough. But, they labour in vain. Every man, be he in what state of life he may, knows now, he is now taught by his *feeling*, that it is the taxes which make him suffer. He knows, or is told, of the small amount of taxes that was paid in 1792, and of the plenty and prosperity which then reigned in England. He next asks why the taxes cannot be reduced to the amount of 1792, seeing that now we are at peace as we were in 1792; and, he is told, that the *cost of the war* renders such reduction impossible. The conclusion is, that the war, and the war alone, has been the cause of his misery; and to prevent him from coming to this conclusion, or to get it out of his head after it is safely lodged there, is beyond the power, even of such a press as ours. The people, therefore, now feel, that they owe their miseries to that war, which they so long supported with all their might. They see, too, that that war has hung a mill-stone about their necks, which is never to be got rid of by any little milk-and-water measures. They appear to feel no interest in any of the projects that are afloat; but, stand in a sort of sulky mood, waiting to see what will be done, or, rather, to see whether any thing *radical* will be done.

One of the schemes that have been started, is, a *tax upon emigration*. I mentioned this in an article, published *last year*,

in, like grape-shot, against the Tythes. The reasons stated in these petitions are the curious part of the affair. Now, you shall hear those, which the Devonshire people give: "That in order to preserve the Constitution of the United Empire of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as civil as ecclesiastical, it is necessary that there should be an Established Clergy, learned and independent.—That the functions of the Clergy being limited to the promulgation of the Christian doctrine, the influence which they hold by virtue of the Tythe Laws over the Agriculturalist is incompatible with their Holy Establishment, and prevents an extended cultivation of the Land.—That the Tythe Laws in their operation have been the means of creating inveterate jealousies and disputes between the Clergy and the People, which have been followed by secessions from the National Church, and by schisms and opinions destructive of sound morality."

What precious cant! What barefaced falsehood! What outrageous nonsense! These people would abolish the tythes for the sake of religion! At the end of seven hundred years, they have discovered, that Tythes are incompatible with the duties of priests. However, I beg to be clearly understood, as by no means opposing the object in view. But, I cannot suffer falsehood, nonsense, and cant to pass without animadversion. This is a matter, in which I will take no part. Here are the Yeomanry Cavalry on one side and the Clergy on the other. They most cordially united against the French republicans and the English reformers; and I am quite willing, for my part, to leave them to settle the question of Tythes in their own way.

WM. COBBETT.

#### IMPRISONMENT OF NAPOLEON AND BANK-RESTRICTION BILL.

On these two subjects some curious things have been said, on the first in the House of Lords and on the second in the House of Commons, on the 8th instant.—I insert the debates here at full length, and beg the reader to attend to every word of them.—They are of infinite importance.—Mind, reader, what I have all along said upon these two subjects!

#### BONAPARTE DETENTION BILL.

Earl BATHURST moved the second reading of the Bonaparte Safe Custody Bill.

Lord HOLLAND. He did not rise to oppose the Bill; for though he was well aware that he might think there was neither magnanimity nor sound policy in the mode in which we were proceeding with respect to this individual, yet a majority both in Parliament and out of doors were of opinion that some such proceeding was necessary. He had on a former occasion stated the reasons on which his opinion was founded, and would not now repeat them, especially as he would have the opportunity of recording the reasons of his dissent on the journals—a privilege of which he strongly felt the value on this occasion. He was astonished, however, that the Noble Secretary of State should have proposed the second reading of a bill of this sort, without stating the reasons on which it was founded, and even without explanation as to its nature and object. There was one thing to which he could not help calling their Lordships' attention, as connected with this bill—he alluded to the treaty by which Great Britain had become bound to keep him. Napoleon delivered himself up in July last; and soon after a treaty appeared, by which Great Britain, without any stipulation in its favour, had gratuitously offered to guard and keep him. Now he would ask, when we had him in our power to be dealt with according as the law of nations, or the municipal law and policy of this country, might dictate, why it was that Ministers had voluntarily shackled the councils of this country by such a treaty? Because, if we were authorised by the law of nations, and the municipal law of the country, to detain Napoleon, then we had full power to do so without this treaty. If the other Powers considered it as an advantage that he should be so kept, why did we do it gratuitously? Two of these Powers stood in a peculiar situation with respect to Bonaparte. One was nearly connected with him by marriage; and another had not only been connected with him by treaties, but the Sovereign had avowed the strongest personal attachment to him, and that, too, after all those acts for which he had been particularly stigmatized; the murder of

the Duc D'Enghien, and all the other crimes of that description; after the invasion of Spain, the greatest political crime he had ever committed. If, notwithstanding all this, they thought that it was for the safety of Europe that he should be detained as a prisoner of war, why should we so detain him under a treaty with them, without any stipulation for the benefit of this country? The Ministers had him in their own power; and if they were justified in detaining him by the law of nations and of this country, then, when the other Powers called upon them for a treaty to effect that object, they might have insisted upon some benefit in return for their own country. Why, then, did they spontaneously and gratuitously undertake this office, especially when the country was so much overburthened with the immense military establishment which the Ministers were resolved to keep on foot, and when one of them had stated, as the ground of his opinion on that head, that the true statesman-like maxim in these cases was, not to consider the actual danger, but those dangers which by possibility might arise. Was it not possible that the policy of Great Britain might be different from what it was at present? Was it not possible that our political views might be different from those of Russia and Prussia? Why, then, did Ministers conclude a treaty onerous on this country without any equivalent? The treaty began with an allegation that Bonaparte was then in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, which was unfounded in fact, for he was then in the power of Great Britain alone; and it was curious, after this, to find that Great Britain was to be loaded with all the expense and all the responsibility of keeping him, for the gratification of their revenge or ingratitude, and that, too, without compensation. Without any reference to the individual himself, or what might be his deserts, we ought to deal with him in a manner becoming this country. We ought not to consider merely what punishment the individual might be thought to deserve, but what punishment it became a great and liberal nation to inflict. With respect to the Bill itself, he wished the House to consider what it was, and what would be its legal consequences when it passed. In reading the Bill he found great difficulty in understanding the first

of these points. But whether their Lordships approved of the detention or not, it was proper that they should understand clearly and distinctly what they were to do, whether the bill was necessary to give the power of detaining him as a prisoner of war, or whether it was competent to the Ministers legally to detain him as such by the law of nations, and by the municipal law of this country as it now stood. He knew it was generally considered as expedient that he should be so detained, whether it was at present legal or not; but it did not follow that the same provisions were necessary, whether he might be legally detained or not. If he might be legally detained as a prisoner of war, then the bill ought to be declaratory merely, and then such restrictions and other provisions might be added as should appear proper. If it was expedient that he should be kept as a prisoner of war, though that was not at present legal, then it would be necessary to enact, not as this bill did, but, that Napoleon should be considered as a prisoner of war from the time when he delivered himself up, and then there ought to be an indemnity to those who had done what they had no legal authority to do. That sort of indemnity was, in fact, inserted in the St. Helena Intercourse Bill. It would, therefore, be of great use to have the opinion of the Judges, whether Napoleon might, as the law now stood, be detained as a prisoner of war. All he contended for was this, that it was necessary to know what was the actual state of the matter on which they were to legislate. Was Bonaparte a prisoner of war by the law as it at present stood, or was he not? Till they knew this they were legislating in the dark, and it was necessary, therefore, to desire the attendance of the Judges. The Noble Lord (Eldon) might smile, but the Noble Lord knew, that doubts had existed on this head, and it was fitting to know exactly how the matter stood, before they proceeded with a Bill, from which it might be inferred that it was not legal. The first question arose on the words of the Bill, "he shall be held to be and dealt with as a prisoner of war." If then he was to be held and dealt with as a prisoner of war by virtue of this Bill, what would be the legal consequences of such an enactment? He should then propose to submit to the Judges these ques-

tions :—1st, What was the precise description of an alien enemy and an alien friend? 2nd, Whether any person could be considered as an alien enemy, who was not the subject of any state with which we were at war? 3d, Was an alien enemy taken in war entitled to his *Habeas Corpus*, if detained after the signature of a treaty of peace, with all the Powers or any of which he could be considered as a subject? 4th, Could any person be held as a prisoner of war, who was not the subject of any known State? 5th, Could any man be so detained who was the subject of a state with whom we were not at war? The answer to these questions would put their Lordships in possession of the proper information on this subject. If there was no doubt about the law, why was this Bill brought in? He was exposing himself very imprudently to the sort of answer which would be given to all this, namely, that he was an admirer of Bonaparte and the French revolution, and so forth; for all the arguments of the Ministers on all occasions might be comprised under two general heads—Napoleon Bonaparte, and 1806. But leaving them the benefit of these arguments, he returned to the real question—why should they be called upon to pass a law in the dark? With respect to the other point—what would be the legal effect of the bill, perhaps it might be more regular to reserve that for the Committee: But he would now ask any of the Noble and Learned Lords, whether a prisoner of war could bring an action against any of his Majesty's subjects? and if not, whether it was his being in custody, or his being a subject of a State at war with us, that was the cause of it? He understood that a prisoner of war might maintain such an action, unless his adversary pleaded that he was an alien enemy; and the effect of such a plea he understood to be, that the plaintiff's suit was stopped or suspended, but not quashed, because the Court contemplated that the alien enemy might become an alien friend, and then he would be entitled to proceed with his suit. This Bill would render the law absolutely unintelligible on this point. The common law had no provision about modes of proceeding in the case of a prisoner of war, and only contemplated the character of alien friend or alien enemy, and recognised the keep-

ing an alien enemy in custody; and unless they knew precisely what was the state of the law at present, the consequence of passing this Bill would be to involve the matter in legal subtleties, which even the ingenuity of the Noble and Learned Lord could not unravel. He wished, therefore, that the second reading of the Bill should be postponed till after the Holydays, as the Judges who were absent in the discharge of their important duties could not attend till then. This could hardly be objected to on the ground of delay, as the Ministers had the same means of bringing forward such a Bill, if necessary, long ago; and the delay was therefore owing to themselves, and not to those who were desirous of having the proper information on the subject, before they agreed to a Bill of which the consequences might be so important. He moved that the Bill be read a second time the first Tuesday after the recess, and, for that purpose, that the word "now" be left out of the motion for the immediate second reading.

Karl BARNUMST said, his not stating the grounds of this measure did not arise from any inattention or disrespect to the House, but because he thought there were no objections to the bill which could properly be made in this stage. Bonaparte had surrendered himself, but that did not make him the less a prisoner of war. No act of his could suspend our right, and he was as much a prisoner of war as if he had been taken in battle. There might be some question, whether, after the treaty of peace, he could be detained as a prisoner of war, and this bill had been brought in to clear all doubt on that question, and to regulate the mode of his detention. The character of a prisoner of war was well known in our statute book, and that, therefore, was the character under which he was to be detained. The Noble Lord had referred to the treaty about his detention, and had adverted to certain questions of policy on that head: but the Noble Lord forgot that we were at that time acting in strict concert with the other Powers; and that when Napoleon was in the power of one, it followed that he must be considered as in the power of all the Allies. We had no exclusive power over Bonaparte, for he had given himself up in consequence of a common effort. As to our undertaking to keep him, it was certainly an advantage to this coun-

try to be allowed to do it, as we must be better satisfied that it would be properly done, than if he had been left in the power of any other. Each had an equal right to demand him for safe custody; and none could keep him with more honour, security, and lenity, than this country. If he had been left in the power of Russia, Austria, Prussia, or France, we might not have been so well satisfied. The Noble Lord said that the policy of these Powers might not be always the same as now. That was true, but might they not say the same thing as to us? Our policy might vary, and therefore it was perfectly reasonable that they should have an obligation on our part, independent of our existing policy. The Noble Lord seemed to consider that the dignity of the House required that we should have precise information how the law stood at present: but he could not see how the dignity of the House was concerned, and under this bill Bonaparte would be treated as a prisoner of war, with such restrictions as might appear proper. As this bill would place him in the situation of a prisoner of war, it did not appear material to have it ascertained how the law actually stood at present as to that point.

Lord HOLLAND observed, in explanation that his argument had been misapprehended. He had no doubt that the other powers might wish to have him detained as a prisoner of war; but why did we consent to do this for them without some advantage to ourselves, they having an equal interest in his detention as we had? Might not the policy of this country change? and why did we come under an obligation to deal with Bonaparte as they wished, without any valuable consideration of particular advantage to ourselves? In order to illustrate his argument, he would put an extreme case, and he admitted that it was such. Suppose such a change in the views of Austria, with respect to France, as that the Austrian Government might be inclined to place the son of Napoleon on the throne of France, and suppose a revolution in France, which would render this an easy matter. Then, suppose we might find it necessary to court the alliance of Austria and France against other Powers of the Continent. The son of Napoleon might insist upon the release of his father as a preliminary condition; and then the in-

convenience would arise from our engagements with Russia and Prussia on this head. Some such change might take place in the policy of the country, not only under other Ministers, but even under the present Ministers; and why were the councils of this country thus shackled without any valuable consideration? Some thought that the detention of Bonaparte was legal; others thought it was not legal, but that it was expedient. Then, in order to know how to legislate correctly, their Lordships ought to know how the law stood at present.

Earl BATHURST.—He had not misunderstood the Noble Lord. He again stated that we had no exclusive right over Napoleon, and that it was reasonable our allies should ask some security for his detention beyond the existing policy of this country; and if it was reasonable in them to ask it, it was proper in us to give it. We would not be satisfied without some such security if they had him.

Lord HOLLAND.—Would they have him without a sum of money?

Earl of LAUDERDALE.—He thought that too much importance had been attached to this matter, and that Ministers seemed to conceive that there was something preternatural in the influence of this man. He might have been kept in this country very securely in the custody of a peace officer, and there were some very active peace officers who would take sufficient care of him; but Bonaparte seemed to have paralysed the senses of the foreign Sovereigns, and also the senses of those who framed this bill. Why did they not speak plainly out, instead of wording it in this obscure phraseology? The preamble was, that whereas Bonaparte was detained at St. Helena, it was expedient that he should still be detained there: the obvious meaning of which was, that the cause of his being further kept there was, that he had been kept there before. This was holding out to our Allies that Bonaparte had never been dangerous till he was confined at St. Helena; whereas they had found by experience that he was dangerous before. The Noble Earl said that it was not necessary to decide whether he was a prisoner of war without this Bill: but he insisted that it was impossible to pass it without deciding that without it he was not a prisoner of war, and had been illegally detained, so that an indemn-

nity might be necessary. This proved the necessity for the delay called for by his Noble Friend. The truth was, that Ministers wished to avoid answering the question whether he was or was not a prisoner of war before, and whose subject he was, or whether he was Emperor of Elba, in order that they might by this Bill confine him at St. Helena, not allowing even a corner in Europe to him who once possessed almost the whole of it. They had put in the St. Helena Intercourse Bill an indemnity to the Lords of the Admiralty, and why had they not stuck an indemnity into this Bill also, which would at least as well correspond with the title? He defied the ingenuity even of the Noble Lord on the Woolsack to make sense of this Bill as it at present stood.

The LORD CHANCELLOR.—He laid no claim to the ingenuity ascribed to him by his Noble Friend, for he thought that it required no particular ingenuity to understand the Bill, though a great deal of ingenuity had been employed to misunderstand it. He would not argue with reference to Bonaparte or 1806, though he thought the latter had been as mischievous as the former; but what he said was this, that there was no good reason for consulting the Judges, because, whether they should answer one way or the other, he should still think this Bill necessary. The enacting part was, that he should be kept as a prisoner of war under certain restrictions; the restrictions being for the purpose of allowing all possible lenity consistent with the safe custody of Bonaparte, though perhaps not strictly conformable to the nature of the confinement of a prisoner of war. The nature of the restrictions was settled, and those who might assist him in any attempt to escape were to be liable to the same punishment as those who assisted in the escape of prisoners of war. The bill, therefore, was sufficiently plain and distinct. Really the Noble Lord (alluding, we believe, to the manner in which the Earl of Lauderdale looked at him while speaking) put such a face upon the matter, (*A laugh*) gave such a countenance to it, that he did not know how to withstand it. With respect to the preamble, he must do as they did in the Committee—postpone it. (*A laugh*.)

Lord HOLLAND's motion, that the word 'now' be left out, was negatived; and the

Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

Earl BATHURST then moved the second reading of the St. Helena Intercourse Bill.

The Earl of LAUDERDALE said, that there was nothing in the title which could lead any one to conjecture that there was a clause of indemnity in the bill.

Earl BATHURST.—The Committee was the proper stage for that objection.

The bill was read a second time; to be committed to-morrow.

Lord HOLLAND moved that his questions be put to the Judges. He did it only *pro forma*, that he might lay the ground for recording his dissent.

The question was accordingly put on these questions, and negatived,—Adjourned.

#### BANK RESTRICTION ACT.

The Order of the Day for a Committee on this Act having been read,

Mr. GRENFELL wished to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at what time he thought the Bank would be able to renew its payments in specie?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, as far as he could at present judge, thought that in two years payments in specie might be resumed.

The House then went into a Committee on the Bank Restriction Act, in which

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, that this Act be further continued for a time to be limited. The time, as he had already said, would be about two years, as it was better to fix a definitive term when it was probable cash payments could positively be renewed. If trade continued in a flourishing state, there would necessarily be a great influx of specie. He concluded by moving a Resolution for the continuance of the Act.

Mr. GRENFELL desired the House to recollect that some time ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer had mentioned the month of July, 1816, as the time when payments in specie were to be resumed. It seemed to him that there could be no more favourable time for resuming payments in specie than now, when the Mint price of Bullion, particularly of Silver, was the same with the market price. He repeated his opinion that the public should participate in the profits derived by the Bank from this Act.

Mr. PONSONBY also reminded the House

that July, 1816, was the period fixed by the Right. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer as that at which payments in specie should be resumed. Two years hence he expected that the time when this Act was so be dispensed with would be as far distant as now, excepting the time that would intervene between this time and then.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in answer to the two last Speakers, observed, that since the passing of the existing Act, the renewal of the war had changed the circumstances of the country, that though our foreign commerce was in a most prosperous state, our internal situation was not flourishing, and that a continuation of the measure was thus rendered necessary. With regard to the public participating in any profits, it would, in his opinion, derogate from the honour of Parliament and the public, were he, by proposing any participation with the Bank, to allow it to be inferred, that the country compromised the character of its currency for a pecuniary consideration.

Mr. PONSONBY and Mr. GRENFELL asserted that the renewal of the Restriction was understood to be one of the conditions of the loan of six millions by the Bank.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER and Lord CASTLEREAGH stated, that the renewal of the Act made no part of the bargain with the Bank.

Sir J. NEWPORT.—When he found that it was proposed to continue the restrictions for two years longer, he lost all hope of ever seeing them cease.

Mr. PONSONBY contended that as long as paper was convertible into gold, there was no scarcity of circulating medium. The restrictions had increased the issue of Bank notes, from which had arisen an artificial price and the disappearance of the circulating medium. He considered the present as an attempt to revive that paper currency which had occasioned the distresses of the country.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER maintained that before the restrictions had been imposed, there had been continual complaints of the want of a circulating medium, especially at the close of the American war, and in 1792.

Mr. PONSONBY said, that the complaints to which the Right Hon. Gentleman alluded, were occasioned by the state of the coin and not the want of a circulating medium.

Lord CASTLEREAGH stated, that even in a mixed circulation, there were 32 millions of guineas in 1797. Now that the industry of the country was doubled, a proportionably large circulation of guineas would be necessary, and that would not be effected without sufficient time to allow the gold to flow in. If the Bank were opened too soon, it would be run upon and rendered unable to support that circulation which even at any time was necessary.

Some further conversation followed between Mr. Ponsonby, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Grenfell, Lord Folkstone, and Mr. Mettish; the latter of whom reminded the House, that it was the Parliament and the country that obliged the Bank to discontinue its cash payments—it was not the Bank that required it.

After a few words from General Thornton, the resolution was agreed to, and a bill ordered accordingly.

## STATE OF IRELAND.

The following Speeches in the House of Lords, on the 2nd. instant are valuable, because they contain a description of the miserable State of Ireland, and will enable my readers to judge of the measures, which have, for years, been adopted towards that country.

The Marquis of BUCKINGHAM rose. The motion which he was now to submit to their Lordships was, that they should resolve themselves into a Committee to consider the state of Ireland. He was at some loss to state the particular grounds on which that motion ought to rest, not certainly from want of grounds for it, but because the grounds were so many, and the subject so large and extensive. Amidst the great mass of matter which presented itself, he only distrusted his own powers, not the strength of the cause which he had to plead. The map of Ireland would show the space over which the evil had spread: and the subject of his complaint was the bad government of ages operating on the feelings and interests of millions, and his witnesses were the whole people of Ireland. The case was made up of the grievances of ages operating on every class of the Irish community. His witnesses were the higher orders impoverished.



ed, and the lower orders driven to despair, and to seek the means of subsistence, not from honest industry, but from plunder and rapine. The proof consisted of facts, clear and notorious; and if it were wanted, he had documentary evidence too to show that the government of Ireland had been radically vicious, and had brought the higher orders of poverty and driven the lower orders to rebellion.—The vice of the government was this, that it operated by a spirit of division, by setting one party against another, till at length it had united both against itself. The proposition which he now had to submit was, not to inquire who had been the authors of this system—whether it was the system of this Minister or of that; but the object was to inquire into the whole of the evil, with a view to the proper remedy. No matter for the present purpose who put the worm there, and cherished it till it had grown an enormous serpent, twining round the limbs, obstructing the circulation of the blood, and tainting the air of Ireland: no matter who put the reptile there. The business now was, to pluck it from the breast, and to look at the past only with a view to find the proper remedy for the future. Perhaps time had been already lost in prosecuting this inquiry. Some had thought that a period of war and tumult was not the proper time for such an investigation; but all must agree in this now, when the season of peace had arrived. He had said that the radical defect was in that system of division by which Ireland was governed. If sacrifices were required, they were demanded from one party to support the other: if boons were granted, they were granted to one party at the expense of the other. He did not allude to the government of this minister or that. There were times at which the government of Ireland was conducted in a different spirit; but the instances were too few, and too short, to prevent the baneful effects of the general system, and only served to irritate the people by the contrast. It was not for him to point out the remedy for the evil: it was for the Committee to consider that point. He

might, he believed, rest here; for after the confidence which had been placed in Ministers with respect to Ireland, it was for them to show what was the situation of Ireland, and how it happened that so large a military force was required for Ireland. It was their Lordships' duty to investigate thoroughly the state of that country, with a view to the proper remedy. This inquiry their Lordships owed in justice to Ireland, where they had consented to maintain an armed garrison even in time of peace. They owed it to themselves to show that they did not mean an armed force to form the whole of the elements of the constitution which they intended for Ireland. They owed it to Ireland that she should not be driven to despair, or think herself an outcast from the pale of the Constitution: and yet such must be the sentence which their Lordships would pass on their fellow-subjects in that country, if they resisted inquiry. It was impossible to enter into the discussion of the situation of Ireland, without taking into consideration that prominent topic which went under the name of the Catholic question; though he should not at this time of day, after the repeated discussions which it had undergone, fatigue their Lordships' attention by entering unnecessarily into it: but to the present state of that question he would call the attention of the House, and confident he was, that if their Lordships went into its consideration with a conciliatory spirit, it would be easy to find a remedy. He would lay down this as a general principle—that whatever was done for the relief of the Catholics, should be done by the legislature alone. Whatever inclination he might have to listen to the statements of every portion of the Catholics, he would not submit their complaints to any jurisdiction but that of Parliament. If differences prevailed amongst the Catholics, they might settle them amongst themselves; but it was the business of the Legislature to do impartial justice to all.

*(To be Continued.)*

AMERICAN REGISTER.

A great number of gentlemen have applied to the proprietor, by letter, to be supplied with the American Register. They must be aware, I think, that this is a matter of "extreme delicacy," as the Honourable Members used to say, when they were speaking upon the subject of *Mrs. Clarke, &c.* Indeed, it is of so very delicate a nature, that it can hardly be touched on in any way whatever. But, the proprietor can just venture to say, that he cannot import the work by any means. Nor does he think (though he is not sure) that there can be any danger in his saying, that he supposes, that the work may be obtained by application to the publishers at New York. It may, however, be necessary to observe, that the date of publication will always be several months in the rear of that of writing; because, it being necessary to send out persons expressly with the manuscript; or, to obtain safe hands who are going out, there must, in general, be an accumulation of Manuscript of two or three months. The proprietor takes this opportunity of stating, that his intention is to pay 15*l.* towards the expences of the passage of any person who may be going to America on his own business, and who will take charge of a packet of manuscript, and deliver it safely, the 15*l.* to be paid on the safe delivery at New York. Such a person will be wanted on the 1st of June next. Application to be made by letter, post paid, at 192, Strand, London. But, no person need apply, who cannot give a good reference with regard to his moral character and his politics; the proprietor being fully aware of the *inexpediency* of putting his papers into the hands of persons liable to be bribed. Therefore, no one need offer himself who will not bear double sifting and houlting. Another person will be wanted about the 1st of August.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER IX.

*Bank of England still to be protected against the demands of the holders of its paper.—John Bull's corrupt press.—He is coaxed when he sets up.—The pretext now made use of.—The history of the Bank-Stoppage.—Mr. Horner and the Bullion Committee.—Divers former pretexts.—The real intention of the present measure.—Custleredgh's Speech.—The effects of the measure.—Mr. Horner and his Committee fairly puzzled.—Ruinous and corrupting consequences of a system of fictitious money.—Warning to America.—Talk about a GREAT DIVORCE.*

Batley, 20th April, 1816.

In my No. 14, that is to say, two weeks ago, I told you in my Postscript to Letter VII. that I suspected, that the Ministry would, at last, resort to the only *real remedy* (except that of lowering their establishments and the interest of the Debt), namely, the doing of something to *cause fresh quantities of paper-money to be poured out upon the country.* In a letter, which I addressed to you in December last, I proved, as, I think, I have done many times, that it was the withdrawing of the paper-money, or, at least, a considerable part of it, which had produced the distress in trade and agriculture; and, in the course of the *fifteen* previous Numbers of *this Volume*, I think, that this truth is so clearly demonstrated, that I am afraid to repeat the arguments here, lest I should be, in good earnest, regarded as deliberately insulting your understandings. In the letter to Mr. DALLAS, your Secretary of the Treasury, and which letter is contained in No. II. of this Volume, under date of 13th January, I gave you a full and true account of *who*;

*what, whence*, those sleek-headed gentlemen, whom we call Governors and Directors of the Bank of England are. I developed to you all the whole *history* and *mystery* of them and their proceedings. I showed you, by citing divers instances, the grand part they acted in the carrying on of the whole system. I explained to you how their co-operation with the Government had affected the *liberties* of the country; and, as was natural, I endeavoured to induce you to take this as a *warning*, when you were discussing the question of a *National Bank*.

You, therefore, will be much better prepared for the consideration of this new measure, than John Bull will. He, poor fellow, has never been able to get at one word of the many interesting truths contained in my Letter to Mr. Dallas. His press consists, nineteen twentieths of it, of what is, in one way or another, hired to deceive him; and, the other twentieth dares not speak out for fear of punishment. This poor animal, therefore, is kept *in hand*, as they call it, and *noodled* along from one embarrassment, from one state of suffering, to another, without ever knowing the real cause of any of them. When he is loaded beyond the possibility of bearing; when he cannot stagger along another yard; when goading is no longer of any use; when all attempts to force or to frighten him have lost their power; when he *sets-up*, like a poor exhausted jade, and hangs his head down and sulks, then some new device is found out for coaxing him a bit, and for giving him time to recruit his strength. To one of these *sets-up* he has now come; and I am now going to show you the manner, in which it appears to be intended to go to work to put him in motion again; to get him along peaceably, and to prevent him from doing mischief to his drivers.

It is well known to you, that in 1797, the Bank of England stopped payment; that is to say, that it then began to refuse to pay its promissory notes when presented for payment. You also know, that that refusal was sanctioned by an *Order in Council*; that the Order in Council was sanctioned by an act of parliament; that was an act passed to screen all the parties from punishment; and that this refusal to pay their notes has been sanctioned by act of parliament from 1797 to this day. It has been pretended all the while, that the

Bank was perfectly *solvent*; that there was no want of *means* there. However, *you*, who *know* what all the whole thing is, will merely ask: What *pretexts* could possibly be hatched for continuing this refusal for so many years?

In "*Paper against Gold*" I have recorded these prettexts, which I did, indeed, with a view to what has now happened. The divers Ministers, who managed the concern, always put off the time of payment on account of the *war*. It was dangerous, they said, to make the Bank pay in cash *during the war*. Stop, said they, 'till *peace* shall come. But, before I proceed any further, let me call your attention to what was said on the subject, in the House of Commons, on the 8th instant, upon introducing another Bill for continuing this refusal.

"THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER stated the reasons which induced him to move for a prolongation of the restriction in cash payments. He thought it would be better to fix the term of the restriction at *two years*, than to propose one, as in the Act then in force; because the latter would give the proposition the air of an annual measure, while the former would hold out the expectation, which he *had every reason to believe would prove well founded, that at the expiration of two years the restriction would cease*. He therefore moved, That the Chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a Bill to continue the Act for a time to be limited.

"MR. PONSONBY contended, that the Right Honourable Gentleman had by this proposition utterly *disappointed all the hopes* which he had held out on recommending the adoption of the existing Act, when he declared, that he entertained the *most sanguine expectation* that the Bank would be able to resume their cash payments at the period specified in the Act, as the term of the restriction.

"THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply to the Right Hon. Gentleman, said, that since the passing of the existing Act, the *renewal of the war* had changed all the circumstances of the country, and particularly *its internal condition*; thus *rendering a continuation of the measure necessary*.

"LORD FOLKESTONE took the earliest opportunity of protesting against this

"new measure proposed with so little explanation, and in a time of peace, *when it was to have been expected that the country would have returned to a healthy state of currency.*"

"MR. J. P. GRANT, in a very able and argumentative speech, exposed the dangers which would arise from a repetition (which the profuse issue of paper must occasion) of that revaluation, from the effects of which the country had scarcely yet recovered. Nothing could be more pernicious than thus to keep playing tricks with our currency."

"SIR J. NEWPORT abandoned all hope of ever seeing cash payments resumed by the Bank, and deprecated the undue preponderance of such a body in the State."

"MR. PONSONBY represented the evils which would arise from returning to that artificial circulation, which gave to the country the *semblance of prosperity*, while it was on the verge of bankruptcy."

"THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought the Right Honourable Gentleman's apprehensions much exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded. He enlarged on the benefits that would be derived from the Act, and referred to the caution with which the Bank had hitherto issued their notes, limiting them invariably to the necessity, as an assurance that similar prudence would guide their proceedings for the future."

"MR. MELLISH said the Bank did not ask the restrictions—it was the House that directed the Bank not to pay."

"This must have been a mere sketch of what passed; but, here is quite enough to show what is intended to be done, and also what are the notions and motives at work upon this occasion. Before, however, we proceed to examine into these latter, it is absolutely necessary, in order to secure the rights of truth, that we notice what was said by MR. MELLISH in justification of the Bank. His assertion is, that the Bank did not ASK (no not they!) to be protected against their Creditors. No: it was the Parliament that "directed the Bank not to pay."

"In Number II. I have told you what sort of a person this Governor of the Bank is; a \* \* \* \* \*. You will, therefore, see, that it was not at all unnatural, that he should make this assertion."

But, let us inquire how the fact stands. It was on the 27th of February, 1797, that the Bank stopped payment; a day which I always keep as the anniversary of the deadly blow to the system of corruption; for, though it still lives, it only staggers along. It's fits return oftener and oftener; and, in spite of all the efforts to preserve it, under the effects of this blow corruption will finally expire. On the 27th of February an immense crowd was assembled round the Bank with notes in their hands or pockets to get paid; but, instead of receiving gold and silver, they had presented to them, an Order of the Privy Council, saying that they were *not to be paid*. Well, but, how came this Order to be issued? At whose suggestion was it issued? Now, mark! On the 21st of February a Deputation of the Directors of the Bank went to Pitt, and informed him, that there had been a great drain upon their cash, at which THEY felt great uneasiness; and, upon their telling him, that they thought that this had arisen from the alarm of invasion, he observed, "that the alarm was now become much more general than he could think necessary." They then pressed him to make some declaration in Parliament upon the subject "in order to ease the public mind"! Which is, I think, a pretty enough specimen of the sort of intercourse and co-operation going on between the Government and the Bank. Pitt pushed them hard to send to Hamburgh for Gold; and, on the 22nd of February, they had a meeting with him upon that subject. Still the run kept on and with accelerated force. On the 24th of February, at a Meeting of the whole Court of Directors it appeared, that the sums drawn out were so prodigious, and "gave such an alarm for THE SAFETY OF THE HOUSE," that the DEPUTY GOVERNOR and Mr. BOSANQUET were desired to wait on Mr. Pitt to mention to him these circumstances, and to ask him how far he thought the Bank might venture to go on paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere, before our cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the State." Mr. MELLISH thinks, I dare say, that these facts are all forgotten by John Bull, who, indeed, generally speaking, never heard of them. However, it is not of much consequence what stupid

John may think about the matter; though it is of great importance, that you, the People of America, should know how the thing was managed.

You will now see how apt the title of "Bank-Restriction Bill" was. You will now see how *eager* the Bank was to pay its promissory notes. But, in "*Paper against Gold*" you will find in the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th Letters, all the *proofs* relative to this unparalleled transaction. In short, you will there see it clearly *proved*, that the Bank Governors and Directors are neither more nor less than what *I* have called them in my Letter to Mr. Dallas.

You will perceive, that Mr. PONSONBY seemed *disappointed* at the proposition to continue the non-payment for two years longer; that SIR JOHN NEWPORT abandoned, upon hearing of it, *all hope* of ever seeing cash-payments resumed; and that LORD FOLKESTONE said, that, now that *peace* was come, it was to have *been expected*, that a *healthy* state of the currency would return. What the two former may have *expected* or *hoped for* I do not know; but, I should have no hesitation to take my *oath*, that LORD FOLKESTONE never expected to see the "*healthy*" currency come back as long as the dividends should be continued to be paid in full; whether in peace or in war. Far be it from me to call his Lordship's sincerity in question; and, indeed, he does not appear to have said, that *he* did expect to see the "*healthy*" currency return; but, though a parcel of bawling and shallow-headed *Sessions-Lawyers* make a noise about a return to a "*healthy*" currency, I am quite sure, that if LORD FOLKESTONE be asked, whether *he* believes that it is *possible* to pay the dividends in gold and silver; if he be asked this *seriously*, and if he *seriously* answer in the *affirmative*, I will suffer a *Sessions-Lawyer* to talk me to death, and a death more horrid even the same Devil who persecuted poor Job could not invent.

Mr. HORNER, of whom I have given you an account in No. III. of this Volume, wishes, it seems, the *discussion* on this subject to be postponed 'till *after the Holidays*. Yet, I much doubt whether it will make any figure. Experience has now shown what would be the effect of those cash-payments, to which Mr. HORNER and the BULLION COMMITTEE wished

to return three years ago. In 1811 they proposed to compel the Bank to pay in two years from that time, though the war was still going on. We have now seen, that, after a year of peace, without the smallest danger of a renewal of war, no cash-payments have taken place; and, that a mere *attempt* to raise the paper to par has plunged the whole country into misery. The fact is now pretty clearly acknowledged, that it was *intended*, if possible, to pay again in cash; and that it has been found impracticable. To be sure, it would be very desirable to see this paper swept away (and see the thing we shall yet); but, then the *Dividends cannot be paid in full*; and the Establishments must be reduced one half or more. Wheat would be about 4s. a bushel, and the revenue, with an army to collect it, would not exceed 20 millions.

The *reasons* given for this present measure are not only curious, but most important. Stupid John Bull will care nothing about them. Indeed, he will not perceive them. He wants more money: no matter of what *sort*;—no matter what may be its effects on his civil and political liberties. More money: accommodation: money: this is what he wants, and, if any one wishes to be popular with him, I would have that person not say much against re-cramming his maw with paper coin. But, it is of great consequence, that *you* attend to the *reasons*, which have been given for this measure. You will bear in mind how the stoppage took place; and it will be proper to state here the several pretexts, upon which the withholding of cash-payments has been attempted to be justified, or palliated.

The first act that was passed upon the subject was only for *fifty-two days*, by the end of which time, the Minister, Pitt, said he was confident the Bank would resume its payments in the usual way, the cause of the run being merely an *alarm at the threat of invasion*. But, at the end of the 52 days, the act was renewed, and was to continue in force 'till one month after the commencement of the then next Session of Parliament. The pretext now was, that the Minister did not think it *expedient* to make the Bank pay just yet, *the alarm not being quite over*; and, the Bank, very fortunately, agreed in opinion with the Minister. When the *Third* act came to be passed, in November 1797, and which

was to continue in force *'till six months after a definitive treaty of peace*, the pretext was new, and of a more permanent kind. It was now said, that it was *proved*, in the *most satisfactory* way (to a Committee of Pitt's own appointing!), that the affairs of the Bank were in the most prosperous state; that they were not only quite able, but *wished*, to pay in cash; but, that, the enemy "*having declared his design to make war upon us through our finances, and to ruin our public credit, it was necessary to meet him in the same way, and, therefore, it would be proper not to let the Bank pay in gold and silver till the end of the war.*" And, impudent and preposterous as this was, on this pretext the act was passed, and thus we went on, "*thinking*" John Bull confidently expecting, that, when peace came, guineas would come too. In 1802, this last-mentioned act expired. *Peace* came; but, alas! thinking John Bull's guineas did not come. Just before the expiration of the act, the then Minister, MR. HENRY ADDINGTON, now Viscount Sidmouth, brought in a Bill to continue the non-payment act in force, *'till March 1803*. But, what pretext was now found out? Why, that it was necessary to *give time for the peace to operate*; and, that it was well known, that people were *buying up guineas to send them out of the country*; and that, therefore, it would be unsafe to suffer the Bank to pay *'till the next year*. Well, that time came. And then the Act was renewed again for *another year*, under the pretext, that there was a *scarcity of coin in the country*! which, indeed, was perfectly true! Before this year was expired, the war was renewed, and Addington, without the least ceremony, brought in a Bill to continue the non-payment 'till six months after peace, observing, very coolly, that though there were differences of opinion respecting this measure, as a *peace-measure*, he believed, that Honourable Gentlemen were unanimous as to the propriety and justice of it as a *war-measure*!

Well you may bless yourselves! To be sure, the parallel of this is to be found only in Addington's assertion upon the passing of the last-mentioned bill but one, when he actually uttered these words:—He prefaced his proposition, as his predecessor always used to do, by very high language about the *ability* of

the Bank to pay in coin. He said, in the debate of the 9th of April, "I have the satisfaction of being convinced, that the measure cannot furnish a *pretence to the most timid man in the House, to suppose the Bank does not possess within itself the most ample means of satisfying the full extent of the demands which may be made upon it, by the payment of its notes in specie.*" In the debate of the 21st of April, he said, that "on the *solidity* of the Bank, he was entitled to say and assume, there was now no question, either in that House or elsewhere. On the DISPOSITION of the Bank to make payments in specie, he was also entitled to assume, nay he owed it to the Bank to ASSERT, they had manifested a readiness to do so. It was, however, thought necessary to continue this restriction *for a while.*" Having said this, he said, that it was, of course, quite unnecessary to enter into any inquiry as to the state of the Bank's affairs.

Now, this is what PITT would not have said; or, at least, he would not have said it in the same way; and, as Mr. Fox once acknowledged, Addington did certainly surpass all the men we have ever heard of in this department. (A.) Be this as it may, however, it is very certain, that the act was passed, and that it continued in force, till the end of the war with France in 1814. It was then renewed for a year, because we were *at war with YOU*. When that year expired, Napoleon was returned, and, as Addington said, "*nobody doubted its excellence as a war-measure.*" But now! what is the pretext now? Why, the *internal condition of the country*; and, upon this ground, the act is to be renewed for *two years*.

Such are the pretexts, under which this act, to protect the Bank of England against the demands of its creditors, has been continued, and is to be continued, in force; and, at every stage, there have been the most solemn assurances given of the solvency and solidity of the Bank, and the most confident assertions have been made, that the Bank would resume its cash-payments at the expiration of the acts respectively. And, after all this, at the end of 19 years of this *putting-off*, is it not wonderful that any body should be found to talk of paying at the end of

*two years more?* It is not the renewal of the act, but the *hope* held out of payment at the end of the two years is the thing to astonish one.

However, the interesting part of the subject is, the EFFECT, which this renewal is, by the Ministers, *intended to produce at this time*. This is the interesting part of the subject. For here even thinking John Bull must, one would suppose, clearly perceive the way in which the government and the Bank work together. Why do you renew the act, Mr. VANSITTART? There is now plenty of gold and silver. The paper is nearly at par. The exchange is in our favour. We are at peace. All the former pretexts are removed. The Bank is able to pay, or might have been, in a few weeks. *Why*, then, not let the Bank pay in specie?

The answer is; that the *internal condition of the country* requires the paper-system to be continued. The internal condition, Sir; and why does that require any such measure? Why, because it is now become clear as daylight even to fools, that the Dividends never can be paid in full in any thing but paper. It is now clear, that, if specie payments were resumed, wheat would sell at 4s. a bushel, and that, instead of 60 millions a year, the revenue would yield only about 20 millions. A trial has been made of a paper nearly at par; and, the mere trial has very nearly blown up the whole fabric. Therefore, *out will come the paper again*; up will go the price of the guinea and of the bushel of wheat; and John Bull will jog along again pretty well contented. He will say, that *things be come about*, and that he mainly hopes, that he shall get through his difficulties.

Now, observe, I am not quite sure, that this effect will follow so quickly as the Ministers seem to imagine. When the wheels of such a system have been once stopped, the system is not so easily put again into motion. But, that the Ministers expect that this measure and the consequences of it will cause *prices to rise* is clear enough. We have seen what Mr. VANSITTART said. It was the *internal condition of the country* which called for the measure. Formerly it used to be the external condition. However, it is very true what is now said; for the distress has arisen from the *high value of the paper*.

To bring that down in value, there must be a greater quantity of it than there now is; and, in order to augment the quantity with safety, those who issue it must be secured against a demand of payment in specie.

That this is the light, in which the Ministers view the measure is quite clear, too, from what was said, the next day, by Lord Castlereagh, during a renewed debate on the distresses of the Agriculture: He was "persuaded, that shut out as foreign corn was, the home growth would soon rise to a competition with the other domestic articles of produce and manufacture with which it came in competition. The simple circumstance of land going out of cultivation would accelerate this operation. His conviction was, that the great mass of the agriculture of the country was founded on a solid basis: although he did not deny that it experienced at present great distress and difficulty. To alledge, however, that this distress was an actual decay of the national wealth, was, in his opinion, not to seize its true character. Of the reverse, the state of the revenue afforded an indubitable indication. In all its branches, it had been maintained, and down to the very last week, was more productive than in the same periods of any former year. He did not state this to dissuade the House from affording any possible mitigation of the existing evil, but to induce them to look at the situation of the country with a steady eye, in the expectation which he himself cherished, that a termination would ere long be put to the sufferings that had been occasioned by the great change of prices. The operation had already commenced. Wheat, he understood, had risen at Edinburgh to 72s. a quarter. It was not likely, therefore, that it would long remain at 56s. in the other parts of the kingdom. If it should rise to 80s. or 90s. he should be glad to know where would be the distress? He allowed that the alteration in the circulating medium had co-operated in producing the existing circumstances. But this was by no means a permanent state of things. In a short space of time, the Banks over the whole country, although they would not advance so liberally as they had formerly done; would advance

"sufficiently to diminish the existing pressure. The continuation of the restriction on cash payments would also go a great way to remedy the inconveniences which would result from the rejection of the Property Tax, by affording facilities for raising money for the public service in other ways. The *Sinking Fund* was a topic too extensive to be incidentally treated. He would protest against any considerable application to that fund, however, until its operation had so raised the credit of the country, that application might be made to it without danger. It had been the means of carrying us through all our difficulties, and ought not to be too rashly invaded. Adverting to the state of our commerce with South America, he declared that at present it was very considerable, and that the means of improving it occupied the earnest and constant attention of his Majesty's Ministers."

This speech is very pregnant with matter for comment. But, only think of a man's eulogizing a system, which has "been the means of carrying us through all our difficulties", and that, too, at a moment, when the whole kingdom rings with complaints of unexampled misery, and when the parliament itself is sitting night after night, and debating on scheme after scheme for the relief of the distressed of the country! We have lived, too, you see, to hear a Minister calculating on the good that will result from "*land going out of cultivation*." George Rose, for many years, produced the increase of new enclosure Bills as a proof of the increasing prosperity of the country; but, now, it seems, good is to come from land going out of cultivation! What will Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG say to this? He, who has been representing a *general enclosure bill* as a measure absolutely necessary to our sustenance? What! are we, then, arrived at a situation, when the country may look to land going out of cultivation for relief? You, in America, would think this a strange doctrine: indeed. You would think the man rather queer, who should gravely tell you to expect good from seeing your new towns tumble down and your new-cultivated lands falling back into a wilderness state.

As to Lord Castlereagh's account of the revenue, all that I shall say of

it, is, that it is one of those \* \* \* \* \* But, the revenue being in this flourishing state; it being so productive at present prices, why should this Lord seem to wish the price of corn to rise? However the main thing is to note well what he says about the effect of new issues of paper-money. His ideas are too curious, considering whence they come, for us to pass them over hastily. He says:

1. That he hopes, that a termination will, *vera long*, be put to the sufferings that have been occasioned by the great change in prices.
2. That wheat has *already risen*, and that, if it rise to 80s. or 90s. a quarter, the distress will end.
3. That the *alteration in the circulating medium* has assisted in producing the distress.
4. That this is by no means a permanent state of things.
5. That in a short space of time, the Banks all over the country will advance sufficiently to diminish the existing distress.
6. That the continuation of the law to authorize the Bank for two years longer to *refuse to pay in specie*, will go a great way in producing a remedy.

Thus, then, if words have any meaning in this world, the meaning of these words, is, that the distress is to be removed by a return to *high prices*; that high prices are to be produced by *advances to farmers and others in paper-money*; that these advances will be made in consequence of the *continuance of the Bank non-payment law*; and, that we shall soon see and feel the beneficial effect of this operation. The truth is, however, that the operation must begin at the Bank of England. That respectable and liberal Old Lady must feed her daughters all over the country, in order that they may be able to feed John Bull. If this should take place, in a short space of time, what a pretty state of things will then be seen to exist! We shall, then, not only be, but be seen by all the world to be, in that situation, which I have fully described in No. II. of this Volume, where I have endeavoured to shew you the dangers of a National Bank.

Why should Lord Castlereagh suppose, that the Country Banks will soon begin



to discount again? How should he form this opinion of their means, if he was not informed that they were about to be supplied with new resources? However, there is one thing, which neither the government nor the Bank, nor both together, though aided by parliament, king and church, can do, and that is, to prevent the *guinea* from rising as well as the bushel of wheat. This is the *sting*. This is the ugly thing, to which I shall be calling the Ministers' attention. The paper is, it seems, to come forth with *more caution* than formerly. How does Lord Castlereagh know that? How can he know it, unless he has his hand almost upon the very press at which it is printed? What an admirably constructed system must that be, which enables the Ministry to know precisely to what extent the people are to be supplied with money! A system, which enables them and the Bank to raise and lower prices at their pleasure; or, at least, to know when prices are going to rise and when to fall! What a fine system, which, by the mere *turning of a cock*, either makes the whole family drunk, or, kills them for want of drink! What a glorious system, that enables a set of \*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\* affairs, of a whole nation like this!

I must, at the risk of wearying you with repetition, again beg your attention to the way, in which this system operates. The way, in which it produces embarrassment, ruin, and misery. This subject is of vast importance with *us*, but, it is of still greater importance with *you*; because you have it yet in your power to prevent such a system from being established, or from growing up, in your country.

I will suppose a case, thousands and thousands of which exist at this moment in England. JOHN STILES is a farmer, who has saved some money; but, not enough to purchase a farm which he has in his eye belonging to Mr. GATES. However, he buys it for 10,000*l.* and borrows 4,000*l.* of the money on mortgage, which he is very fairly justified in doing, seeing that his *farming stock* is worth 4,000*l.* or, perhaps, more; and, that, in a few years, there is every reason to believe, that he will be able to *clear off his mortgage*.—Wheat is, upon an average of years, 15*s.* a bushel, and all other prices are in proportion.

Thus stand the affairs of Stiles to-day. He is a man of considerable property, and his children expect to have tolerable fortunes. But, the Bank begins to draw in the paper; the guinea falls in price; the wheat falls with the guinea; the receipts of Stiles diminish; his interest on the mortgage continues the same. At last, wheat comes down to 6*s.* He cannot get on without selling off some of his farming stock. The tax-gatherer is unrelenting. The farming goes bit by bit. It brings hardly any thing. Having so little money to lay out in labour, the land falls into decay; it produces less; the mortgage presses; the interest is not paid; the land is sold; it scarcely brings the 4,000*l.* borrowed on it, and Stiles and his family are ruined.

Now, this is an operation which has been, for a year, going on all over the country. The same effect is produced on persons in trade; for, if a man has laid in his *stock* when wheat was 15*s.* a bushel; if he has bought his goods, or had them manufactured; if he has rented his shop, or his yards; if he has contracted debts, or has borrowed money to trade with; if he has done all, or any, of these things (and some of them *every* man in trade must have done) when the paper-money was so abundant as to cause wheat to be 15*s.* a bushel, such a reduction in the quantity of paper-money as to bring wheat down to 6*s.* a bushel must be very injurious to him; and, if he trade upon borrowed money, he must be ruined.

Out of such a state how is the nation to be brought? There are two ways; first, a law to reduce all debts of every description, all fixed salaries, all rents, all engagements for payments of every sort, so as to make the amount to be paid proportionate to the fall of prices. This would necessarily include Civil List, Funds, and every thing. But, then, this would be a total *sweep-out* of the system. It would put all to rights. Justice would be done to every body as nearly as possible; and, in its complete exposure and annihilation, justice would be done to the system itself, leaving for the sword of the impartial goddess only the \*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\* But, it is easy to perceive a thousand good reasons for not adopting this sort of measure. Yet, "*something must be done*." Economy is a very good party cry; but, in a case

like the present, economy is *of no use at all* as a remedy for the distresses of the country ; for, out of the 56 millions now to be raised in taxes, there are 44 millions wanted for the *Debt*, and no one has yet dared to propose any measure of *economy* in that quarter. No one can expect the establishments to be brought lower than 6 or 7 millions a year. So that, economize as much as any man can *ask*, there are 50 millions a year to be raised. No economy can lessen this sum ; and, therefore, something other than economy must take place.

If, therefore, economy is useless as the means of relief, and if the levelling of Debts and Interest to the standard of low prices be not to be thought of, because it would be a blowing up of the system, it is manifest that confusion and uproar must come, or, that the *prices must again be raised to the standard of Debts and Interest* ; that is to say, that fresh supplies of paper-money must be sent forth, until the bushel of wheat and the guinea resume their former station. To this, let men talk as long as they will ; let them gabble about surplus produce and forced sales and contractors' purchases ; let them run on with this nonsense 'till they have tired themselves, and let them cackle about remedies and lay out their whole ladder of projects, to this the common sense of the nation will, at last, come : that the *amount of the annual interest of the Debt must be reduced* ; or, that the paper in which that interest is paid, *must be lowered in value by the issuing of fresh quantities of that paper*.

To this last remedy we are, it would seem, coming, after a stout effort to avoid it. There seems to have been, last summer and autumn, a serious intention to return to cash-payments at the Bank ; and, in the month of January last, the Bank bought up a great deal of gold and silver. There is no doubt that the Bank might be able to pay *its debts* in specie ; but, it is the *dividends* that it cannot pay in specie ; it is the *interest of the debt* that cannot be paid in specie ; no, nor in paper at par. The shame attending the renewal of the Bank-Stoppage Bill ; the humiliating confession that that renewal would make to the world ; the disgrace of a paper manifestly depreciated, and of a forced circulation ; and this sight, too, in time of peace, and at the end of " a most furious

war." This was to be avoided, if possible. Yet, *how* ? There was no way but paying in specie. Well, this appears to have been resolved on. As a preliminary step the quantity of paper was to be diminished. The diminution was going on and had very nearly raised the paper to par. But, like the one-eyed dol, the system felt itself dreadfully attacked from the side whence it appears to have seen no danger. The bushel of wheat came down two thirds. The means of paying the interest of the Debt vanished, or were about to vanish. Dreadful out-cries against taxes and for economy. How were the payers of taxes to be *pacified* ? Why, by giving them paper of the old sort, wherewith to enable them to pay their debts and taxes.

Thus, the system, like many of the frail sisterhood, after a momentary effort to retrieve its character, falls back again into its former courses. Lord Castlereagh says, indeed, that the paper will come out with more *caution* than before. If he mean, that *less* of it will come out than was out before, I can venture to assure him, that *enough* will not come out, unless, in whatever degree it fall short of its former amount, the general amount of taxes be diminished. As 16 or 17 millions of taxes have been taken off, it may suffice now to have wheat at 10 or 12 shillings a bushel, upon an average of years. But, in whatever degree the quantity of paper-money be less than sufficient for the maintaining of such a price, there will be inability to pay taxes and old debts, and there will be consequent misery and pauperism. But, the most likely thing is, that a *great rise* in prices will succeed this depression. Prices, when affected by such causes, have a flux and re-flux that is quite wonderful : And I should not be at all surprized to see wheat 20s. a bushel, after having seen it 6s. a bushel.

But, suppose it to rise only to 12 or 15s. What confusion is here again ! The tenant has now, in some cases, got his lease reduced to the standard of 6s. a bushel. The land of some have been sold by the mortgagee at that standard. And, now, all at once, the land is raised in value to the 12 or 15s. standard. Debts have been contracted at the 6s. standard, mortgages given, and now payment is to take place at the 15s. standard. Estates have been sold at the cheap-corn standard, and they are to be paid for in the dear-corn money.

What complete ruin must that man experience, who has sold his estate at the 6s. standard and is to be paid for it at the 12 or 15s. standard. And, of course, who will receive, in fact, only half as much wheat as he bargained for. If, for instance, I sell my farm to-day for 1000*l*. and wheat is at 6s. a bushel, I am to receive the worth of 3,563 bushels of wheat for it. But, if, by new issues of paper, wheat be raised to 12s. before I receive payment for my estate, I really receive only half the price that I bargained for; I really receive the worth of only 1,681 bushels of wheat.

Thus, there is no end to the uncertainty, the confusion, the ruin, of such a system. No man can say, or even guess, this year, what will happen to him next year. All is, and must be, a matter of mere accident. We are at work with a currency, which may, at any moment, spread ruin around us. Those who can out-ride this present storm, may prosper for a while; but, they cannot tell when another may come. As to farmers, there are *seasons* to have an influence; and these may happen to co-operate, at some time, with a change in the value of the currency. In short, the ruinous consequences of a paper-money, not convertible into real money, are now become so manifest, that I hope, that the people of America will never listen, for one moment, to any project that shall tend to expose them to its endless embarrassments and calamities.

The immediate effect of pouring out fresh heaps of paper will, however, be favourable to the government. Prices will rise. The farmers and tradesmen will at once become contented. The landlords, who, for the greater part know very little about the mysteries of the system, will think that all is going to be right again. They have seen themselves pushed on against their will to join the reformers in demanding economy. They will be as happy as possible to find themselves no longer under the necessity of crying for reform, or of submitting to utter ruin! 'SQUIRE JOLTERHEAD will begin to think about keeping his hunters again. John Bull, take him on the whole, will be inclined to forgive the Ministers, and, to say, in his old style, that "Government must be supported." He will even *thank* them for the increase of his means of paying taxes, not perceiving, that their kindness has arisen from me-

tives somewhat resembling those of the outrageously chaste spouse of Paulo Purganti. The learned Doctor knew very well how to appreciate the liberal supplies of "oysters, eggs, and vermicelli;" but, silly John will ascribe the expected new supply of paper solely to an affection which the Ministers have for his person and family. If the supply be sufficiently large, I should not wonder at all to see the present current totally changed, and, instead of *petitions* for the taking off of taxes and the reduction of expences, *addresses* of thanks for the peace and for the erection of monuments. But, to effect *this*, the supply must be *very copious indeed*. If wheat should get up to 15s. a bushel, in the course of six or eight months, we shall see famously loyal addresses; but, any thing short of this will not answer much of a purpose. It happens generally, in the case of *relapses*, that patients are worse than before the convalescence; and, so it will be with John Bull, if he be *well* stuffed with paper. He will run bellowing about again to find out Jacobins and Levellers; he will abuse the French Republicans and Napoleon; he will swear that Vansittart and Castlereagh are the greatest and best men in the world; and, what is of great consequence, not another word will he say *against* *Lythea*.

However, there is a little *rub* in the way of this prospect of harmony and loyalty and delight: to wit, the *price* of the *guinea* and the *rate* of *exchange*; for, if the bushel of wheat take a permanent rise, so will the guinea; and, if the guinea take a permanent rise, so will the ounce of gold; and, if gold be dearer, or higher priced, here, than in other countries, a bill of exchange for a hundred and five *pounds*, drawn on England, will not sell for a hundred *guineas*, or gold equal to a hundred *guineas*, in any other country. There are other causes, which, at times, affect the exchange; but, if our paper be, for a permanency, of less value than its correspondent nominal sum in gold, the exchange will soon become permanently against us all over the world. I do not know, that this would be any injury to the nation; but, it would look ugly for an *English pound* to be reckoned ahead at *three dollars, or three dollars and a half*, instead, as it ought to be, at *four dollars and nearly a half*.

Of one thing there can be no doubt,

and that is, that, when the intended act has passed, no man living will either believe, or pretend to believe, that gold and silver coin will ever be current again in England, as long as this funding system shall last; and, I do hope, that those persons, especially in America, who have affected to treat my financial predictions as having been falsified, will now recant, and do me justice. My main position always has been this: that the Dividends never can again be paid in gold and silver, unless they be greatly reduced by a lowering of the interest. It has been pretended, that I have asserted, that the paper never could, by any means, become less depreciated than it was. I never made any such assertion; but, I have a thousand times said, that it never could become less depreciated, without spreading ruin amongst all those concerned in agriculture and trade, unless the interest of the Debt were at the same time reduced.— Within these twelve months I have many times said, that 60 millions in taxes cannot be collected in a year; that the interest of the Debt (to say nothing of the establishment) cannot continue to be paid in full; that the system cannot go on. But, I have always added: *unless fresh supplies of paper-money come out*, so as to push up the price of the bushel of wheat. It seemed to some persons madness to suppose it possible, that fresh heaps of paper would be sent forth.— A Mr. SROONER (a Banker too) affected to think Mr. HUNT wild, when the latter, at the Bath Agricultural Meeting, observed, that the only effectual remedy, short of a reduction of the interest of the Debt, was a fresh supply of paper.— Mr. SROONER will, I think, now be disposed not to regard this idea as so very wild. The Ministers seem to have “hit the right nail upon the head” this time. To take off salaries, to have reduced the interest of the Debt, to have dismissed the army, would have blown up the system. To avoid this they had no means but that of passing the proposed law, and thereby reopening the flood-gates of paper-money. It would have been much more agreeable to them to collect the 60 millions in hard money, which would have made all their incomes and patronage to much more valuable; but, they found, that they could not collect this sum with wheat at

6s. a bushel, and, therefore, they prudently altered their plan.

Before I conclude I must notice, that Mr. HORNER appears to be preparing to oppose the renewal of the act for protecting the Bank against demands in cash.— I suppose this opposition will be upon the old ground of the *Bullion Committee*, of which Mr. Horner was, I believe, Chairman; and, therefore, with his leave, I will examine this ground a little before-hand. I am not going to advert to the report of any Speech of Mr. HORNER, but will copy the resolutions, which, after many months of preparation he moved in the House of Commons—

“That the only certain and adequate security to be provided, against an Excess of Paper Currency, and for maintaining the relative Value of the Circulating Medium of the Realm, is the legal Convertibility, upon demand, of all Paper Currency into lawful Coin of the Realm.

“That in order to revert gradually to this Security, and to enforce meanwhile a due Limitation of the Paper of the Bank of England as well as of all the other Bank Paper of the Country, it is expedient to amend the Act, which suspends the Cash Payments of the Bank, by altering the time, till which the Suspension shall continue, from Six Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, to that of two years from the present time.”

Thus, then, it was seriously and explicitly proposed by Mr. HORNER, that the protecting act should cease at the end of two years from the 22nd of April, 1811; that is to say, *three years ago*. At that time he was of opinion that it would be expedient to make the Bank pay in specie. I, who wrote “*Paper against Gold*,” in order to expose the whole system in its true light, gave it as my opinion, that it was impossible for Gold and Silver ever to become current in England again, unless the paper-system were wholly destroyed.

But, to come to what will now be said by Mr. HORNER; the renewal of the act of protection can be opposed only upon the ground, that the Bank ought to begin paying in specie when the present act expires, which is in July next. This is the only ground, upon which the renewal can possibly be opposed. Now, it is become

as well known as any thing can be, that the present distress has been occasioned by a great diminution in the quantity of money afloat in the kingdom. This is denied by nobody, and has been asserted by almost every man, who has, in either House, spoken upon the subject. There has been a *talk*, indeed, about a surplus produce, about a transition from war to peace, and about importations from abroad. But nobody has had the boldness to deny, that the *principal* cause of the distress is the *alteration in the value of the currency*.

This being, then, a notorious fact, would Mr. HORNER wish to *add to the distress*? No, certainly; but, how, then, can he wish the Bank to pay in specie? If so much ruin has been brought upon the country by the diminution of the quantity of money, which has already taken place, what would be the extent of the ruin, if a much greater diminution were to take place? And, is it not *certain*, that, if cash-payments were resumed, a very great further diminution must take place? If so much misery has arisen from prices being lowered to 6 or 7s. a bushel for wheat, who shall estimate the quantity of misery that would arise from wheat being reduced to 4s. or 3s. a bushel?

If the cash-payments were to come, people would soon be shy of paper of all sorts. Indeed, there would be no country bank paper in a very short space of time. It would not pass from hand to hand. The one and two pound notes would wholly disappear. So that the whole quantity of money afloat would undergo a monstrous diminution. Of course, prices would fall very low; and, then, whence would come the taxes to pay the interest of the Debt? In short, with cash for currency, 20 millions a year could not be collected.

Therefore, it seems to me impossible to oppose this Bill, unless the opponents really wish, as I do, to see an *end* put to the *whole system*, and to adopt a *re-funding* plan for the payment of the fund-holders. If they are prepared for this, they will be perfectly consistent in opposing the Bill; but, if they stop one inch short of my length, their opposition must be mere cavilling. This is no matter of speculation. It is no theoretical subject. The Bill

dies on the 5th of July next; and, on the 6th people would, of course, go to the Bank and demand money in exchange for the promissory notes that they hold. So that the simple question is, shall the Act be renewed, or shall the whole system come to an end next Summer?

Now, people of America, I do most anxiously hope, that our example will be an effectual *warning* to you. If, after what you have seen of the consequences of a paper-money *not convertible at pleasure into gold coin*, you are not terrified at the idea of continuing long in this paper career, you will discover less sense than at any former period of your history. The question of *depreciation* or *non-depreciation* is of little consequence. The things for you to keep your eye upon, are, the ruin which the fluctuations in such a currency produce, and the state of dependence in which powerful Banks keep large numbers of a community. The use of the precious metals is the best and only real check on a disposition towards inordinate speculation and on the fatal habit of thinking lightly of contracting debts. I am well aware of the power of a fictitious money in creating all that bustle and show which indicate great prosperity; but, such prosperity is also fictitious. The time must come for the bubble to burst; and, then the community is much less powerful and less happy than if it had never known such prosperity, because it is less virtuous; and, when I talk of *virtue*, I beg leave not to be understood as meaning the *singing of hymns* or the *distributing of Bibles gratis*, though I know some excellent men, who are as busy as bees in both these occupations. The sudden amassing of fortunes nobody knows or can imagine how; the quick transitions from poverty to splendour, and from splendour to poverty; the incessant shifting of real property from hand to hand; the consequent coming and going of the principal persons of every neighbourhood: these, which have all arisen from this system of fictitious money, and from the taxing system with which it is connected, have been extremely detrimental to the *character* of the *people* of England. A young man of the present day, instead of waiting patiently to the end of an apprenticeship to enter on the slow progress towards competence, is now

casting about him to see how he can, like yonder lordly contractor (who was the other day a shoe-black) make a fortune at a dash; or, which is a more common case, is lounging about at home, 'till a vote at an election, or some other base act of some relation or friend, shall procure him a place under the Government. Those political Sodoms, the rotten boroughs, spew out upon us swarms of these vermin; but, the rage for *fortune-making* pervades the whole country. No silly mother has two sons, that can barely read and write, without having a brace of young gentlemen to quarter upon the public. The *sisters* of *young gentlemen* cannot be expected to go to service or to any tradesmen or farmers, and, therefore, having first obtained a competent portion of music and novel-reading, they very frequently obtain a qualification for the Magdalen College, it being a sort of maxim, that no man with a fortune ought to marry a wife who has none.

Great as are the inroads, which this paper and taxing system has made upon our civil and political liberties, those are much greater which it has made upon our morals, manners and habits. To some of these sources of danger you are not exposed. You have not a government with millions in its hands to feed the servile and lazy at the expence of the industrious. But, you have proneness enough to dashing speculation, to deep gaining under the name of trade; and to foster this dangerous and vicious propensity, to multiply prodigiously the number of those (already not small) who aim at riches without labour or genius, to substitute luck and trick for sober calculation and probity, to sow thickly the seeds of false pride and real meanness, and to lay a broad foundation for slavery, pauperism and crimes, you have only to establish a permanent system of fictitious money.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S.—The affair of the intended, or reported intended, *Divorce* must be treated of on the other side of the water.

#### STATE OF IRELAND.

*The Marquis of Buckingham's Speech, Continued from page 480.*

He did not think lightly of the opinions of the people; but when he found these

opinions divided, the more did it become the duty of Parliament to interpose their mediation, to alleviate irritation, and to establish that system which, upon the whole, they thought best for Ireland.—He trusted, therefore, that their Lordships would view the present state of the Catholic question as only furnishing an additional reason for their interference. If he were asked for the remedy, he had no hesitation in saying, that if the Committee went fairly and dispassionately into the inquiry, a remedy would easily be discovered. Were he to express his opinion, he should say that he would do every thing for the Catholics, with securities—without them, nothing. He should restore to them eligibility to every place of profit or honour, with some exceptions; that for instance of the Chancellor, the keeper of the King's conscience, and of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Representative of a Protestant King. Neither should they be eligible to become Fellows of Colleges, and be thus intrusted with the education of Protestant youth; but that, at the same time, proper provisions should be made for the domestic education of their own Clergy, and that they should not be under the necessity of going abroad to seek it. He further thought that the appointment of Catholic Bishops should be subject to the approbation of the Crown. With these guards, he believed that the Protestant Church would acquire additional strength from concessions to the Catholics. As a case in point illustrating the utility of concessions, he would refer their Lordships to the situation of Hungary. The population of that country were almost universally Calvinists. Up to the year 1791, all places of power and profit in that Kingdom were exclusively in the hands of German Catholics. The consequence was, that the blood of that generous people boiled with indignation, which ended in a conspiracy to shake off the Austrian yoke. When, however, the Emperor Leopold succeeded to the throne in 1791, he had the wisdom to resort to no half measures, but threw open every situation of profit and power to the Calvinists indiscriminately with the Catholics. The effect had since been, that the Hungarians had been in more than one instance the saviours of Leopold's Crown; and that, when Bonaparte was master of Vienna,

and held out the hopes of independence, they retained their fidelity. The reverend Bench of Bishops opposite to him, he believed, knew full well that the dangers of the Established Church were not now to be found in the thunders of the Vatican, or the attacks of Catholicism, but in the multiplicity of different sects, whose increasing numbers had free admission to place and power, and who left the Church a fair outside, while all within was hollow. Unless the Legislature began in this way, there was no chance of allaying the irritation of Ireland. All her other grievances, all her sources of disgust and disaffection, were so intimately connected with this, that unless their Lordships began with removing it, there was no chance of improvement. But this alone would do little, unless at the same time, the grievance of tithes was considerably alleviated. By the laws, which now governed Ireland, the burden of tithes was in fact taken off from the landowner, and laid on the potatoe garden of the peasant, and his patches of hemp and flax. It was owing to the ruinous system of internal disunion and division, that this course had been pursued. About the year 1720, the tillage of Ireland was at a low ebb—the land was chiefly laid out in pasturage. About the period he had mentioned, the church claimed agistment tithes on the cattle of Ireland, and obtained a decree of the Court of the Exchequer in their favour. What was the consequence? The English settlers, the Protestant landowners, raised such a clamour, that the agistment tithes never was levied. The whole burthen was transferred to the Catholic and the Dissenter, who included almost the whole of the populace, and who saw the whole of the tithes levied from them to support a church whose doctrines were not professed by one-fifth of the inhabitants. The consequence was, that the Rector saw himself driven to resort for his tithes to the potatoe-garden of the poor Catholic and Dissenter, and to the flax which they raised for their linen manufacture. The fact was, that the poor Catholic was obliged to pay what his rich neighbour was excused from paying. Such was the practice in Ireland, even in the teeth of the law, up to 1800, the period of the Union. In that year, agistment tithes was declared illegal by Act of Parliament, and this was the con-

dition on which the Protestant landowners assented to the Union. Such being the system of tithes in Ireland, was it surprising that it should be a perpetual source of irritation—that it should be employed by the disaffected as an engine to work upon the passions of the multitude? But the evil by no means stopped here. The Rector was obliged to employ a tithe-proctor to collect his tithes. Labour in Ireland was very inadequately paid, and instead of money the labourer was in the habit of hiring a potatoe-garden at an exorbitant rate, the rent of which he did not pay in money, but in work to his landlord. On this wretched pittance of the labourer the Rector was obliged to levy his tithes, and the tithe-proctor was for that purpose called into action. He collects, either in money or in kind, the tenth of the produce of the potatoe garden; or he takes a bill from the peasant, payable at a short date. If the bill be not paid, then away go the pigs and the furniture of the wretched peasant, which was seized for the tithes. This was not the end of the lamentable detail. The peasants, of whole districts were often so-connected by being sureties for one another, that when the tithe-proctor appeared among them he was hunted like a mad dog, and the Church not only lost its dues, but fell into disgrace. Tithes, as at present levied, were a most mischievous tax, collected in the most unequal harassing manner. It was the duty of the House to take into their immediate consideration this never-failing source of irritation and disturbance, to extinguish, if possible, this ever-burning Hecla. It was not his wish that the House should take this statement on his own *ipse dixit*; he proposed that the facts should be inquired into by the examination of witnesses, and he had no doubt that some remedy might be discovered. His own opinion was, that an agreeable land-tax, proportioned to the rent, should be substituted for the support of the church, and that commissioners should be appointed for carrying some such measure into effect throughout the whole of Ireland. He had no hesitation in saying, that this would remedy one of the principal grievances of Ireland, and tend more than any thing else to allay the irritation of the Catholic labourer, who thus would not have the tithe-proctor in the potatoe-garden, es-

limiting the tenth part of his children's food. Another grievance to which he should direct attention was, the state of the jurisdiction of Grand Juries in Ireland. No one part of its internal administration did so much mischief. He alluded now to their powers, which they exercised in the presentment of roads, and which were too often employed for private objects and individual jobbing. He stated the effect of the mode of swearing that a particular road was out of repair in a district or barony, in many cases to be, that money was raised in that district which afterwards went into the pocket of a tenant, to enable him to pay his landlord's rent. This mode of presentment should be taken entirely out of the hands of the Grand Juries. The Noble Marquis next adverted to another grievance in the state of Ireland, namely, that though the mode of appointing High Sheriffs was theoretically the same as in this country, yet practically they were appointed exclusively by the crown: it would be better were they taken from a list of the gentry in rotation. The Noble Marquis next adverted to the state of the magistracy in Ireland. Owing to the frequent disturbances which had prevailed, gentlemen of property and influence had either been driven into towns, or induced to leave the country. Hence the number of magistrates was small, while the office itself became one of great labour and fatigue, and during the unquiet times which had prevailed, many persons had got into the office who ought not to be in it. The duty of selecting or dismissing magistrates should be intrusted to Parliamentary Commissioners. The last point on which he should touch, and perhaps the blackest part of the picture, was the financial state of Ireland. He should show that the quantum of net revenue which Ireland produced was very far from paying even the interest of her national debt. Here the Noble Marquis read from a paper which he held in his hand, a statement of the funded debt of Ireland, the charge on that debt, and the net revenue which remained at various periods since the 5th of January 1791. At that date the public debt of Ireland amounted to only 1,710,000*l.* the charge on which was 114,000*l.* while the revenue was about 1,067,000*l.* In 1800, the period of the Union, the debt of Ireland

had mounted up to 24,000,000*l.* of capital, attended with an annual charge of 1,315,000*l.*; while the net revenue was rather more than two millions. In 1806, the debt was 58 millions, creating an annual charge of more than two millions, while the revenue was three millions. This was the state in which Mr. Pitt left the finances of Ireland. Between 1806 and 1808 the public debt rose to 70 millions, accompanied with an annual charge of 3,382,000*l.* while the net revenue was 4,378,000*l.* Here ended all favourable proportion between the interest of the debt and the national revenue. In 1812, the debt was 92 millions, creating an annual charge of 4,334,000*l.* while the net revenue was only 4,200,000*l.* thus leaving 134,000*l.* as the deficiency of the revenue to pay even the interest of the debt. In 1815, the debt mounted up to 127,865,000*l.* requiring an annual charge of 5,932,000*l.* considerably beyond the produce of the net revenue. In 1816 the interest on the public debt amounted to above six millions, and the whole amount of the revenue was deficient by a sum of 900,000*l.* for the payment of the charge of the debt; and this, though every exertion had been made to screw up the taxes of Ireland. This was indeed exhibiting a gloomy prospect of national bankruptcy. There was also apparently a falling off in the linen manufacture, the staple of Ireland; for in 1791 there were forty-nine millions of yards exported to England, while in 1815 there had been only 39 millions exported to the same quarter. Unfortunately also, it so happened, that the remission of the war malt duty could give the people little relief, because the national taste had entirely changed, and there was nothing but illicit distillation going on from one end of the kingdom to the other. The finances of Ireland could only be looked at in this point of view—namely, to see what she could fairly pay, and we must take the rest on ourselves; for Ireland never could, and, what was more, never would, pay the balance. On the whole, he flattered himself that he had stated enough to show a Parliamentary ground for inquiry. The time was now come when a refusal to entertain a motion of this kind would be construed by Ireland as a declaration of total neglect of her interests. The question was, whether the



attachment of a generous people was to be gained for ever by measures of conciliation. Parliament might throw away their advantages—they might indeed retain possession of the country by arms; but the affections of the people would be entirely severed. The lower orders, desponding and degraded, would be idle by day, and vigilant only in the night for plans and for blood—the future rule of this country would be signalized only by undiminished exertions to put down rebellion and disorder.—He presented to his own mind, however, a more pleasing prospect; and if, by drawing the attention of Parliament to the subject, he should be the humble instrument of alleviating any of the grievances under which Ireland laboured, he should think of this night's debate with pride and satisfaction to the last moment of his life. The Noble Lord concluded with moving that a Committee be appointed to consider the state of Ireland.

The Archbishop of CASHEL made several observations on what had fallen from the Noble Marquis on the subject of tithes in Ireland, but in so low a tone that they were not audible below the Bar. He desired any man to bring forward a case of abuse in the collection of tithes by the clergy that should require parliamentary interference; and he contended, that it was a mistake to assert that the landowners had been successful in shifting the burdens of the tithes from their own shoulders to those of the poor tenantry.

The Marquis of BUCKINGHAM explained, that he had intended to bring forward no charge against the clergy of Ireland; the evil was to be found in the system of government there, by which the collectors of tithes were driven from the pastures of the rich to the potatoe gardens of the poor.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, that from his official knowledge, he was able to confirm many of the statements of the Most Reverend Prelate, than whom he was convinced there was not upon the Episcopal Bench an individual more anxious in the discharge of his duties,

more attentive to his Diocese, or more revered and esteemed by those who were placed under him. He (Lord Liverpool) was fully sensible of the magnitude and difficulty of the subject; and, considering how many inflammatory topics might have been introduced, he could not help complimenting the Noble Marquis upon the temper and moderation he had displayed throughout his speech, which had placed his motion in the most favourable light. His Lordship, however, differed in many essential particulars; and his first and principal objection to the proposition was, that it was not at all calculated to secure the object that Ministers, not less than the noble Marquis, had in view. If it were acceded to, the consequence would be, either that a Committee of the whole House should be formed, or that a select Committee should be appointed. From the first, his Lordship was persuaded, by all experience, that no practical beneficial result could be obtained; and to the last, the House on such a question would probably not think it expedient to delegate its powers. Committees of the whole House on the state of the nation had sometimes been agreed to, but had never been productive of any real advantages: in fact, on a general question like that of the present state of Ireland, so many discordant feelings would prevail, and so many conflicting opinions as to what was, and what was not an evil, would be found, that a satisfactory issue to the inquiry could not be hoped; but if a particular case were made out, if sufficient ground were laid for instituting an investigation into any one branch of this extensive subject, his Lordship would be one of the first to support a motion for a select Committee. The Noble Marquis had fairly stated, that in taking a view of the condition of Ireland, he should disregard all considerations of a party nature, as to the particular governments established at different periods; he should only revert to the past as explanatory of the future, to which attention was more especially to be directed.

(To be Continued.)

# COBRETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXX. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1816. [Price 1s. 4d.

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## ERRORS IN LAST REGISTER.

In page 497—for "*furious*" read *glorious*.  
 ——— 498—for "*Dot*" read *Doc*.  
 ——— 503—for "*any*" read *marry*.  
 ——— for "*guining*" read *gaming*.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. G's Letters are received. Two of of them will be sent to America to be published.

Many thanks to Mr. C. for the *gilded ropes*. They shall be taken care of. We should be very happy to see him and his worthy friend, at Botley. He will see what I intend to do with the *gilded ropes*.

TO

COMMODORE DAVID PORTER  
 OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

Botley, 27th April, 1816.

SIR,—In the last Quarterly Review but one, there was a very base attack upon your character and conduct. In order to convince you, that you ought not to suppose that all my countrymen approved of such vile publications, I inserted, in No. 11 of this Volume, a Letter to the Author, or Editor of that work, whose name is WILLIAM GIFFORD. I there gave an account of this literary hero; but, in my statement of what he received out of our taxes, I was, I find, guilty of an omission, which I now proceed to correct. I said, that he had been rewarded by a sinecure of more than 300*l.* a year, under the title of *Clerk of the Foreign Estreats*, and that he was a *Commissioner of the Lottery*. But, I now find that he has another place; that is, the place of "*Paymaster of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners*," at 300*l.* a year. A most suitable office, you will say, for the whipper-in of a set of hired Reviewers! What particular *Band* of pensioners this may be I do not know. Perhaps the whole *Band* may be Reviewers; if so, Sir, I

leave you to guess what a chance the Journal of your celebrated Cruise stood in their hands.

I gave you an account in Number 11 of the conduct of this writer in the cases of Peter Pindar and Anthony Pasquin, and also of the conduct and character of the Judge, Kenyon. In short, I showed what the business of Reviewing really was, in England. But, Sir, I must again beg of you and your countrymen and all foreigners to keep your eye steadily fixed upon this fact, that writers, like Mr. GIFFORD, are, in this country, absolutely in *pay* of the government; that is to say, that they live upon the taxes, and, of course, assist in producing pauperism and misery. This is not the case in your country. There a writer, if he get rich, or, if he live by the pen, must receive his income from the people who voluntarily buy his works. Here he need care little about his readers: his *payers* are the only persons that he need care for, or that he does care for. This writer must have known very well how base it was in him to assault your character, in the manner that he did; what a shameful prostitution of talent he was guilty of; but, his mind had, for many years, been made up to that, and had been seared against all reflections of this sort.

You will naturally ask, how we can tolerate, how we can endure, how we can submit, to see our money, raised on us in taxes, and earned with our sweat and almost with our very blood: you will naturally ask, how we can submit to see our money given to a man like this, while we see nearly two millions of paupers overspread the land. If, indeed, he had ever in his whole life time, rendered any sort of service to the country; if he had served, at any time of his life, in the army, the navy, or in any other branch of public business, there might be some excuse for the heaping of these sums of money on him; but, to give to this man, who was a few years ago tutor to LORD BELGRAVE, and who has never been in any kind of public employ, an

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income equal to that of *five or six Lieutenants of the Navy*, is, you will say \* \* \* \* \* and I would say it too if I dared.

However, Sir, I think I can now defy Mr. GIFFORD's talent at falsehood and deception as far as relates to America; and, if he continue to deceive people here, those people are not to be pitied. He is one of those, whose labours, though they tend to keep up the delusion for a while, will, in the end, make the fall of \* \* \* \* \*

I have the pleasure to assure you, that every one, whom I have heard speak on the subject, has reprobated the cowardly and viperous attack, made on you by this *sinucure* assailant; but, strange as you will think it, very few persons here know that his statement, which represents the *Bessex* to have been captured by *one* English ship, is a falsehood! There is hardly any one in England, out of the pale of the Admiralty, who does not firmly believe, that you were beaten and captured by the *Phæbe* alone! But, if you could know the state of our press, you would not wonder at this. As to all matters, relating to the war with America, this nation, generally speaking, are nearly as ignorant as are the dogs and the horses. As far, however, as the truth has made its way with regard to your exploits, they have received the admiration which is due to them; and, there are many men in England, amongst whom I am one, who most sincerely wish you health, happiness, and success in your present important employment of adding to the strength of that navy, towards the fame of which you have so largely contributed. We, who entertain these wishes, are very far from desiring to see the power or the fame of our own country diminished. We are for the prosperity and honour of England in preference to those of all the rest of the world. But, we by no means believe, that the overturning of your system of government, that the extinguishing of the example set by you, would tend to the prosperity and honour of England, it being impossible for us to have an idea of national prosperity and honour not accompanied with *real liberty*. In short, we are not heasts enough to believe, that our prosperity, or our honour, would be advanced by our enabling a \* \* \* \* \* \* \* to subjugate you; and, therefore, in

every undertaking, which does not tend to the abridgment of the known *rights* of our country, and which do tend to give to freedom power to struggle against, and, finally, to overcome despotism, we most cordially wish you success.—I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. This very minute I have received a letter from a gentleman in *SUSSEX*, whom I never had the pleasure to see in my life, informing me, that accident has put into his hands, and that he has forwarded to me, a part of the *gilded ropes*, made use of in the vessels, engaged in the ever memorable *fight on the Serpentine River*, which ropes I will, as soon as possible, most assuredly send to you. Perhaps you may have forgotten the piece of Naval History here referred to. In 1814, when the kings, our allies, were in England, there was a sea fight in miniature contrived, in order to give them an idea of our prowess. The scene was a large *pond* in one of the parks near London. Here vessels were constructed, guns put on board of them, and every thing else done that was calculated to give the thing the air of reality. The *English Fleet* and the *American Fleet* came to action in fine style; the contest was uncommonly obstinate; but, at last, *poor Jonathan*, was compelled to haul down his "*bills of striped bunting*," and "submit to our gallant and magnanimous Tars." At this result of the combat not less, perhaps, than two hundred thousand voices made the air ring with shouts of triumph; while at very nearly the same moment, a whole squadron of real English ships were hauling down their colours to an *inferior* American squadron, commanded by Commodore M'Donnough, on *Lake Champlain*! We, who really love our *country*, do not think her *honoured* in victories like that of the *Serpentine River*; nor, though we are always sorry to hear of any of our countrymen being defeated, when we consider them merely as our countrymen, can we \* \* \* \* \*

GENERAL BROWN.

The article, which, in the last number but one, I published, from the Yankee newspaper, respecting this gentleman, has drawn forth, from an *anonymous* corres-

pent, a most bitter attack upon the character and conduct of the General. What I shall do, in this case, is this: I will, as soon as possible, send the article, some how or other, to General Brown, leaving him to send me an answer to it, if he think it worth while. For, as to making my work the vehicle of attack on American Officers, while our libel laws would squeeze me half to death, if I were to publish what Americans write against our Officers, I will be guilty of no such baseness. Nay, if this anonymous writer were to publish his attack in another paper, I should not dare answer his publication, in the manner in which it ought to be answered. I may attack the American General as much as I please; but I must be very cautious what I say in defending him. Indeed, I dare not defend him, if to his defence any circumstance dishonourable to any English Officer, or person in authority, be necessary to be stated. Thus is any one permitted to fly open-mouthed at the reputation of General Brown, as sinecure Gifford has at Commodore Porter; but, in defence of General Brown, a man must keep on a very tight muzzle. To obtain freedom of the press, such as would enable me to utter what I feel on the subject of the *River Raitin, Hampton, Frenchtown, Alexandria, &c.* is out of my power; but, it is completely within my power to prevent my work from being the vehicle of attack, while the means of defence are prohibited. No: corruption has vehicles enough at its absolute command: it would be a shame indeed, if I were to lend my pages to its purposes. In America, if an English Officer be attacked in print, there is a press which dares defend him, and in making that defence, to inculpate, if the case calls for it, any officer, or other person, in America. When this is the case, there ought to be no scruple to insert the attack; and, when my correspondent will obtain the same freedom of the press for me, I will insert his attack on General Brown, which, however, is of so personal and foul a nature, that, under no circumstances, ought it to be published in any country without the *real name* of the author.—However, if this gentleman has really that zeal for the honour of his country, which he professes to have, there is a much larger field for him than the character and conduct of General Brown. I mean, the long

list of charges, contained in the "*American Exposition*," republished by Mr. Clement, at 192, Strand, London. This pamphlet, which has been published in London more than eight months, has not yet been noticed in any of our Reviews. I have seen it in French. It has been read in all the courts of Europe. If ever there was a publication that called for an answer, this is one of that description. Yet; not a word has it drawn forth. I am deceived if there ever was a publication, calculated to do so much mischief to the character of any government as this is calculated to do to the character of ours; and yet, not a word is said in answer to it, or by way of commentary on it. What is the conclusion? Now, if the anonymous assailant of General Brown will "*turn to*" and answer this Exposition, what a service will he render! His attack on General Brown will find a place in such answer naturally enough.—Let us live in hopes, then, that we shall see this terrible Exposition answered at last.

WM. CORBETT.

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TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER X.

*Political Parties in England.—What they were formerly.—Change of Public opinion when Mr. Fox came into power.—Conduct of the Foxites.—Both sets upon Mr. Maddocks's motion in 1809.—The sham battles in newspapers.—The Reformers.—Hampden Club.—Political Lawyers.*

Bolton, 27th April, 1816.

The people of America appear to retain the old notion about *Political Parties* in this country. They seem to think; that the word *Opposition* stands for a set of men, who really disapprove of the measures of the ministry, and who differ from them essentially in certain great principles of policy and of government. Mr. MATTHEW CAREY of Philadelphia, who is one of those numerous sons of Erin, who have done honour to the Irish name in his adopted country, and who, under the title of "*The OLIVE BRANCH*," put forth, dur-

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ing the late war, a work which produced the most powerful and most beneficial effect. If a gentleman of this description can look upon it that there "always is, in the English House of Commons, a *Court Party* and a *Country Party*," it shows very clearly, that the People of America know very little indeed about our Political Parties, that they carry along in their minds the names and ideas of three or four score years back; and that they stand in need of a great deal of information upon this subject, which is, however, one of considerable importance in the history of these eventful times. In No. 3 of this volume I have given you some account of the *English Parliament*. I have shown you *how it is*, that the Duke of Newcastle, while he was, a few years ago, kicking his heels up in a cradle and feeding upon pap, had more real influence than all the battling debaters put together; but, I have not, so fully as I could wish, explained to you how the Parties really stand at this time, and especially what are the views of those who are called parliamentary *Reformers*, and whose views you will finally, I hope, see carried into complete effect.

The old appellations of *Whig* and *Tory* really have had no application in England for nearly half a century. Since the cause of the Stuarts became completely hopeless, the two parties in parliament have been contending merely for power and emolument. Until Pitt went out of office in 1801, the people in power were called *Pittites*, and those who were seeking for power were called *Foxites*. But, after the medley which composed Addington's administration, after Pitt's return to power with a new and stranger mixture, and especially after the coalition between Fox, Grenville, and Addington, in 1806, all notion about a difference in the principles of any of these parties has been wholly effaced from the minds of the people.

Indeed, the conduct of the *Foxites*, when they came into power, was enough to open the eyes of a people more blind than this, if such a people be to be found upon the face of the earth. In the *coalition itself* there was nothing at all to offend any man of sound sense. For, men who have differed very widely upon certain measures, may very properly co-operate as to other measures. Men who have been very violently opposed to each other may be very honourably reconciled.

Greater experience may convince some of their errors; and the times may imperiously call for unanimity. Therefore, in the coalition itself there was nothing offensive; and, as far as my observation went (and it was pretty extensive in its range), the nation were sincerely disposed to expect good, to expect a great change for the better, when Mr. Fox and his followers came into power.

The disappointment, however, was certainly the most complete that ever was experienced in the world. As to the pursuing of the war, that was a question of which the public could not so well judge. But of the lavishing of the public money; of the prodigality in sinecures, pensions, and jobs of all sorts, every body could judge. So far were we from seeing any change for the better, that we were soon convinced a change for the worse had taken place. So far from hearing any one measure of Pitt condemned by the *Foxites*; so far from hearing them censure any one of his principles; the *defence* which they constantly set up of their own measures, was, *that they were founded on the principles of Pitt!* And, in conformity with this unparalleled act of apostacy, they unanimously voted a costly statue to his memory, on the express ground of his *public services and virtues*, after having seen him suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for seven years; after having seen him issuing an Order in Council to authorize the refusal of cash-payments at the Bank; after having witnessed the part he had acted in the affairs of Melville and Benfield; after having opposed and voted against the many Bills of Indemnity, with which he died covered: after all this, after having lived to see the mischievous effect of his system, the *Foxites*, without one dissenting voice, voted a costly monument to be erected at the people's expence to commemorate the *public services and public virtues* of this same Pitt!

From this moment all men of sense (and such men only have any weight in fact) who had ever been attached to the *Foxites*, became so much disgusted with them, that it was impossible to meet any such man without hearing his expressions of disgust. The *Whigs* (for so they still called themselves), thinking their power safe, and seeing themselves lost with their former friends, betook them to the making of friends amongst the *Pittites*, who, how-

ever, while they partook of their patronage, waited anxiously for their fall; and, when that fall came, which it did in a very short time, never was public satisfaction more general. I must again (for I have done it before) do Mr. Fox the justice to say, that he went into this coalition with great reluctance. I know this, not only because Mr. WINDHAM told me so; but, because Mr. Fox told me so himself. He most strenuously objected to coalescing with \* \* \* \* \*, and also to \* \* \* \* \* being in the Cabinet. But, he was in the days of his old age. He was overcome by his desire to gratify others. He had a long list of hungry expectants at his heels; now, or never, they thought, was the time for them to come in for a share of the pickings; and, they really forced him into that state, out of which he could not get when once entered into it, and the perplexities and shame attendant on which soon brought him to the grave. He keenly felt the compliments of the Pittites, bestowed on him for "treading so 'exactly in the steps of that great man;'" he clearly saw, that he had for ever lost the hearts of his *real* political friends; and, I believe, he was well assured (I was, at any rate), that, if another general election had taken place during his life, he must, at last, have exchanged the City of Westminster for some rotten borough.

If, however, there had still remained the smallest doubt as to the *sameness* of the character and views of the two parties; if there had yet remained some few persons credulous enough to believe, that *OPPOSITION* was a word that meant any thing more than a body of persons out of place who wanted to get into place; if there had been any one man of sense in the whole kingdom, who still retained the old notion of the *OPPOSITION* being a body of men acting in defence of the *Country's* rights against the influence of the "*Court*," this last remaining dupe would have had his eyes completely opened in 1809; and especially by the discussion and the result of the discussion on Mr. MADDOCKS's motion against CASTLEREAGH and PERCEVAL in the case of QUINTIN DICK, the particulars of which I have detailed to you in No. 5 of this present Volume. This discussion, this vote, decided every thing that remained of indecision upon the question of party.

Since the 12th of May, 1809, there has not been to be found one unbought pen or tongue to pretend, that one of the parties is a straw better or worse than the other. Upon this occasion, it was not an attack upon Castlereagh and Perceval, as *ministers*, that was made by Mr. MADDOCKS; but, as *practitioners of the System*; and, as was seen by the result of that memorable discussion, though the *OUTS* were daily assailing the *INS* as ministers, they joined them most cordially in repelling an attack against the \* \* \* \* \*, which, as they well knew, had been practised by themselves, and which they, doubtless, anxiously hoped to have an early opportunity of practising again.

There is a third party, however, which we must not wholly overlook, who are generally silent, but who, on opportune occasions, throw themselves with all their weight into one scale or the other. These persons, who are called (and, as you will by and by see, not without reason) *THE SAINTS*, have \* \* \* \* \* at their head. They watch for occasions, when their votes are \* \* \* \* \*; and thus they act their part.

Besides these, there are three or four, who are called \* \* \* \* \*, because they generally \* \* \* \* \* amongst these the most conspicuous is Mr. BANKS, who is unquestionably one of the \* \* \* \* \* of the whole assembly. For the last quarter of a century, this Gentleman has been \* \* \* \* \*.

You know, that the *SPEAKER* of the House of Commons is called the "*First Commoner of England*." The present Speaker, whose name is CHARLES ABBOTT, was bred to the *bar*. He was during the first ministry of Pitt, for a short time, what is called Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is a very small man, but a man with a great deal of that sort of talent, which is wanted in his present capacity. In a day or two after the famous discussion on Mr. MADDOCKS's motion, in 1809, the Speaker, in a Committee of the whole House, took occasion to utter a very dignified reproof of those who had declared, that the traffic in seats was as notorious as the sun at noon day, "at which declaration," he said, "*our forefathers would have start-*

led with horror," upon which \* \* \* \* \*

By this time you, in America, will begin to perceive, that you have never before had any thing like a correct notion about parties in this country. When you have been reading what are called the *Debates in the House of Commons*, you have been apt to suppose every man to be a man of weight, whose name you have found forming the left shoulder of a long paragraph in a newspaper. Accordingly you would look upon MR. TIERNEY, MR. BROUGHAM, MR. HORNER, MR. PONSONBY, MR. WILBERFORCE, SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, &c. as being our great men. This, however, would be a grievous mistake; for, they are neither more nor less than the \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*. After this anecdote about Appleby and MR. TIERNEY, you will, I think, want little more to make you see the whole thing in its true light. The people of England, generally speaking, now understand these matters pretty well; but, if I could only say to them what I say to you, they would understand what they ought to do, and that right quickly. And, ought I not to dare to tell it them? Will even a Cossack say, that these things ought not to be proclaimed from the house top? Will even a Cossack Priest say, that a man ought to be imprisoned and fined for telling the world facts of this public nature, and of such great interest to the people?

Such being the *Political Parties* in England, you will not be surprised that people of sense pay no attention to them. The Parties themselves, however, are incessant in their efforts, through their newspapers, to keep up the idea of a *Whig Party* and a *Ministerial Party*, opposed to each other upon *political principle*. In these vehicles of deception the party men carry on their wars; and, any of you, who happen to read these prints, must think them perfectly in earnest. You know nothing of this *sham fighting*. Your Republican and your Cossack prints deal their blows at each other in *sincerity*. The great ability which your writers display is drawn forth generally by honest feeling. The Cossacks, though some of them must, one would think, be corrupt, are, at any rate, *in earnest*. Whereas our party writers carry on a deliberate *sham hostility*. They meet as friends; live upon

the most intimate and friendly footing; they sometimes previously arrange their parts; they get rich, and laugh at their employers and the world. In the midst of their wars, in the very heat of the very hottest of their battles, only let them perceive any one attacking the *System itself*, and instantly both parties, though seemingly at work to tear each other to pieces, quit their hold, and fasten upon the common enemy.

The defeat of the Ministers in the case of the Income Tax was hailed by the Whigs as a symptom of a change of ministry; but, they soon found themselves deceived; they soon found, that it was not for them that the people made a stir, and that a majority appeared on their side. The truth is, that this tax was rejected by a majority of the \* \* \* \* \* themselves, some of whom went against the Ministry upon this particular occasion, because the tax was so much taken from them. But, they go no farther, if you please, Messrs. Whigs! They want the army and the other good things as much as the Ministry want them.

From what has been said in this and former Numbers, you will clearly see, that no material improvement can take place in our affairs, without a *Reform in the Representation*. Formerly, the people used to expect good, from time to time, from a *change of ministry*. They used to look forward to such changes with great expectations. But, since the days, in which the Cannings and Huskissons and Roses have flourished, that sort of expectation has been wholly done away; and now there is no man, who, at any time, wishes for a change of Ministry, unless he expects to *get something by it*. At the last contested election for Hampshire, when asked for my vote, my answer was, that I should certainly not give myself the trouble to go to Winchester for any such silly purpose, it being a matter of perfect indifference to me, whether my cherries were eaten by the Jays or by the Magpies; and, when I said this, I expressed the sentiment of every independent man of sense in the country.

Therefore there are many thousands of persons, who are anxious to obtain a Reform in the Representation. This is, indeed, a party opposed to the Ministry, but not less opposed to the Opposition. As to great principles of politics we are

divided into these two parties: one for a Reform, the other against it. The Reformers have been called Jacobins, Levelers, Republicans, French-faction, Democrats, and Traitors. Yet, we have never even *talked* of any thing but obtaining the power of electing, *by the people*, those who *call themselves the representatives of the people*. No reformer has ever proposed to touch the powers and prerogatives of the King; no one has ever proposed to diminish the privileges of the Peers; no one has ever proposed to meddle with the affairs of the Church. We desire to make no change in the form of the government or in the fundamental laws of the land. We say, that every man of us, who is really free from any sort of bondage, and who is unstained with any infamous crime, has a right to vote in the choosing of those, whose will is to decide the fate of his property and his life; and we say, that every man deprived of this right, call him what you will, is, in fact, *a slave*.

We say, that, for the want of such a system, we see perjury, bribery, and corruption ranging at large throughout the country; and, we say that a restoration to such a system of representation is a right, which besides the claims of justice, the ancient laws of our country give us. We contend, that these laws provide for *annual* parliaments; and, if we are told (as we sometimes are) to observe, that even *you* elect your House of Representatives for *two* years, we reply, that you also elect your Chief Magistrate and your Senate, and that you have no established Church. All these are stationary, and the two former hereditary with us, while our Church is of itself a great power, always on the side of the Aristocracy and the Crown. We contend, therefore, that a House of Commons, chosen annually, is necessary to the maintenance of our rights and liberties.

You will ask, perhaps, what can be said against a proposition so reasonable, so fair, so unquestionably just; and, especially after the repeated declarations of Old Lord Chatham, Fox, Lord Grey, Pitt, &c. Pitt having solemnly declared, that, until the House of Commons was reformed, "*it was impossible* for an *honest* man to be a *minister* in England." The truth is, that no *argument* is ever made use of against the propo-

sition. Mere *abuse* is frequently resorted to; but, there are so many persons, who have an interest in the continuation of the present system; and all the corporate, collegiate, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and other legal authorities and channels are so completely connected in feeling with the system, that there are no great rallying points; there is nobody to give the application for reform such a consistency as to make it of weight, and to press it forward with energy. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Mr. MADDOCKS, and one or two others, have invariably and most nobly stood forward in this cause. The former, at the expence of, probably, a hundred thousand pounds, added to an imprisonment in the Tower, whither he was sent by the majority of that very Perceval, whom Mr. Maddocks accused before the same House, only a few months before\*, has never ceased to call for a reform as the only means of public good. He has, in various ways, made great efforts in the cause, and, by his eloquence, joined to the universal acknowledgement of his integrity and disinterestedness, backed by that weight which ancient family and large estates seldom fail to carry with them, he has certainly produced a very great and lasting effect in favour of that change, to produce which has really been the labour of his life. Out of the House, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT has spent more than 40 years in this same cause; and, at the age of 76, he still pursues his object with all the zeal of youth and the talent of the prime of life.

But, great as are the character and talents and zeal of these Gentlemen, they are but *two*, at last, in a country which has more than a thousand families with hereditary titles, and whose government has 60 millions a year passing through its hands. In such a state of things how are the *people* to make a way for their claim? Would they meet in a County? Who are the authorities there? The Lord Lieutenant, the Sheriff, the Justices of the Peace, the Clergy, and all these, except a part of the latter, are directly appointed by the Ministry; that is to say, by those at whose nod the ministers them-

\* See No. 5 of the present Volume for a full account of the memorable proceedings of 11th and 12th of May, 1809.



selves hold their places and emoluments and patronage. Would the people meet in a town, or city? There is the *Corporation*. Would they meet in a *Borough*? Oh, no! Thus, then, while there is the great and terrible weight of the 60 million, government and that of the tenancy under the aristocracy, against the rallying of the people, every creature in authority, and every mode of assembling for ordinary purposes, presents an additional impediment to the cause of reform.

There has been formed a society, called the *Hampden Club*, the object of which is said to be to further the cause of reform. To this Club Sir FRANCIS BUNDETT and the venerable and virtuous Cartwright belong. But, if we are to judge of a plan by its *effects*, this Club has, as yet, carried no very high title to public praise. *Ten thousand pounds* expended by this Club in the distribution of publications, and a meeting in every county in the kingdom, which the members of this Club might easily effect, would make Corruption extremely uneasy. But nothing good will ever be done by meeting and talking about what they are to talk about when they meet next time. To say the truth, I, for my part, expect nothing from this Club; and I am of opinion, that, whenever reform comes, and come it must, it will come through the Bank of England. If that famous Old Lady had but gone on as she was going three or four months ago. If she had brought wheat down to 4s. a bushel; and kept it there for 18 months or two years, I would have insured the HAMPDEN CLUB a parliamentary reform without the smallest degree of assistance from them. But, her Ladyship has relaxed; she is again to be protected for two years; she will again send forth her paper; and, already, upon the bare prospect, wheat has risen from 6s. to 10s. a bushel; and, in all probability, we shall see it at 15s. a bushel in less than three months!

Thus, you see, that it is still the old question: *shall the people choose those who tax them, or shall they not?* People may talk as long as they please about the means of making this country prosperous and contented; but, it never will be, and never can be, either the one or the other, till this question is settled upon just grounds. If, indeed, the proposition was

to make a change in the kind of government; if, looking across the Atlantic, we were to propose *your* way of making the country prosperous and happy, it might, and not without good reason, be said, that we were *schemers*, and that we were attempting to apply here what was only applicable in a wholly different state of society. But, we are for *nothing new*; we want to *destroy no lawful thing*; we want to do no more than remove *notorious abuses*, notorious violations of the laws of our country; we only want to rescue ourselves from a state, in which we have nothing to say in the disposal of our property and our persons. And, will any Cossack assert that we are Jacobins because we entertain this wish? Will any Cossack assert, that we are traitors, because we wish to put an end to the most scandalous scenes of bribery, corruption, venality and perjury that ever disfigured and disgraced a people? Faith! a Cossack may be ready to say this; for, our *Saints* are ready to say it, and to swear it too, if you will hold them the book.

Such being the real state of *parties* in England, you will be able to judge (if you pay attention to this statement) of the prospect which we have before us. But, above all things, you will take care never to look upon an English *Lawyer* as a *patriot*. We have never yet had one single lawyer, who has not, sooner or later, become a decided supporter of the System, and, we have seldom had one, who, after riding into power on the shoulders of the populace, has not become a most bitter persecutor of freedom. With you the matter is essentially different. Your *poor* government has no *Silk Gowns* and *Commissionerships* and fat *Offices in Colonies* and a thousand other things which our *rich* government has. For a man to thrive as a lawyer in your country, he must not only understand the law, but be able well to urge his client's rights. Your lawyers must, at any rate, *have clients*; whereas the far greater part of ours have none; and never had, never will have, and never wish to have any, and are frequently much more successful than those who have clients. A very considerable part (the greater half) of our barristers are looking for office, or enjoying office, under the government. In short, there are even now 60 or 70 millions a year raised in

taxes, and it is very hard if the lawyers do not get their full share.

For some time past our principal ministers have chiefly been lawyers: Pitt, Dundas, Addington, Perceval, Vansittart \*, and many more; and as to the Chief Clerks and Secretaries, the *bar*, the prolific *bar*, supplies them in shoals. Between the *bar* and an office there frequently intervenes a period of *authorship* of some sort. The wig and gown accommodate themselves wonderfully to the duties of Critic, Editor, Paragraph-grinder, Pamphleteer, \* \* \* \* \* and \* \* \* \*. Thus a regular supply is kept up by a kind of system resembling that of succession-crops in well-managed gardens. The seedling lawyer remains in the beds of the Inns of Court till he acquires a sufficient stock of brass and loquacity. Removed to the more active scene of the press, he generally obtains by the bustle, puffing and noise that he makes, some share of notoriety; and, if he discovers little talent, he seldom fails to discover less principle, which is the best of all possible recommendations. His next step is an office, and if he can raise the money, \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* If he once gets in here, he soon takes root in the \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* and happy is the man who lives to see him eradicated. We are often told, that lawyers are *like other men*. They *would* be like other men. They are like other men naturally, as swords are *naturally* like other pieces of steel, or, as cocks with steel spurs on are *naturally* like other cocks. But, if the mode and principles and views of their education be different from those of other men, they will be and must be unlike other men.

I do not here, however, speak of *all* our lawyers. There are some very learned, and most diligent and upright men; men who only look to their profession, fairly practised, for their elevation in life. But, as to the great mass, they are what I have just described them; and, certainly, a greater curse has seldom afflicted a country. Before those who have power, they fawn like Spaniels, or crouch like Setters; when they have power at their back, they are bold and remorseless as Bull-Dogs; while, upon all occasions, they are crafty as Foxes. Where education for the *bar* is, generally speaking, education for office under the government, what chance can

any man stand in a contest against that government? This is amongst the evils of the system, under which we live, and it is by no means one of the least. However, this is an evil, to which you will never be exposed, so long as your government continues what it now is.

WM. CORNBETT.

## THE AMERICAN PACKET.

No. I.

Bottley, 6th April, 1816.

DEAR JOHN BULL,

I some time ago observed, that it was my intention to make, as far as I was able, the two nations, the English and the Americans, *well acquainted with each other*, it being my opinion, that nothing was so likely to be really useful to both. In order to be able to do this, I have taken measures for obtaining early and correct information from America; my plan of correspondence has been settled with great care, and it is now just beginning to operate.

You have, my dear John, been sadly cajoled for a great many years; you have been made to believe, that it was necessary for you to spend 25 thousand millions, in order to *save your property*, and to prevent your religion from being *taken out of your very heart*. In fact, you now see yourself, after all your toil and sacrifices, reduced to *ruin* by a war, the effect, and the only striking effect, of which has been to restore the Bourbons, whom you always called despots; to restore the Pope, whom you always called the scarlet whore of Babylon; to restore the Inquisition, the very name of which used to make your blood run cold; and to enable the Bourbons to put to death, to imprison, or to banish, the brave Frenchmen, who

had fought or written or spoke, in the cause of that liberty, the very sound of which was formerly so delightful to an English ear.

Therefore, John, this is the season to call upon you to reflect, and to endeavour to turn your eyes towards a country inhabited by men, who are really free, who proceed, generally speaking, from the same stock with yourself, who speak the same language, who have the same *common law*, who, like you, poke their bowsprits into every port in the world, who stir about like you in all sorts of affairs, who, like you, have a score or two of religions, who are pretty nearly as proud as yourself (and, at present, with much better reason) who talk like you, write like you, and fight like you; and, who, in short, resemble you in almost every thing, except that, they are not, like you, to be *gulled* out of their money, and to be induced to forge chains wherewith to enable  
\*\*\*\*\*.

Pray, my dear John, do not suffer the corrupt knaves of the press to make you believe any longer, that it is France and the Continent of Europe, to which your eyes ought to be directed. You have no business in France or in Germany. You can learn nothing there. Come with me, John, and take a look at America. In one sense I am glad, that the people there are at three thousand miles distance from you; but, in another, I wish they were near enough for you to see them and hear them talk. To bring you as close to them as possible shall be my object; and, if you will but read me with attention, I will teach you more useful knowledge than you have ever yet possessed. It is the business of our *writing knaves* to keep you in the dark with regard to this great and prosperous country. It shall be my business to open your eyes.

Now, let me, before I proceed a step farther, caution you against giving way to

that *envy*, to which you are so liable. Do not suppose, that, because I am about to hold out the *example* of America to England, that I prefer another country to my own. If a man bid his son look at the good behaviour of some other young man, do we hence conclude, that he does not love that son so well as he ought? This would be a very perverse mode of reasoning indeed; but, not more perverse than it would be to suppose, that I prefer America to England, because I wish the latter to profit from the bright example of the former. I see my country in misery; in a state of shocking degradation, and hastening fast to decay. I hear this now acknowledged by the law-makers themselves. I wish to see it in a different state. I am uneasy at seeing myself surrounded by ruined neighbours and increasing paupers. And, am I acting a part unworthy a true Englishman in endeavouring to shew my countrymen, in the example of America, what are some, at any rate, of the means of rescuing themselves from present misery and of guarding themselves against its return at any future period?

And, why should we Englishmen *envy* the Americans? They are no rivals of ours. It is impossible for them to prosper without our sharing in the prosperity, if we act wisely and justly towards them. In no possible circumstances can they do us any *real* injury. It is *possible*, that *in time*, they may spread their power over *colonies* that we now claim; but, with reflecting men, the holding of those colonies is, at least, a *doubtful good* to us, while the seizing of them would give no real advantage to the Americans. With this little, strong, compact country of ours, situated as it is, and inhabited by so laborious and brave a people, what have we to *fear*? Why should we fret and tease ourselves with the anticipation of dangers, at which, if we would open our eyes, nature herself would bid us laugh? Shall neither we nor

our children ever know five years of real peace? Must we always be kept on the look-out for somebody to fight with? But, above all things, is it not horrible to think of, that two nations of common origin, and whose harmonious intercourse is calculated to preserve the peace of the whole world, and to extend light, liberty, and happiness to every corner of the earth; is it not horrible to reflect, that two such nations should, to gratify the malice and avarice of artful knaves, be made to believe, that the destruction of the one is necessary to the safety of the other? Pray, John, believe no such thing. Hear with patience what I tell you about America; and, you will not find me a flatterer of her any more than of you. I shall convey to you the intelligence I receive, and, I shall not fail to point out what I deem to be her follies, errors, or faults.

The ignorance that prevails in England, with regard to the Republic of America, is quite surprising. A tradesman asked me the other day, whether the Americans had not a king. A young man, also a tradesman and a very respectable one, asked me, last summer, whether there were yet any *Inns* or *Shops* in America; and, as he intended to go to Philadelphia soon, he asked me whether he could, upon his landing, get a lodging readily and buy victuals. This is very strange, but it is strictly true. This young man came from Winchester, and when I told him, that there were *twenty times* as many people in Philadelphia as in Winchester, and that the worst street in the former was finer than the main street of the latter, he stared at me with astonishment.

To become a mere *geographer* of the United States is what I cannot consent to; but, some account of the *government* and *political affairs* of that country seems necessary here, in order that the transactions, of which I shall have to speak, may be understood by my English readers in

general, very few of whom, though exceedingly well informed in most other respects, appear not to know any thing on this subject.

The Government of the United States consists of a *President*, elected for four years; a *Senate* also elected for four years, parts of it going out in rotation; and a *House of Representatives* elected for two years. The regulations for the conducting of the business of making laws are nearly like those of our parliament; and, the President, like our king, is the Executive Officer. The three together are called the *Congress*. There is a monstrous difference in the detail of the powers there and here. But this is enough, for the present, in the way of description so far. *The whole are elected by the people at large*, with some little difference in the qualifications of the electors, in different States, and with some regulations as to intermediate elections, or choosing by delegates. But, substantially, the whole of the Congress is chosen by the people, every man paying taxes having a vote.

Besides this, which is called the *General Government*, there is a government in each of the *States*, which government has at its head a Chief Magistrate, called a *Governor*, and it has also a Legislature of its own. These State Governments pass laws and make regulations for the several States; but, as to all matters of commerce or external revenue, and as to all *foreign matters*, they have no power; consequently they have nothing to do in deciding upon questions of *peace* or *war*, which belong solely to the general government. There are some differences in the qualifications of the electors in different States; but, generally and substantially speaking, there is no power of *making laws* or *raising money*, which is not derived directly from the voice of the people, and which does not revert to them again at the end of a very short period.

As to *religion*, there is no *established Church* in America. There are all sorts of *religions* there, just as there are here, Church people, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and every other sort. The people are full as religious as they are in England. They are just as ready to start *new sects* and *new notions* about religion; and, in this particular, the Country is, in fact, still an English Colony. There can no new thing about religion spring up in England, but away it goes to be greedily adopted in the United States. Sunday-Schools, Bible Societies, Lancaster Schools, Religious Tracts; any thing; no matter what it is, or from whom it proceeds, or from what motive it originates here. It is sure to be received in that country, and to run like wild-fire. Then the people there follow close upon our heels in all the *humanity schemes*. There are all sorts of *Societies* for charitable purposes. Lying-in-women Societies, and, I am afraid, there is even a *Magdalen-Society* or something very much like it. Not having any, or scarcely any, *real* misery or pauperism in the Country, the people there (who must have every thing in the *humanity way* that we have) seem to have formed a resolution to create for themselves, under one appellation or another, a becoming retinue of paupers. And, the best part of the thing, as a joke, is, that the persons, in America, who take the lead in all these matters, are, most probably persons of *real* humanity, and are moved by a sincere desire to do good to their fellow creatures; while, in England, they consist chiefly of some of the most profligate persons of the age. I have looked over the lists of the "*Bible Society*" and of the "*Society for the Suppression of Vice*" and have marked with my pen the names of *ninety-five* men, who are notorious for bribery and corruption, or for some other most daring

offence against good morals. But, it is so well known a fact, that these Societies have sprung out of hypocrisy and fraud, that it would be useless to dwell longer upon them. They serve to amuse an ignorant and credulous multitude, and that is the sole object which their founders and supporters, in general, have in view.

With the exception of this instance of most scandalous folly, which I never can excuse even on the ground of that feeling of kindness out of which it has sprung, the Americans are truly a wise people; they are all, or nearly all, if natives of that country, able to read and write; they are, in general, well informed as to the main principles and even the details of law and justice; they understand well their civil and political rights and duties, and while they watch over and defend the former with the greatest vigilance and resolution, they most cheerfully perform the latter. In no country upon earth are there so few instances of breaches of the peace. It is a country where no one is a respecter of *persons*, and where every one is a respecter of the *law*.

But it is to the *political parties* in America, that I wish to call your particular attention; for, without knowing something of the origin and progress of these, you will not be able to comprehend clearly a great deal of the information, which it will be my object to convey to you. You see, in our news-papers, the words *Federalist* and *Republican* and *Democrat*; but, it is impossible for you, without explanation, to know what they mean; and yet, it is of very great importance, that you should know this; for, as you will see, in the sequel, the real cause of the late war between this country and America was not wholly unconnected with this history of political parties.

When the first American War was brought to a close, and America had

gained the recognition of her Independence, it became necessary to form a General Government, capable of preserving that Independence by binding all the separate States together, and capable of managing the affairs of the whole as far as related to foreign nations. A Convention met for this purpose. Different men had different notions of the sort of government that ought to be formed; but, the assembly, consisting, perhaps, of as many wise men as ever were assembled upon any occasion in the world, may be considered as being divided into two parties. One for giving *very little* power to the General Government; and the other for giving it a *great deal*. One for making it as *democratical* as possible; and the other for approaching pretty nearly to  *kingship and aristocracy*. As there was nobody to use bribery and corruption, and as every man really wished to do what was best for the country, a spirit of moderation at last prevailed, and the government, such as it now is, was agreed on, and went into execution, General Washington being, soon afterwards, chosen as the first President.

Just after this General Government went into operation, the Revolution in France broke out. The two parties in America took their sides, for and against, with wonderful aptness and regularity. The Aristocrats against, and the Democrats for, and, perhaps, these wordy contests in America exceeded in violence those in England. By and by England was at war with the Republicans of France. The parties then took one the side of England and the other the side of France. And, from that moment to the close of the war, and even to this moment, the Aristocrats (what there is left of them) have been upholding the cause of England, or, rather, of the English Government.

The Aristocrats took the name of *Federalists*, from being, as they said, friends

of the Federal, or General Government. The other party have called themselves *Republicans*; and these appear now to be the settled appellations. The horrid acts, committed in France, during the first years of the revolution, alienated many good people from the cause of the revolution itself, and, for some years, gave a *Federalist* in America, a decided ascendancy over the *Republicans*. They had, besides, the amazing advantage of having the *name*, at least, of *GENERAL WASHINGTON* to aid them. *Mr. ADAMS* succeeded General Washington in 1797; war was actually begun against France, owing, in a great measure to the folly and insolence of the Directory, but, not a little to the *Federalists*. However, this war was soon put an end to by the return of wiser counsels in France; *Mr. JEFFERSON* was elected instead of *Mr. ADAMS* in 1801; the *Federalists*, by this event, were completely ousted, and they have never since been able to regain their lost power and influence. *Mr. ADAMS* was a wise and most excellent man; a true lover of his country and of the cause of freedom in every country. But, he was beset with a host of very able intriguing men, who had views wholly different from his. *He* was afraid of the destruction of liberty from the spirit of innovation; *they* were in hopes of rearing an aristocracy under the pretence of such a fear. *He* has given the best proof of his sincerity by cordially supporting the measures of his successful rival; *they* have given the best proof of their hypocrisy and their selfish views by opposing those measures, be they what they might, even at the manifest risk of the independence of their country.

The numerous hostile, or demi-hostile, acts of our government towards America, and especially the impressment of their seamen on the high seas, no man has ever

attempted seriously to justify; nor is there any Englishman of any reputation who would venture to hazard that reputation by putting his name to an attempt at such a justification. All that has ever been done, on this side of the water, is to use evasions and palliatives; to plead necessity; and to express regret at that necessity. But, in America, the Federalists justified the thing, and, when their own government threatened to go to war to obtain redress, or rather to defend its seamen, the Federalists actually gave the cue to our news-paper writers and others to accuse that government of *wishing to aid Napoleon*, the effect produced by which is notorious. It was *this charge* against the American Government, which made the war popular in England. It was implicitly believed, that, the American government had taken advantage of our danger to *join Napoleon in the war against us*. The real cause of the war was kept out of sight. The people never heard it; and, after a while, would not hear it. Our news-papers very artfully and wickedly copied the charge against the American government, and sent it forth, day after day, in the form of "*Extracts from American Papers*;" and, when the falsehood had once sunk into the public mind, it was impossible to remove it. Thus, we owe to these gentlemen fifty millions, at least, of our Debt. I wish we *owed* it them in the literal sense of the word!

But, if their conduct was thus wicked before the war, what shall we say to their conduct *during* the war? All the means they made use of to embarrass the Gene-

ral Government, to assist the enemy, to prevent the people from making exertions in defence of the country; to record these would require volumes. But, the *Hertford Convention* must not pass without particular notice. Its object unquestionably was to effect a division of the Union, unless the government gave way to the Federalists. To pretend that it could have any other object would be downright hypocrisy. The government, kept steadily on its march. It relied upon the good sense and public spirit and valour of the people. It had neither guards nor spies nor suspended laws to protect it. The country was invaded at many points; large tracts of territory had been taken possession of in the name of our king; mighty fleets loaded with troops hovered on the coast; England, with her renowned army and all her tremendous power, had no other enemy; and the finances of America were in a state of the utmost derangement: And, *this was the moment*, when a Convention of Delegates from the four Eastern States met at Hertford to overawe the President and the two Houses of Congress. We all remember the *hopes*, which the meeting of these men excited. It was, at one time, positively asserted, that they had resolved on a division of the Union; and, I never shall be made to believe, that *some assurances of that sort had not been given in this quarter of the world*. But, at any rate, what mischief were these men doing their country; if their conduct only gave rise to such an opinion *here*? Are such deeds as this to be ascribed to, and excused upon the ground of, mere party spirit? I know of

nothing that can be urged even in palliation of such a deed.

However, this diabolical project failed, and free government was not doomed to be swept from the face of the earth. The American arms taught us that nothing but disgrace was to be gained in the contest; our government hastened to make peace, be the motive what it might; and the Delegates from Hertford arrived at the City of Washington with the result of their deliberations, just about the time that the news of *peace* arrived from GHENT and that of *victory* from New Orleans!

It would be wonderful indeed, if any political party could, in any country, live long under disgrace like this, and, accordingly, the *Federalists* appear, from the last intelligence that I have received, to be fallen into great contempt. It will be very long before an aristocratical faction will again rear its head in America. But, it ought to be observed here, that it was not the *whole body* of Federalists, who went to these monstrous lengths. Perhaps not a twentieth part of them. The great mass of men, who passed under that appellation, were always, as far as my observation went, very sincere friends of freedom, but thought that some little distinction of rank might be necessary in a great and rich community. This was a point, upon which men might honestly differ. Nay, men may be excused for doing very violent things against political rivals. But, when the enemy is *in the country*; when the question clearly is *unanimity*, or *slavery*; then to attempt to divide is nothing short of treason, and *real* treason too, against one's native land.

I should have observed as I went along,

that, as there is an old saying, that no very great mischief ever was done without a *priest* having had a hand in it, so it really happened here; for, the priests, or presbyterians, or whatever else they may be called in New England, appear to have had much to do in all these aristocratical proceedings. New England consists of the four States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. There is no *reason* for this appellation of *New England* now, seeing that it is unknown in the language of the *laws*. This part of the Union was more particularly peopled from England than any other part. Not having any extent of back country, they have received less mixture from emigration. There is a wonderful power in *traditionary habits* and in mere *names*. The New Englanders celebrate the anniversary of the landing of their forefathers at a place called *Portsmouth*. It must be a great minded man indeed, who can wholly get out of him what he has sucked in with his mother's milk. These things have weight with men without their knowing it themselves. Be this as it may, it is very certain, that the people of this part of the Union always talk of *New England* even to apparent affectation. Far be it from me to find fault with this. I should be the most unhappy wretch that ever lived, if I thought, that a great grandchild of mine would hate England; but, gentlemen Federalists and Priests of New England, though we shall be happy to hear that you love the *country* of your forefathers, we must beg you to believe, that we feel very little flattered by your procession and thanksgivings for the entrance of the Cossacks into Paris and for the re-



storation of the Bourbons, whom our common ancestors held in abhorrence as despots; and that we by no means rejoice at any event, in any part of the world, that tends to deprive us of the hope of seeing all nations as free as you are. We humbly presume to believe, with all due deference to your Reverences and Worships, that we know the true interests of Old England as well, pretty nearly, as you do, and that we have as sincere a regard for her happiness and her honour; and we venture to assure you, that we are fully persuaded, that if you had succeeded in over-setting the government of your country, it would have been the most fatal blow that Old England ever received.

I have said, that there is no *established church* in the United States; but, in the States called New England, there is a law, I believe, still existing, which compels people to *pay* towards the support of *some sort of priest or other*; and, as all the priests, or the greater part of them, are of one sort, this is a species of hierarchy. *All hierarchies* took the alarm at the proceedings of the French revolutionists. To tell men, that they might live and die without priests of any kind was not to be forgiven; and, accordingly, the Priesthood of New England seem to have imbibed a most implacable enmity to the French republicans, though the ancestors of the New Englanders were republicans themselves. The moment the French Revolutionists declared against

*religion*, they were called *atheists*. Atheist is an ugly name. It is like "*mad-dog*." And, as the atheists were also *republicans*, atheism and republicanism were very soon used by the enemies of the revolution as synonymous terms; and, as the English government was at war against the French, it was called, especially by the Aristocrats of New England, "*the Bulwark of religion*."

Thus have I given you, John Bull, a sketch of the *political character* of the United States of America. I shall, in future Numbers, have to shew you in what manner this truly republican government acts; how it is carried on; how it manages the affairs of the people who have chosen it; what its expences are; what is the situation of the people under it. I intend, in short, to enable you to compare the acts and effects of a government, *chosen by the people*, with the acts and effects of your own government. I shall also, from time to time, inform you of the state of parties and of public opinions in the United States; this being a matter of much greater importance to you than can possibly be any thing that takes place in France, or on any part of the Continent of Europe. Having thus opened the series, I conclude this first Number in the hope that I have awakened your attention to what the future Numbers are intended to contain.

WM. CORBETT.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The gentlemen, who have written to me on the subject of taking out manuscript to America, shall receive a notification in next Week's Register, *if not sooner written to by post*. It is impossible for me to answer all the letters in writing.—In answer to one gentleman, who asks me whether it be lawful to take out *printing types*, I have to observe that types may be exported to America like any other merchandize. The duty in America is, I believe, about 30 per centum on the value. There are very good type foundries in the United States; but, if a printer has an office completely furnished, it may be worth his while to take it out with him.—In answer to the question of a correspondent, who is a *muson*, whether there be any danger in his going out of the country, or, whether *any one can stop him*, I have to observe, that it is impossible for me to say what may be done to any one; but, that, according to the law, as it now stands, such a person may go out of the country when and how he pleases, without being liable to any questions from any body.—In order to save trouble, I may as well state here *what the law is* upon the subject of emigration. If any person contract with any *Artificers in wool, iron, steel, brass, or other metal, clock-makers, watch-makers and other artificers or manufacturers*, to go out of the king's dominions, or entice them to go, such person is liable to a fine of 100 pounds and to three month's imprisonment.—The punishment has since been raised to 500 pounds and a year's imprisonment, and, for the second offence, 1000 pounds and two year's imprisonment. Besides which there are heavy penalties on masters of ships assisting in such seduction. But, as to the artificer, or manufacturer, himself, the law inflicts *no punishment*, other than that which may arise from being made an *alien*. Thus: if an artificer, or manufacturer be seen in any foreign country, in America, for instance, by an English Ambassador or Consul, and the Ambassador or Con-

sul warn him to return home, and he do not return home in six months from the time of being so warned, then the said artificer, or manufacturer, is disabled to hold lands in this kingdom by descent or by will, he is incapable of taking any legacy here, and is deemed an alien. So that if any artificer or manufacturer be in hopes of having a landed estate by inheritance or by will, or be in hopes of having a legacy, he runs a risk of losing them by emigrating to America. That is the only punishment the law inflicts on him. Indeed, it is impossible to inflict any other; for, until the man be *in* the foreign country, he cannot have committed the offence. The only persons which the law punishes are the *seducers* and the *masters of ships*; and, as I have no relish for fine and imprisonment, I must beg leave to decline any interview with any artificer or manufacturer upon the subject of going to America, and must beg to be excused from writing to any such person on the same subject. I will never, as I have said two or three times before, *advise* any one to go to America; but, I will, from time to time, give to my readers the best, the most useful and most correct information I can obtain, relative to that country, the prosperity and happiness of which is without a parallel in the history of nations. Bread does not drop down from the clouds into peoples' mouths in America. Roasted pigs, with knives and forks stuck in their backs, do not run about the streets squeaking, "*come eat me!*" But I assert, that any able and sober and industrious *common labourer* may, by common labour, in the cities, earn a hundred pounds sterling in a year; and I also assert, that all articles of food are at a lower price in America than in England. I assert that such a labouring man may, if he chooses, have plenty of meat, butter, and choose every working day in the week, and a goose, a turkey, or a pair of fowls on Sunday. I assert, that any such labourer may live thus, and *save*, besides, *thirty pounds* sterling a year. But, the fact is, that, in a very few years, every *such* labourer ceases to be a

common labourer. A few years puts him in possession of *property*, the just reward of ability to labour, sobriety, and industry. The stupid, the feeble, and the decrepid are badly off in America as well as here; and the idle, the drunken, and the squandering, are, and ought to be, miserable in every country.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER XI.

*Alien Bill.—State of Ireland.—Change of public Opinion relative to the Bourbons.—Sir Robert Wilson and his companions.*

Batley, 4th May, 1816.

The Honourable House have been keeping *Holy-days*, and now they have met again; but, as yet, I am unable to perceive, that they have, whether by their prayers or their fastings, been rendered a bit more \* \* \* \* nor less \* \* \* \* than they were before. The pressure upon the country has made some persons begin to think, that colonies, which are supported by the taxes, are no longer proper to be kept. Thus Mr. CURWEN, during a late debate, proposed to declare Canada *independent*. Certainly this would be a wise measure; but, then, there are, as I showed you in my last Number, men in this country, who regard Canada as being very valuable, because it is the sure means of putting you to expense, and of opening the way to invade in case of war. Strange, that there should be any persons to wish to possess Canada for these purposes; but, that the fact is so, I have given you *undeniable proof*; and the reasons why such persons wish to see your country invaded, and your liberties destroyed is now manifest to all the world.

It will seem wonderful to your Cosacks, that the "*Bulwark*" should still feel any alarm for its safety, seeing that it has restored the Pope, the Jesuits, the Bourbons, and has destroyed apparently, the very germ of liberty in Europe. But,

as I am now going to show you, it does yet feel rather uneasy. You know, that, during the late wars, there was an act in force, called the *Alien Act*. This was a pretty enough sort of law, which enabled the government to send any alien out of the country, or, to keep him in prison. No such law ever existed in England before. But, now, a law, under the same title, is about to be passed in a time of *profound peace*! Lord Castlereagh has moved, for leave to bring in the bill, which leave has been granted, and, there is no doubt, the bill will speedily become a law. The particular regulations of it are of no consequence. Suffice it to say, that, in time of peace, the government will, without any form of ordinary legal process, be able to seize any foreigner and send him out of the country; or, at least, to compel any foreigner to quit the country. What must naturally be the consequence of a power like this, you will easily imagine. Castlereagh stated no *particular reason* for the Bill; but, the introduction of it having been opposed by Mr. HORNER, Mr. BRASSE (A) defended the Bill upon these grounds: "Mr B. BATHURST justified his Noble Friend in calling it the Peace Alien Bill, on the ground that it had been so denominated after the Treaties of Amiens and of Paris. It was true that the revolutionary principles that blazed out in 1793 had now *been nearly extinguished*, but still a remnant of jacobin spirit lurked behind, and much inflammable matter was to be found that might, without difficulty, be fired by the aid of suspicious foreigners. At least, therefore, a possibility of danger existed, against which prudence required that provision should be made. Magna Charta, and the constitutional principles there formed for the protection of alien merchants, had often been referred to; but the power of the King to send beyond seas such strangers as should be obnoxious from their designing practices, was at least as old, if not as completely recognised. The question now was, whether the dangers of 1814 did not at present exist? and if they did, the Alien Bill ought to be passed, to show foreigners that they could not with impunity foment discontents among the people against the established Government."

Thus, then, your Cossacks will see, that the "Bulwark" yet feels some uneasiness. It fears something. It fears, that foreigners may set off the "inflammable matter," and "foment discontents among the people against the *Established Government*" "You see how *wary* the OLD "BULWARK" is! How watchful; how "*nice and tight*" it means to keep things!

And, I beg of you to believe, that this Bill, when it shall become a law, is by no means to be considered as *a dead letter*; that it will be a source of action, and of very vigorous action too. For instance, if \*\*\*\*\* This is the way that former acts have been used, and this is the sort of use, to which this act will be put.

If *your* government were thus, and for a permanency too, armed with an act like this, what a sort of state should you think yourselves in? Yet *Americans* will be *Aliens* in England, and will be subjected to the operation of this act. The government here may, whenever it pleases, send any American out of the country. If a Cossack were to come here, and possess ever so much property, and were to become discontented with the government (which all American Cossacks do before they have lived many months under the "Bulwark"), he might be, at any moment forced to depart. The Englishmen, in America, complained most bitterly of being compelled to *retire back into the country*, during the late war; though this compulsion was confined, or, at least, intended to be confined, to such only as were not become citizens of the United States, and as openly professed a wish to see the enemy succeed in the war against you. What would those persons say, if you had an Alien Act in time of peace? Yet, what impudence and insolence, what slave-like effrontery must they have to complain of you, if you were to give your government the same power over them that our government has over Americans in England?

But you are too wise to give your government any such power over any body, and your government, strong in the affections of the people, from whom it so immediately emanates, stands in need of no such power. It needs neither *guards* nor *police*. Louis, (B) surrounded by a hundred thousand bayonets and, perhaps, ten thousand spies, would give half his

dominions to feel the security that is felt by Mr. MADISON, who has no other protection than what is afforded by his coat, waistcoat, and shirt. Thus it ought to be with the Chief Magistrate of every country. He *ought* to have no *security* but what he derives from the love of the people and the ordinary force of the laws. The very name of guards and spies indicate, that there is *danger*; and, whence can the danger come but from some *hostile feeling in the people*, and in a considerable portion of the people too? And, what an acknowledgement is this to make to the world?

The American government has acquired a wonderful stock of reputation since the year 1811. Before that time, it was supposed to be a *mere experiment*; it was, by great numbers in Europe, regarded as a sort of Utopian Scheme, which the first war would prove to be unfit for practice, and, of course, wholly unworthy of imitation; but the late war, which attracted the attention of all the civilized world, has fixed its character upon a rock. The combat was of a nature well calculated to interest deeply the feelings of every man sincerely attached to the cause of freedom. It was the last of republics engaged against that power, which, by one means or another, had just finished the destruction of all other republics. It was an infant navy, engaged against the great naval power of the world, who had, by hook or by crook, just finished the work of destroying all other navies for an age. It was a country with a *real* Representative Government, without Nobles, without an Established Church, without *Borough Seats*, without a King, without a Standing Army, engaged against England. It was a country, whose Chief Magistrate has a salary (for the time of his actual service) of *twenty-five thousand dollars* a year, engaged against a country, the husband of whose presumptive heiress to the throne has a salary for life of *two hundred and fifty thousand dollars* a year. It was a country, whose Secretary of State (there is only one) has a salary of *three thousand dollars* a year, engaged against a country, one of whose Tellers of the Exchequer has a *hundred and fifty thousand dollars* a year.

On all these accounts the combat was most interesting, and the result most important to the world. It has had a won-

derful effect on men's minds; and it is at work to produce great consequences in the course of a few years. When we look back to the events of that war, it is impossible not to be filled with admiration at the deeds performed by the raw troops, the uninformed soldiers, the untaught commanders, the seamen, the newly created captains and commodores, of the Republic. Our admiration rises, if possible, still higher, at the conduct of the people at large, setting all dangers at defiance, braving the burnings and plunderings and devastations, which not only menaced them, but of which many of them had tasted. But the conduct of the government, its reluctance to yield to feelings of hostility; its proofs of a sincere love of peace; its anxiety to suspend the effusion of blood, the moment it was begun; its inflexible adherence, however, to the principle on which it went to war; its resolution not to give up a single point after the awful change in the affairs of Europe which let loose the whole of our tremendous power against it; its calm aspect and steady march amidst blockades by endless squadrons, invasions from all quarters, disorganized finances, aided by an organized faction in a very powerful and important part of the Union; its dignified language and its undeviating observance of the principles of public law and of humanity towards every creature that fell within its power, notwithstanding the scenes at the River Resin, Hampton, French-town, Stonington, Washington, Alexandria, and other places; and, above all, its unbounded confidence in the people, which induced it to trust for its safety to the known, settled, and ordinary laws and tribunals: all these traits in its conduct, and especially the latter, have excited, in the minds of all sound and reflecting men a degree of admiration and gratitude, to which it is impossible for words to do justice. Feelings must here supply the place of expressions.

The Cossacks and the Benevolents are very much deceived, if they suppose, that even the people of England, who, certainly (and I repeat it to their face), have been most jealous and ungenerous towards America, are quite dead to these feelings. They have now had time to reflect; and they now are able to look with more impartiality across the Atlantic. The close of the war, and, especially,

the manner of its closing, astonished them. They are, however, still more wonder-stricken, when they hear what a sort of government that is, which carried on that successful war. They are surprised to find, that it has neither guards nor police; neither palaces nor armies; neither golden coaches nor grooms of the Bed-chamber nor Maids of Honour; and that the President and his wife are a mere gentleman and a gentlewoman of America. They ask how this can all be so? They know, too, that the Americans are the same sort of people that we are. That they are nothing more than English, Irish, and Scotchmen, who have crossed the sea. And, when reflection has gone thus far, it naturally goes a little farther, and asks why the English, Irish, and Scotchmen, who remain behind might not be able to live under a cheap government as well as those who are gone to America? Why guards and a police should be any more necessary on this side of the sea than on the other side? Why, in short, the King and Queen and their Royal Progeny, who are well known to be so much beloved by the people, should not, especially in these times of distress, be advised by their ministers, to dispense with a part, at least, of their great expenses; and more particularly with the military part of their retinue? Why a government, which is "the envy and admiration of the world," should think it necessary to have a police and an alien act? Mr. BRAGGE seems to apprehend, that suspicious foreigners might, "without difficulty fire the inflammable matter, and foment discontents amongst the people against the established government." What! can foreigners persuade the people of England to be discontented with a government, which, as the newspapers every day swear, is "the envy and admiration of the whole world!" That were a jest indeed! What a queer idea! Here is a government, which all other nations envy and admire; which is the finest and most lovely thing of the kind that ever was seen, or heard of; which the English people have fought and paid most lustily to preserve; which sheds nought but blessings around it, which only raises the dews of taxation that it may send them over the land in refreshing and enriching showers; and yet Mr. BRAGGE is afraid, that foreigners might



come here and persuade us, that it is a *bad government*, make us discontented with it, and thereby produce danger to the establishments! What crafty as well as wicked men such foreigners must be! We are living here under this same established government; we are in the full enjoyment of all its blessings, even as administered by Mr. BRADDOCK himself in part; we boast of it as the model of perfection; we call it the envy and admiration of the world; and yet an alien law, a law to enable the ministers to send foreigners out of the country is thought necessary in order to preserve this government *against us!*

The plain truth is this: \* \* \* \* \*

However, let the Bill pass. It will do you no harm; but, on the contrary, it will do you a great deal of good; for it will send many hundreds of ingenious and enterprising Frenchmen and other foreigners to your country, who might otherwise come to this. Your government stands in no need of an alien law; it is not at all afraid, that foreigners will succeed in fomenting discontents against it, though there is a faction of Cossacks in America, and though we all know, that there are such men as *Captain Henry* upon the face of the earth. Your government must, as it ought, stand, or fall, by the will of the people. It need give itself no uneasiness about the secret *emissaries*, which the writer, mentioned in my last Number, proposes to have sent out. If the people can be seduced by such emissaries, the government cannot stand. It is, therefore, never worth while to arm the government with any extraordinary powers against the *emissaries*; for, if that were done, the government would be no longer the same; you would lose your freedom, and then it would be of no use to have preserved the government. Nevertheless, it is proper that you should be informed, that there are writers here, who openly, and in so many words recommend to the government to send out numerous spies into your country; and, you will observe, that, it is at the very moment when this work is selling in the booksellers' shops, that the government is proposing a law to enable it to send aliens out of the country, lest those aliens should succeed in persuading the people of England, that their govern-

ment, which is "the envy and admiration of the world," is a *bad government*.

From a subject like that of the Peace Alien Act, the Honourable Body, of whose proceedings we are speaking, naturally enough come to the *Peace State of Ireland*. On the 26th instant, SIR JOHN NEWPORT, the honest little man, whose character I gave you in a Note, a few Numbers back, brought forward a motion for an *inquiry into the causes* of the terrible state in which that unhappy country remains. This was opposed by MR. PEELE, who is what is called *Chief Secretary* for Ireland, and, as I have before observed, is by no means an unworthy successor of Castlereagh in that office. MR. PLUNKET spoke on the side of SIR JOHN NEWPORT; and MR. GRATTAN partly on one side and partly on the other. At last the motion was negatived by a large majority.

This subject is a very interesting one to the whole civilized world; and, it is more particularly interesting to you. As to the *causes* of the troubles and miseries in Ireland, I have described them to you before. They are \* \* \* \* \*. These, in few and plain words, are the real causes of the troubles and distresses and miseries of that country, for which nature has done so much. I need not here tell you how Ireland is *governed*, having, in No. . . of this present volume, given you a copy, word for word, of the famous Act, drawn up by Grattan and passed by Perceval in 1806. This document, the joint work of the two parties who are contending for power is the best proof that can be resorted to. MR. PEELE complained of having been misrepresented; said that the government was mild and excessively humane; asserted that the *press* (poor debased thing!) made the people discontented. But, you and I will have no dispute about the matter. We take the act of parliament of 1806; we read it; and, when we have done that, we know all about the thing pretty nearly as well as if we were in Ireland.

But, for the benefit of the Cossacks, I will here insert a passage or two of the speeches, made upon this occasion; because these speeches contain, not what *I say*, or what the Irish themselves say; but what the parliament says. MR. PEELE thus described the state of the country:

“At present it was difficult to say what  
 “was the cause or pretext of the lawless  
 “proceedings which took place. They  
 “seemed to have no precise object, but  
 “were *combinations in crime and confederations against all law*. He did not  
 “know what *other character* to ascribe to  
 “them. They were not directed against  
 “Protestants; they did not originate in  
 “any party animosity; but the House  
 “would see from records which he should  
 “be enabled to produce, symptoms of  
 “such *untamable ferocity*, such *systematic guilt*, supported by systematic  
 “perjury, as imagination could scarcely  
 “equal. He did not rise to malign the  
 “character of the Irish peasantry, than  
 “whom, in some parts of that king-  
 “dom, he had never seen a body of men  
 “more peaceable, more obedient to law,  
 “or more *respectful to their superiors*.  
 “Their good humour could not be seen  
 “without admiration—they displayed  
 “wonderful kindness towards one an-  
 “other, and honesty in their dealings,  
 “and, from their early marriages, greater  
 “chastity than in any other country. A  
 “crime, which had degraded more civil-  
 “ized countries, was not known among  
 “them; and he had heard that there was  
 “not even a name for it in their language.  
 “But in other parts of the country the  
 “population was in a *state of depravity*  
 “which baffled description. In particular  
 “districts of Tipperary the disorders were  
 “at their height. This assertion did not  
 “rest on the assertion of an individual,  
 “but on the records of a court of justice.  
 “The trials of the murderers of a magis-  
 “trate in that county exhibited a won-  
 “derful view of the character of its popu-  
 “lation—of their extraordinary fidelity  
 “in a bad cause, their cruel revengeful-  
 “ness for the slightest injuries, their in-  
 “difference to murder, and their detesta-  
 “tion of any man who, by giving evi-  
 “dence, assisted in *giving effect to the*  
 “*laws*. It appeared that the murder  
 “had been planned several weeks before  
 “it was committed. The Magistrate in  
 “question (Mr. Baker) was an indulgent  
 “landlord, and a friend to the poor, but  
 “a *determined enemy to the pernicious*  
 “*system of combinations*. In the neigh-  
 “bourhood of this Gentleman, a cottage,  
 “which had been taken over the head of  
 “a former occupier, was burnt, and six of

“the incendiaries having been appre-  
 “hended, he had been imprudent enough  
 “to say, that he thought there was evi-  
 “dence to convict five of them. A deter-  
 “mination seems to have been immediately  
 “taken to murder him, and four different  
 “parties were posted on different roads  
 “through one of which he was obliged to  
 “pass. The intelligence of the murder,  
 “which was committed several miles from  
 “Cashel, had been conveyed across the  
 “country to the different parties by sig-  
 “nals. It was committed by five persons  
 “in the presence of a great number of  
 “others. A Gentleman who had been  
 “passing the road just before, and who  
 “resembled Mr. Baker, and had been  
 “taken for that gentleman by the mur-  
 “derers, was a witness of the scene.  
 “Many people were *mounted on the tops*  
 “*of houses and hay-ricks near the spot*,  
 “and when the fatal shot was fired, *three*  
 “*cheers were given*. Though not less  
 “than *thirteen thousand pounds reward*  
 “was offered for the discovery of the  
 “murderers, he really believed that none  
 “of the evidence which had been given,  
 “was to be attributed to *this inducement*.  
 “Of the feeling of abhorrence entertained  
 “against those who gave evidence, there  
 “could not be a stronger proof than this :  
 “—A man who was condemned to death  
 “was *offered a pardon, on the condition*  
 “that he would *give evidence*, and after  
 “having actually given a part of his testi-  
 “mony, retracted it in open Court, his  
 “*wife having prayed him on her knees,*  
 “*with tears, that he would be hanged,*  
 “*rather than give evidence*. [A laugh]—  
 “Nothing could be more sincere than  
 “this poor woman’s *attachment to her*  
 “*husband*, but her *dread of the disgrace*  
 “he would bring on himself was such,  
 “that she would rather submit to see him  
 “executed; and he had accordingly paid  
 “the penalty of the law.”

Here is a picture! Here are scenes!  
 And this takes place, Americans, under a  
 government, which is “the envy and ad-  
 “miration of the whole world!” All  
 this is going on under that government,  
 which your Cossacks call the “Bulwark  
 “of religion and liberty.” But, whence  
 proceed all this “depravity,” these “com-  
 “binations,” these “*confederations*  
 “against all law,” this “*untamable fe-*  
 “*rocity*,” this “*cruel revengefulness*.”

Many thousands; nay, some hundreds of thousands of these same "untamable" people have gone to America, where they have discovered none of these characteristics. They not only behave very peaceably in your country, but they have there formed many fine settlements. Perhaps there are not less than *ten thousand* natives of Ireland and their immediate descendants in each of the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Yet, do you ever hear of any of this depravity; any of this untamable ferocity; any of these "combinations against *all law*," on the part of these people? You want no army, no extraordinary police, no suspension of the ordinary laws, to keep them in order. They are peaceable, laborious; they discover talent; many, very many of them, become great and most respectable tradesmen, merchants, land-owners, officers in the army and navy, lawyers, public writers, and Members of the several legislative assemblies. Considering the low class of life, of which the great mass of the Irish emigrants consist, my belief is, that they have surpassed in success the emigrants from any other nation. And, as to such of them as have gone to America with property or education to start with, they have certainly outstripped all others in the career of fame as well as of prosperity.

What, then, I should be glad to know, is the cause of all this misery, violence, depravity, and ferocity in Ireland? Does the salt air change the nature of the people while they are crossing the seas? What is there in Pennsylvania or New York to subdue and keep down this ferocious disposition; this disposition to combine against "*all law*?" Not a single bayonet! Nothing but the constable's staff! With ten thousand of these same Irish people in the City and County of Philadelphia, though there is a place called *Irish-Town*, and a district called *Lower Dublin Township*, there have been only two men hanged in the space of 15 years, and those two were *free-negroes*. How will MR. PEARL account for this? Will he say that none but good Irishmen emigrate, leaving the bad at home? No: he will not, surely, allow, that it is the peaceable and sober and moral only that are so much discontented as to quit the land. However, he may say this if he like; but, then, he has to perform the arduous

task of showing how it comes to pass, that this description of persons are the most discontented with such an excellent government as he describes that of Ireland to be. It would, I should think, be worth the while of some of that round hundred of Honourable Members, who came over to St. Stephen's from Ireland, to endeavour to find out the *recipe*, or *spell*, which the American government makes use of to tame this "*untamable ferocity*." If Lord Castlereagh, who, I dare say, remembers MR. EMMER, were to write a letter to that gentleman, who is, I have heard, *Attorney General* of the great, populous, opulent, free, high-spirited and happy State of New York, I will engage, that MR. EMMER would tell his Lordship how the American government proceeds with their countrymen, in order first to *tame* them, and then to keep them in a state of tameness. This would be an invaluable piece of information to his Lordship; for, in the first place, he would learn, in a very few words what are the *real* causes of the troubles and miseries of his native land, and, in the next place, he would learn precisely how it is that the American government goes to work to *tame* the Irish, and, of course, what it would be wise and just to do, in order to tame those who remain at home.

As to what MR. PEARL says about the stubborn fidelity of the Irish to their oaths made to one another; about their "reluctance to assist in giving effect to "the laws", by giving *evidence*; about the conduct of the man and his *wife*, and particularly that of the latter, though the relation of it is, in the news-paper report, said to have excited "*a laugh*" in the Honourable House, it really harrows up the very soul; and, not knowing what else to say or do, we involuntarily exclaim: what, short of the torments of Hell itself, from whatever cause proceeding, can have produced such an effect on the minds of a people! What in all the world can have placed a people in such a state, as to induce a woman who dearly loved her husband, to beseech him to lose his life *on the gallows*, rather than incur the "*disgrace*" of giving evidence against an enemy of the government! This woman "*sincerely loved her husband*," and yet she preferred seeing him hanged to seeing him live, loaded with the *disgrace* of giving evidence, calculated "*to give*



"*effect to the laws!*" How came she to regard this as disgrace? Why, her neighbours so regarded it; and, what, then, must be the state of the mind of that neighbourhood? What must have been the *causes* of hatred so deep, of exasperation so terrible, as to induce a whole neighbourhood to mount upon houses, ricks, and trees to behold *the murder of a magistrate*, and to give *three cheers* at the firing of the fatal shot!

Oh, no! It was not in the hearts of these people, it never was, and never can be, in the hearts of any district of people, to exult in what *they deem murder*. They did not deem this a murder any more than the poor woman deemed the hanging of her husband ignominious. That it was a murder is certain; that these people were under the influence of ungovernable fury is also certain: but, what was it which could have produced this furious state of mind? They regarded this Magistrate as \*\*\*\*\*

The Irish commit no murders, any more than other people, in America. They way-lay no Magistrates *there*. If they were so disposed, they might in the course of a week, kill all the Magistrates and all the constables into the bargain, at Philadelphia or New York. In the country parts they might rob all the houses and live at free quarter. Yet, they never do. They never mount to the tops of houses and hay-stacks to behold the commission of murder, and to give three cheers when the blow is stricken: they never do any such things in America. No wives of Irishmen ever go down upon their knees, and, in tears, beseech husbands, whom they sincerely love, to be hanged rather than give evidence; and, if such an extraordinary scene, a scene so shockingly affecting, were to take place in America, and were to be related in the Congress, I am sure it would not excite "*a laugh*." This fact, however, must, one would think, be false. The reporter must have mistaken some other noise for *a laugh*. It is no small honour to the nerves of Mr. PEEL, that he was able to stand up and relate such a story in an articulate voice. Few men besides his noble and "statesman-like" predecessor would have been equal to such a task; but, to suppose, that the Members of the House of Commons would *laugh* at the relation would be to libel human feeling. (C)

Amongst the *causes* of the disorders and discontents of Ireland Mr. PEEL stated the *press* to be one; and as this is always an important subject, we will take his very words as we find them reported. He said, that the miserable state of Ireland was not the fault of the government.

"That state was indeed, attributable to other causes; and among those causes, the conduct of *the Irish press* formed a prominent feature. For the main object of that press was to *slander the Government* and the *administration of the law in all its branches*. Thus the Irish press, instead of contributing to enlighten or instruct the people, only served, in the violence of its licentiousness, to provoke and inflame the ignorant poor to the commission of some crime for which they had afterwards to pay the penalty. The abuse of the press in Ireland was indeed a most enormous evil, for instead of being devoted to the excitement of free discussion, or the dissemination of useful knowledge, it was employed to delude and drive the people to wickedness. The House could form no judgment whatever of the press in Ireland, from the manner in which that important and valuable engine was generally employed in this country. In fact, the Irish press, so far from defending the cause of freedom, or attracting national attention, had degraded itself so much by its excesses, by its indiscriminate abuse of public men and measures, that its judgment could not be regarded. Thus public opinion lost much of its due weight, and the press became effective only for doing mischief. But this could not be unknown to any person acquainted with Ireland. It was notorious that a certain publication was circulated widely until the present year in Ireland, at a very cheap rate, which contained little else than gross misrepresentation, unqualified slander, and the most inflammatory sentiment, and that a regular series of this mischievous

"publication was found in the possession of one of the unfortunate victims of the commotion in Tipperary. This publication, which was called "*the Hibernian Magazine*," contained some time since a paragraph adverting to certain measures in this country against the alleged persecution of the Protestants in France, and observing that "if the *pious British* were sincere in their hostility to religious persecution, they would have taken some measures to prevent the murder of Catholics in Ireland, a greater number of whom had fallen victims even since the year 1814 than of Protestants in France ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz." [Hear, hear, hear!] After such a specimen, he (Mr. P.) did not think it necessary to make any farther quotations from the Irish press."

Now, from what I have ever seen of the Irish press, I should suppose it to be the most tame thing imaginable. But, it seems, that there *has been* (for it appears to be stopped) one publication to arraign the conduct of public men and to censure the administration of the law in all its branches. Bless us! What a wicked publication! The cut at the "*pious British*" was cruel indeed, as coming from a Catholic, who seems to have forgotten our good and pious works in favour of the Pope and the beautiful institutions in Spain. After what you, Americans, have seen in former Numbers of this volume, relative to the *English press*; after the history of the Giffords, the Beloes and Nareses, the Bate Dudleys, the Walters, the Stuarts, the Herlots, and the account of the manner in which they and hundreds of others are paid and supported, you will not, I am sure, be at all surprized to hear, that Mr. PEEL thinks the *English press* a "*Valuable Engine*." The truth is, that it ought to be a valuable one, for it costs a great deal of money.

But, Mr. PLUNKET, who spoke after

Mr. PEEL, said that "the government, in Ireland possessed a press of its own, for the support of which money was *avowedly paid*." There was no answer given to this; no denial. So that, here is a press paid by the government, and which government has an Attorney General to prosecute the other press whenever he pleases. I have told you before, all about our press; but, here you have it from the mouth of one of the Honourable House, that there is, in Ireland, a press avowedly paid by the government; by that government, which is here called "the envy and admiration of the world," and which your Cossacks call the "Bulwark of Religion and Liberty."

But, if the *press* makes so much trouble amongst the Irish, in Ireland, how comes it that the press of America has no such effect upon them? If Mr. PEEL could hear *that* press a little! The Irish seem no more affected by the press in America than any other people. They are not pushed on to any wicked acts by the press there. And yet there is nobody to put a press down in that country. When our heroes, Ross and Cockburn, entered the City of Washington, they, indeed, laid hands upon the news-paper-office, which they found there, and they demolished the wicked engine in a twinkling. But, generally speaking, the press in America stands in awe of nobody; and yet, the Irish in that country, are not worked upon to any mischievous end by the press; though, on the other hand, there is no press in that country which is supported by the government out of the public money. How strange it is, then, that the press in Ireland should have such an inflammatory effect! But, how comes it, that Mr. PEEL cannot make his press beat the other press? His press is in perfect safety. There is nobody to prosecute his press. Yet his press is unable to counteract the effects of the other press, though it has the law on its side.

Is Mr. PEEL's press less ably conducted? Or, has it a bad cause to support?

Another cause, to which Mr. PEEL appeared to attribute the discontents of Ireland was, the *case*, with which the lower orders of people got their food in comparison with the means of the same class in getting food in England. This is the first time, I believe, that the ease of obtaining subsistence was ever regarded as tending to excite discontent against the government. At any rate, you know very well, and so do I, that the Irish in America get their living, and good cloathing into the bargain, much easier than they get their miserable diet in Ireland; and that they never are urged on by this to political discontents. Mr. PEEL says, that he is told, that land will produce three times as much human sustenance in the potatoe cultivation as in any other; but, that he wishes, that the Irish poor lived upon other sort of food. *Why so, Mr. PEEL?* "Because nothing would more strongly tend to *seduce* them from *idle habits*, and to give them a *relish* for *domestic comforts*." What, then? It seems, that I have not written quite in vain against this "*soul-degrading root*;" "*this root of misery*;" though I have been so much abused for it both in England and Ireland, and, which is very hard, by Mr. PEEL's own press too. But, Mr. PEEL, I do assure you, that it is not in the *nature* of the Irish people to live like pigs any more than it is in our nature. When they go to *America*, they soon learn to admit other substances into what they humourously call their "*potatoe-trap*." An "*Irish peasant*," as you are pleased to call him, when he changes that state for the state of an American citizen, takes the liberty also to change his diet; and, though he be only a *common labourer*, he will shew you, that he knows how to relish good white bread, beef, mutton, pork, veal, fowls, geese and turkeys, twenty or thirty pounds weight

of which he may, if he likes, carry home every week to his family. Now, Sir, if you so anxiously wish the Irish labourer better diet and a better place to eat it in, why do you not recommend a mode of managing Ireland like the mode of managing America? It is not the soil or climate that makes the difference. For, though Pennsylvania produces some very superb things, such as the Indian Corn, the Water-Melon, the Peach-Orchards, yet, upon the whole, Ireland is as good a soil, and, upon the whole, a better climate. How comes it, then, that the poor, miserable, dirty, ragged creatures, who live upon potatoes, boiled, a half a bushel at a time, in a pot, and tumbled out upon a board; how comes it, that, the moment they land in Pennsylvania, they become decent people and begin to live upon bread and meat and butter and cheese? I am well aware, that it is not Catholic Emancipation that will make Ireland what it ought to be. I am well aware, that the government can *do nothing* to restore it to happiness. But, it can abstain from doing that which makes Ireland miserable and England too. It can abstain from taking from those who labour so large a portion of their earnings. It is quite surprizing how little government need do for any community. The community, if left alone to enjoy its earnings and go on in its own way, will do every thing. All that is wanted on the part of a government is *to stand by and see fair play*. This was the wise principle of that wisest of law-givers, WILLIAM PENN., whose name is a greater honour to England than those of all the warriors, all the statesmen, and all the kings she ever possessed, though he was once a prisoner in Newgate and stood at the bar, before a corrupt judge, charged with a *libel*. Who have turned the wildernesses of America into cultivated lands, studded with farm-buildings and bespangled with gardens and orchards? Who have built

all the beautiful cities and towns and villages, and made the numerous bridges and canals in that country? Not any *government*. All has been done by the people, not because the government has assisted them and regulated their conduct, but precisely because no government has ever had any power to assist them, or to interfere in their affairs. Government in America means a *strong man*, who stands ready, at all times, to keep the peace; that is to say, to prevent one man from taking that which belongs to another, or to make him give it back if he has taken it. But, here, government seems to mean quite another thing. Government here is rather the general *owner* than the general *umpire* between owners; and, as is always the case in immense concerns, it manages badly. When a man, in this country, or in Ireland, receives a hundred pounds in income, the *law*, that is to say, the government, steps forward and disposes of the greater part of it, in one way or another. The Church must have a part, the Poor must have a part, the Tax-office must have a part, the Excise must have a part, the Customs must have a part; and all these parts are so large in proportion to the whole sum, that the government is much more of an *owner* than of an *umpire*. Being so large an owner, having so great a share in every man's property and earnings, a great portion of the happiness of the people depends upon its mode of management; but, the concern is too extensive, it is too complicated, it is, in short, beyond the powers of the human mind to manage such a concern well.

Hence the everlasting law-making that is going on. Hence the interference of the government between landlord and tenant, between masters and journeymen, between the rich and the poor, between the priest and his flock. Hence the bulk of Statutes, now passed *every year*, is equal to the bulk of *all the Statutes passed down to the reign of the Stuarts*; the

bulk of two years Statutes now is equal to that of all the Statutes passed previous to the reign of Queen Anne; and the bulk of the Statutes of this king's reign is twice as great as that of all the Statutes passed in *all former reigns*. It cannot, however, be otherwise as things now stand; for the government is a great partner, that is, *part-owner*, in every man's goods and estate; it has its eye upon all that he does; it has its hand continually in his pocket. Indeed, the leading men of the several trades and callings are, as we all know, frequently assembled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Board of Trade, the Colonial Ruler, &c. according to the nature of the business, to consult how the several duties and taxes and licences, &c. shall be settled and collected. In Breweries, Distilleries, &c. the government has persons of its own appointing, who reside constantly on the spot, and who keep the keys in some cases. While this lasts, there never can be any successful effort made by the people to lessen the quantity of misery. The paupers in England must go on increasing, and the poor in Ireland must become poorer still. What PAINE said was perfectly true: "a rich government makes a poor people." To maintain such a power over the purses of the people, there must be an *army*; and, when an army is avowedly employed in the business of tax-gathering, there does not seem to be much necessity for discussion about causes and remedies.

Mr. GRATTAN said something upon this occasion, and, as Lord CASTLEREAGH complimented him upon his "*Statesman-like*" view of the subject, it may not be amiss to see what that view was. "He expressed his *high* satisfaction with many of the points which had been so fully, candidly and impartially discussed by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite. The question before the House was of vast importance, and it certainly

" was an object worthy of the British  
 " Legislature to point out, in a calm, dis-  
 " passionate manner, such means as would  
 " renovate the exhausted state of that  
 " country. The financial distress of that  
 " country *was beyond conception*. It  
 " had a debt of 150,000,000*l.* for which  
 " 6,000,000*l.* was paid, while its revenue  
 " was only 5,000,000*l.* This presented  
 " a picture of wretchedness which he  
 " was confident was calculated to awake  
 " every painful emotion. He had the  
 " highest confidence in British energy, but  
 " that energy was best employed when  
 " each part of the country was contribut-  
 " ing aid to the other. Whatever des-  
 " troyed Ireland had obviously a tendency  
 " to ruin England, and certainly no ar-  
 " rangement could be better than such a  
 " system of finance as would unite both  
 " countries on one general basis. As to  
 " the commercial difficulties of Ireland,  
 " they proceeded in a great measure from  
 " the sudden change of a state of war into  
 " a state of peace, and although he was  
 " fully sensible of their extent, he owned  
 " that he did not despond with respect to  
 " them. Let this country take such  
 " measures as were best calculated to  
 " relieve Ireland on this subject. The  
 " commercial principle of the two nations  
 " ought to be their mutual advantage.  
 " Ireland sent Great Britain her provi-  
 " sions. Great Britain ought to prefer  
 " the manufactures of Ireland. Thus it  
 " appeared to him that all the three  
 " branches of difficulty of which he had  
 " spoken might be removed. With res-  
 " pect to the agitation which existed in  
 " Ireland, *by a good Administration of*  
 " *the Government* it might unquestion-  
 " ably be cured. It was of a temporary  
 " not of a permanent nature. It was dis-  
 " graceful, but it was *an eruption of the*  
 " *skin, and did not proceed from the*  
 " *blood*. It ought to be put down by the  
 " law; and although *in a free country* an  
 " effervescence of that nature could not  
 " be so speedily subdued as in a *despotic*

" country, it would be more effectually so.  
 " in the end. Above all, never let the  
 " Government put itself in the wrong,  
 " but let it so act, that the very criminal  
 " who suffered under the infliction of the  
 " law should allow the *excellence of the*  
 " *constitution under which he was punish-*  
 " *ed*. From the peace which had been  
 " concluded over the whole world he  
 " looked for great advantage to Ire-  
 " land. Ireland had suffered much by  
 " the war. Her debt had increased to an  
 " enormous amount. *Her taxes were*  
 " *heavier than she could bear*. She had  
 " assisted Great Britain in *carrying Eu-*  
 " *rope through the chaos* in which she had  
 " been involved; and it now became the  
 " duty of Great Britain to use every  
 " means of alleviating her distress, and to  
 " identify the interests of the two coun-  
 " tries."

Now, really, I can discover very little  
 here either of novelty or profundity. The  
 idea of it being difficult to subdue the ef-  
 fervescence in Ireland because Ireland is  
 a *free country* is, to be sure, singularly  
 happy, and especially as coming after the  
 descriptions given by Mr. PEEL. But, I  
 confess I find it go monstrously against the  
 grain to be obliged to hold my tongue,  
 when I hear it said, or see it in print, that  
 a man who suffers under the law now in  
 force in Ireland..... Nay, I  
 will speak out. (D.)

What, Mr. Grattan, and is it only an  
 " *eruption of the skin*," say you, that  
 your unfortunate country is afflicted with!  
 Faith, if this be the case, the famous Act  
 of 1806, of which you have the honour  
 to have been the author, was a pretty  
 strong medicine for a disorder of the *skin*!  
 To shut people up in their houses from  
 sun-set to sun-rise; to employ soldiers as  
 revenue officers; to transport people  
 without trial by jury; this was pretty  
 stout physicking for a disorder of the  
 skin. Besides, this disorder of the skin,  
 as it is in your "statesman-like view" of  
 it, has lasted for a long while. It has af-

licted Ireland ever since 1806 at any rate. A ten years' disorder of the skin is an odd thing; and, it is, it seems, growing worse and worse, more tormenting and more tormenting, every day. If you were afflicted with the *itch*, and had been using a recipe for ten years, without receiving the smallest benefit, would you still persevere in the use of that recipe? Certainly you would not. You would, long before the ten years were out, fling away the recipe, and kick the Doctor out of doors. Why not try, then, a change of application to the irritated and half-rav carcase of your poor country? You say, that, "by a good administration of the government the disorder might certainly be cured." But you propose nothing in order to cause this administration to be good. You say, that "the taxes of Ireland are heavier than she can bear." A very sufficient reason for her miseries and discontents, but this disorder is assuredly more than *skin-deep*; and, then, again you do not propose to take off any of her taxes; on the contrary, you say, that her taxes are insufficient to pay the interest of her debt. All this may be very "statesman-like" for any thing that I knew to the contrary; but, I must confess that he good it is calculated to produce lies too deep for me to discover.

Such, people of America, is the state of Ireland, and such the sort of discussions, which are going on respecting that country. You will have a very false notion of the matter, if you suppose, that the discontents in Ireland proceed from the refusal of what is called *Catholic Emancipation*. The only persons who really want that point to be carried are a few great Catholic families, who want to sit in parliament and on the Bench and to fill Offices in the Army and Navy, who want, in short *their share*..... You understand me. It is useless to say more. The common people have a very faint notion of the meaning of the words; and,

at bottom, the Catholic Priests by no means desire the measure, being well convinced, that it would speedily *thin their flocks*. The miseries of Ireland, like those of England, proceed from *heavy taxation*. Heavy taxation creates a numerous host of tax-gatherers and endless volumes of regulations, restraints, and penal laws, and makes the government appear on every man's farm, and in every man's shop and warehouse and manufactory and dwelling house, almost in person. This changes every thing. There is no longer any really *private* property or concern. The government meddles with every thing; has a knowledge of every thing; has its share in every thing, moveable and immoveable, during every man's life, and, when he dies, it comes and shares with his children and relations in what he leaves behind him. Hence so large a part is taken away, that poverty must alight somewhere; and the payers of taxes go on pressing each other downwards, and squeezing the lowest out successively in the shape of paupers. This, talk as long as men may like about *causes and remedies*, is the real state of the case; and, whatever may finally happen to us, I do most earnestly conjure you, the people of America, to put a stop, while you have it in your power, to that paper-money system, that system of borrowing and of banking, which has produced so much misery and degradation here, and which, if you do not resolve to check it in time, will, I am persuaded, in spite of your free constitution of government, involve you in ruin after having produced a division of the States.

You cannot imagine how corruption chuckles *here* upon perceiving that you are creeping into a paper-system. A short time ago, the Morning Herald expressed its satisfaction, that the war had compelled you to contract 14 millions of pounds of debt. The enemies of American freedom have been uncommonly

anxious to see a National Bank established. They deceive themselves, perhaps, in supposing, that the system will get along in your country as it has done here; but, they know well, that it must be injurious to your freedom, and, therefore, they most anxiously hope to see it take fast root in your country. It is useless to say, that your free constitution, by which the power of raising money is really possessed by the people, will enable you, at all times, to keep the system in check. When once a debt is contracted, there is a part of the people, who are, of necessity, on the side of raising money, no matter by what means. As the debt increases this description of persons increases in number as well as activity and weight. The facility of borrowing will not fail to create a great debt; and that facility will arise out of a paper-institution upheld by the government.

Thus, if you once *permanently fix a paper department of government*, I defy you, with all your elections, all your jealousy of your rights, to prevent the consequences that I have anticipated. The government will be a large *part-owner* with you, and that, too, without any evil design, or any fault, on its part. It *must* be a large part-owner of all your property; it *must* intermeddle in all your affairs; it *must* load you with laws and regulations; for unless it act thus, it cannot obtain the means of paying its creditors, whom all the world will say, it ought honestly to pay. I do not know any thing of the *details* of the National Bank institution. I do not know how the thing is liked in America, or what the opinions are respecting it. But, I am quite sure, that it must be, or become, if it continue, a great paper-machine, connected, more or less, with the General government. I know, that it will tend to keep up a system of fictitious money. I know that it will give a great political influence to those who have the

management of the machine or any of its branches. I know, that it will give rise to, or, rather, perpetuate, a spirit of speculation; that is to say, deep gaming under the name of trading. I know, that it will, because it must, fill the country with stock-jobbers and sharpers. I know that it will take from commercial integrity, learning, talent, and real property, a great part of their fair and just weight and influence in politics, and will transfer it to an upstart and sordid crew, with whom liberty and national honour are empty sounds. I know very well, that those who have proposed, and apparently (for I have not seen any account of the Bill having passed) approved of, and carried, the measure, have no design to produce such effects; but, I am convinced, that, in spite of any thing that can be done to guard against them, such will be only a *part* of the consequences of a *system* of fictitious money. However, if the thing is to be done, there is an end of all endeavours to prevent it; and, all that I can, in that case, say, in addition, is, that, if I should live to the end of twenty years, I shall be very happy to find, that my apprehensions have been proved to be groundless.

In a late Number I observed, that the opinions of the people of England were taking a very right turn upon the subject of the Bourbons. You remember how we cheered Louis the *desired* upon his first restoration. Your Cossacks enjoyed the fine descriptions of all our nobility and gentry and their footmen and horses, dressed out in *white cockades*, conducting him from London to Dover amidst the huzzas of hundreds of thousands of people. You remember, that all our stage-coaches, post-chaise horses, and almost every thing else, were dressed out in the ensign of Bourbon legitimacy. And, what is more, you remember the hundreds of millions that we have spent in his restoration. Now, then, hear the language, not of a

knot of Jacobins; not of me and others who generally think like me, but, of the *County of Cornwall*, legally assembled, with the High-Sheriff at its head, and all the principal persons of the County being present. I have before given you an account of similar sentiments, contained in the petitions of other Counties and of many cities and towns; but, you will now see, that these sentiments extend to "the *Land's End*." Towards the close of this petition, the Cornish men say: "That as a Standing army has ever been a subject of constitutional jealousy with Englishmen, the proposal to keep on foot a force of 150 thousand regular soldiers ought not to have been entertained by a free Parliament, or endured by a free People; that the alleged pretexts for this most unconstitutional measure are either unsatisfactory or odious. That having found the Laws always cheerfully obeyed, and the Civil Power fully adequate to the maintenance of good order, and relying upon our insular situation, on the invincible prowess of our Navy, and the free spirit of the people, we cannot admit that a large military force is necessary in Great Britain, either for the purposes of external defence or for internal peace. We cannot but think that if 25,000 men be requisite for the internal tranquility of Ireland, an immediate enquiry into its present state is absolutely necessary. We cannot think that we can by force of arms compel the French People to submit to a Government not chosen by themselves, without trampling on the inalienable rights of mankind, without denying the justice of our own glorious Revolution, and impeaching the title of the House of Brunswick to the Throne of these Realms."

You will say, that we are come to our senses very late; that we have first done the mischief with our eyes open, and then

come and condemn what we ourselves have done. You will ask why we did not petition against the war, renewed against France for the express purpose of driving out the ruler, whom France had received with open arms? When that war was about to begin, SIR FRANCES BURDETT uttered, in the House of Commons, precisely the sentiment that is here expressed, but, there were no petitions; not a single petition, nor a single voice in the House, to back him. You will say, that you give us little credit for just sentiments, which are in open opposition to our conduct. You will say, that it is the *tax-gatherer* who has brought us to feel for the wrongs of France. You will say, that it is the *expense* of keeping down the French that we dislike; and, you will say, with perfect justice, that, if we were sincere and hearty in the sentiments now expressed by us, we should petition for the release of Napoleon, who, as all the world knows, was really the object of the French people's choice. Whether we shall come to this is more than I can say. In the meanwhile two acts of parliament have been passed to make it criminal to assist in his escape, and to make legal the act of imprisoning and keeping him in prison. The DUKE of SUSSEX and LORD HOLLAND have protested against these Bills and against the imprisonment itself. But, the Whig party, of whom MR. BROUGHAM is a sort of acting leader, have concurred in the legality as well as justice and necessity of this treatment of Napoleon. MR. BROUGHAM said, that there was but one opinion upon these points, and most heartily concurred with Caselereagh in approbation of all that had been done. (E) Yet, if the Cornish and other petitioners know what they mean, they must be of a different opinion; for, if it be to "trample upon the unalienable rights of mankind to attempt to compel the French people to submit to a government not chosen by themselves,"



what is it to force away the man whom they did choose as their Chief, and to imprison him on a rock for life? To be consistent, these petitioners should call for the release of Napoleon and the withdrawing of our army from France. If they stop short of this, they subject themselves to the imputation of having just sentiments on their lips only.

However, we have, in the language of these petitions, a certain proof that the cause of "*legitimacy*" is losing ground in England; and, if it lose ground here it will lose ground every where. Nothing can be a stronger symptom of this, than what has taken place in Paris relative to the escape of LAVALETTE. The act of Mr. BRUCE and his associates was very meritorious. To save the life of such a man, under such circumstances, was brave and generous. But, the sentiments, which these gentlemen have had the courage to express upon their trial, do them still more honour. They have boldly said, that they considered Lavalette as unjustly condemned, and, as is stated in the public prints, SIR ROBERT WILSON has gone so far as to declare, that he looked upon the condemnation of Lavalette and Ney as in violation of the Convention, by which the allies obtained possession of the city of Paris; and that he was glad of the opportunity of doing an act, which might tend to rescue the character of his country from the charge of having participated in those deeds. (F)

At any rate this shows very clearly, that there is, in this country, a strong feeling against the Bourbons; for, you are not to believe, that these three gentlemen only have imbibed such notions. Besides, they must have been naturally anxious about their *character here*. If

they had thought, that their conduct would have been condemned here, they would have held their tongues. They would, at least, have refrained from *volunteering* sentiments hostile to the Bourbons; if they had had any reason to suspect, that the uttering of such sentiments would have rendered them odious in England. Therefore, you may be assured, that the tide of public opinion in England is running strongly against the "*legitimates*." And, however *inconsistent* this may make us appear, still the change is favourable to the prospects of freedom. No matter what *has been* our conduct. No matter what we may *have done*. No matter what may be our *distresses*. Still this is the seat of European influence; this is the seat of European *good or evil*. As to what we ourselves *really are*, very few, comparatively speaking, *perceive* it. Great delusion prevails; nor can you wonder at it, when you view the means that are made use of. But, be this as it may, JOHN RULL, after all, has some *bottom* left. He is easily cajoled, and does bear a great deal; but, though I will not say, that a million of foreign soldiers would not be able to seat a king upon the throne of England, I am very sure that they would not be able to keep him there for a year without three hundred and sixty-five bloody frays to encounter. If foreign soldiers were employed in gutting the public Museums and Galleries in London, the people would not be seen fiddling and dancing and laughing at puppet-shows and dancing-dogs in the streets, as was actually the case at Paris.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. \* \* \* \* \*

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TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER XII.

*Gilded Ropes of Serpentine River Fleet.—  
Alien Bill.—Bank Paper Money Law.  
—The Pope's Declaration against Pro-  
testants.—Scheme of the Canadian Spe-  
culators to excite jealousy of America.*

Botley, 14th May, 1816.

In Number 17, I mentioned, that a gentleman in Sussex had informed me, that he had forwarded to me some of the *Gilded Ropes*, used in the ships, which composed the famous English Fleet that so gloriously triumphed over that of your country, on the Serpentine River, in Hyde Park, London, in 1814. The Ropes, or, rather, the rope, is come to hand. It appears to have composed part of a *Cable*, for it is of considerable thickness. When we have looked and laughed at it at Botley, till we are tired, I will certainly ship it off for America, where the people have as good a right to view it, as the Londoners had to view the *hat* of Napoleon, and other of his trinkets, said to have been taken at Waterloo. If the whole be not seized on as *Naval Stores*, I shall, perhaps, send a little bit of it to be kept as a *relic* by the Cossack Priesthood. Considering its origin, it must have a great charm in it, in the eyes of those gentlemen. I will assuredly send some of the *Gilding* to my friend, the wise Mr. John Randolph of Virginia. The gold on it is not *solit* enough for the men of "*Steady Habits*," who were acquainted with *Capt. Henry*.

I am aware, that nothing short of *sterling* will go down with them. Part of the Rope, being untwisted, forms *distinct cords* of very convenient length and strength. These shall be respectfully presented to Mr. Goodloe Harper, Governor Strong, and the Members of the Hartford Convention.

In No. 16, at page 482, I discussed the subject of the intended Bill to protect the Bank against demands in cash for two years longer, after it had been so protected for 19 years. This matter has since been discussed in the House of Commons, and the measure has, of course, been carried. I can add nothing of my own upon this subject. It was made as clear as *day-light*, I hope, in the Number just referred to. But, it is proper to state here, as briefly as I can, the substance, at least, of what passed in the House, on this occasion. I have pledged myself to keep you informed of what this Government *is at*; what its *views* and *intentions* are, as nearly as I can; and, of all its measures, those are the most important which relate to the paper-money; because, upon this great pivot every thing turns. If this Government can revive the activity of the paper-system, it will be powerful as long as that activity lasts. If it cannot revive it; or cannot keep up the activity of it; it will itself become *feeble*, in spite of every other means that it can invent. If it become feeble, it will lose power in every department. You will soon hear the language of the people change. Influence ceasing to operate so widely, timidity and delusion will also be diminished. This is, therefore, a matter of the greatest consequence; and those considerations induce me to call your attention now, not to any thing *new*, but to the avowals, the confessions, now made in the House of Commons itself.

Mr. HORNER, Member for the famous St. Mawes, of whom I spoke to you more particularly, the other day, in a *Note*, opposed the Bill, as I informed you he would. He said, that the introduction of the Bill had surprised him and the whole country; that he now doubted the sincerity of the Ministers in their desire to return to cash payments; that the House had been told of the *desire* of the Bank to pay, till the gravity of the Members could no longer bear it; that it was clear that the renewal of the law to protect the Bank was connected with the

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lending of paper to the Government by the Bank; that the paper had been greatly reduced in quantity last year; that this was one great cause of the fall of prices; that we had *borrowed money in a paper of small value*, and had now to *pay the interest in a paper at a high value*; that this "was the most formidable evil that threatened our finances, and though he had too high an opinion of the resources of the country, and of the wisdom of the Government, to *despair*, he was *appalled*, when he considered the immense amount of the interest of the Debt, *contracted in that artificial currency*, compared with the *produce of the taxes*." It is useless to repeat any more of his words, seeing that he only repeated mine, which you have heard so many times over. He concluded by saying, that if the Bill passed, he had no hesitation in saying, that the Bank would *never pay in specie again*." The Bill will pass.

Mr. P. GRANT said, that this was a system by which to carry on the financial operations of the country, through the *medium of accommodations from the Bank*; and, Mr. MARRYAT "considered the thing as a great and powerful engine, in the hands of the Ministers, to *alter the property of the country at their discretion*." This, you know, is what I have said a hundred times over. Mr. MARRYAT compared it to a *necromancer's wand*, in the hands of the Ministers. He did not like to compare it to the cock of a barrel, shutting in, or letting out, the paper at pleasure. He would have thought it *plagiarism* to repeat my very figures, as well as my opinions.

But, suffer me, if you please, to "bother" Mr. HORNER a little, once more, upon this subject. He acknowledges, that the enormous debt has been chiefly contracted in a paper of *small value*, and that the interest is *now paying in paper of high value*. He says, that this is a *formidable evil*. He acknowledges, that he is *appalled* at the amount of the interest of the Debt, when compared with the amount of the taxes. And yet, what does he propose? Why, to make the Bank *pay in specie*, which even idiots must know would lower prices and diminish the nominal amount of the taxes. What does he mean, then? He *complains*, that we have now to pay the interest in

a paper of higher value than that in which we made the loans; and yet, he would *make us pay the interest in specie*! He says, that the project of feeding the country with paper, in order to raise prices and thus enable the people to pay large sums in taxes, is the "most monstrous project that has ever been imagined," and so will say Lord Grenville, perhaps. But, let me assure Mr. Horner, that the project of making this country pay sixty, or even forty, millions of taxes a-year in specie is a thousand times more monstrous. What! is Mr. Horner *appalled* now when he compares the amount of the interest of the Debt with the amount of the taxes; and, yet, is he not *appalled* at the thought of a measure, which must cause a great reduction in the amount of those taxes? The tax-payers are ruined, he says, by paying in a paper of high value; and yet, he would make them pay in specie! In short, is it not as clear as the sun at noon-day, that to reopen the floodgates of paper-money is the way, and the only way, to remove the ground of Mr. Horner's complaint? Unless, indeed, he wishes to see the *interest of the Debt reduced*; and, then, good-bye to the System. But, this is what he never so much as hints at. He wants the System to stand; he wants a gold circulation and sixty millions of taxes too. He does not *despair*, because the government is *wise, prudent, and benevolent*. These qualities of the government, however, though so manifest to Mr. Horner, do not appear to me sufficient to make the country pay sixty millions of taxes in gold and silver.

The close of a subsequent debate was curious. It was moved by the Opposition to insert the words "*no longer*" after the *two years*. This was opposed, and by a Bank Director too, and lost upon a division. At last, Mr. Horner said, that "all this was *perfectly understood*." Yes, to be sure, and so it was by me and my readers, a great many years ago. More than ten years ago, I said what is now asserted, or not denied, in every part of the House. To talk of paying in *specie*, without reducing the interest of the Debt more than one half, is absolute folly. It is something so absurd, that one cannot hear it seriously proposed with any degree of patience.

Thus, then, we close this discussion.

We have now seen, that the thing has, thus far, gone on just as I have always predicted. How it will now operate; how it will work; what are the shapes in which this new mode of raising money *at once from the Bank*; or, in other words, \* \* \* \* \*. What are the shapes, in which the effects of this species of traffick will discover themselves is more than I can say; but, as to the *final* consequence, there can, I think, be very few persons indeed, who take time to reflect, who can have the smallest doubt remaining in their minds.

It is a *great subject*. The whole world ought to have their eyes fixed upon this grand paper engine; for, the thing is now, at this very moment, at work to produce wonderful events. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause, of keeping in check, or beating down, the spirit of freedom in Europe. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause, of the restoration of the old governments, the Pope, and all the rest. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause of all \* \* \* \* \*; and, therefore, every symptom, with regard to its probable duration, is of importance. It is quite in vain to look for the cause of any *material* change in any other quarter. Some accident may possibly give rise to a great change; but, the chapter of accidents is nothing to *calculate* on. Have your eyes, therefore, upon this grand paper engine. It is wonderfully enfeebled of late. It is now much better understood even by this credulous and deluded people. This last measure, though it has not "*surprised*" any body, except Mr. Horner, has set many persons to thinking, who appear never to have thought upon the subject before. If we have but five or six years of *peace*, we shall see good days yet.

In my last I gave you some information about the *peace Alien Bill*. Since that Letter was written, the Bill has passed through another stage. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY has moved for a return of the Aliens, who have been sent out of the country at the request of *foreign ministers*. You will easily see the drift of this. The motion was, however, *rejected* by a large majority. Now, observe. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, who is an eminent, an able, and most upright *lawyer* (which is a very rare thing in England), said: "*He knew*

"that individuals *were sent off on grounds not at all connected with danger to the country* apprehended from them. *A cause happened to be referred to his arbitration between two foreigners*. One of his Majesty's Ministers, he would rather not mention his name, as he was *now dead, took a strong interest in one of them*. In the course of the business *one of them was found to have misconducted himself*. The Noble Lord to whom he had alluded, said that was a *person who ought to be sent out of the country on the Alien Bill*." This you will easily comprehend. One of the Ministers "*took a strong interest in one of the parties*," and the *other* was sent out of the country for *having misconducted himself* even while his cause was pending before an arbitrator! I should not have revived this subject, having so fully discussed it before; but this fact, coming from such a person, and stated in such a place, is worth a hundred arguments. No more need be said about the *Alien Act*. You have only to bear in mind, that this act makes part of the laws under which we now live and under which we shall live as long as the Bank of England shall continue to furnish us with money.

It has been stated, in the public prints here, that the Pope has issued a document of some sort, declaring, "*that the toleration of several religions is contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church*;" and, of course, that such toleration ought to be put an end to. This may, very likely, be a first step towards an expulsion of the protestants from France, a measure that ought to surprize nobody, and, I do not know, that it ought to excite much regret, seeing that it would inevitably send some of the best and useful of the people of France to your country, where they would add to the forces of the cause of freedom. Tyranny will do nothing, at last, unless it can overturn your freedom. It must be strangely puzzled and vexed. If it do not persecute with a vigorous hand, it will be speedily assailed by its abject slaves; if it do, the slaves will go to America, and become its enemies in that country. Tyranny is more puzzled than it ever was before. There can be no doubt that *this government* is at work with all the means within its long-armed reach to \* \* \* \* \*

In the meanwhile, here is another little

rap on the knuckles for parsons *Channing* and *Parish*. If, when they were snuffing out their blasphemous thanksgivings for the European restoration, some one had stepped to them and caught them by the ear, and, giving them a good sharp twitch, said: "Silence, you canting hypocrites! Leave off your trash; for, in less than two years, this restoration, that you are thanking God for, will cause the protestants of France to be hunted like Maroons, shot, stabbed, and burnt; it will cause all the liberty of conscience, gained during the last twenty years, to be utterly destroyed; it will make him, who, as you used to tell us, was the Whore of Babylon, as powerful as ever; it will enable 'the Scarlet Whores' again to get 'drunk with the blood of the Saints.' Come down, then, you hypocrites, and leave off your base attempts to delude your congregations!" If some one had saluted the Reverend Cossacks in this manner, what an out-cry there would have been set up against him! Yet, he would have been correct in his predictions.

This new age of persecution may, however, be a good. The *religion-people* have, in all the countries of Europe, been most on the side of tyranny. Priests of all sorts have thought, or have seemed to think, tyranny better for them than free government; that is to say, government, in which the people have their due weight. Liberty has had no bitterer enemies than the dissenting Priests in general. The Methodists, in England, are the very pink of loyalty. These new pranks of the Bourbons and the Pope stagger loyal cant exceedingly. It does not know what to say. It is very angry with the Bourbons and the Pope for disgracing the cause; but, still, it dares not say much against them for fear of the just retort of having preached and prayed for twenty years against the Jacobins, who never meddled with any body's religion.

These events will keep working on, till they have made all men see what Cossack Priests really are. It has long been manifest to every man with eyes open, that the Cossack Priests had no regard for religion; that they followed it as a calling to get money by; that they railed against the Scarlet Whore of Babylon in order to cry up their own particular branch; that they had no regard for those souls, which

they appeared to be so anxious about; that, in short, it was the *profits* of preaching and praying, which alone they looked to. But, now, these facts must be evident to all the world. There is now no man that can avoid seeing them. So that the Cossack Priests will, in the end, have lost weight by the restoration of despotism and persecution. The new doctrine, which they broached, that *any religion* was better than *none*, was very suspicious. There are very few persons of forty years of age, who have not, before the French Revolution, heard protestant priests solemnly declare, that the Romish Church taught *idolatry*; that its doctrines were *damnable*; that its effect on mankind was to make them commit *robbery and murder without remorse*. This is notorious. Nay, this and much more, against the Romish Church, is to be found in the *books*, in the printed *sermons*, and other books of the most esteemed protestant priests. Well, now, what can be *worse* than *damnable* doctrines? What can be *worse* in practice, than that which makes men commit robbery and murder without remorse? Have the Cossack Priests been able to find out crimes *more* atrocious than robbery and murder? Have they discovered something *more* calamitous than being *damned*? If they have not, it follows of necessity, that they uttered a falsehood, when they said that *any religion* was better than none; or, that they were guilty of very infamous calumny, when they described the doctrine and effects of the Catholic religion. They are now in a cleft stick.

The sweet howl, which they set up against the French Revolution, was not because it was hostile to *Religion*, but because it was hostile to *Priests*; not because it laughed at the *Bible*, but because it abolished *Tithes and Fees*. "Oh, oh!" said they, "here is an attack upon *Christianity*." What! Has Christianity any thing *damnable* in it? Does Christianity induce men to commit *robbery and murder without remorse*? "Aye, aye," said they, "no matter for that: *any religion* is better than *none*." Well! but, good Cossacks; hear us a little, said the Jacobins. We do not meddle with people's *consciences*. They may follow any religion that they please; only, for our parts, we are resolved not to *pay* to Priests of any sort. "Oh! you heathen! oh! you infidels! oh! you blasphemous

"wretches!" Well! but, gentle Cossacks; preachers of meekness and self-denial, whose kingdom is not of this world; you who have, all your lives, been railing against Anti-Christ, do you blame us for driving out those hordes of Priests and Monks, who were the battalions of Anti-christ. "Yes; for *any* religion is better than *none*." What, then, is the religion of Anti-Christ *better* than no religion at all? Is it to be *against* Christianity to put down *Anti-Christ*? Is it better to be *for* Anti-Christ than to take no part in the dispute?

But, you artful hypocrites, you made your hearers believe, that it was for *religion* that you were anxious, while you were alarmed only for your *trade* and your *pay*. "Any religion is better than none." What, then, is it better to believe *falsehood* than to have no belief? Is a poisoned bowl *better* than no drink at all? If men in general could but see your conduct in its true light, how soon would you be compelled to work for your bread! You are, however, reduced to *silence*. You are no longer talkative and bold. Why do you not *answer*? One would think that I must have stung you to the flesh before now, if your skin had been thick as ten bulls hides. Do you think, that the old cant will still carry you along? Is there not in all your thousands one man to take up his pen in your defence? Will no press give circulation to an answer? Send it to me in manuscript, and I will, at my own expense, have it printed and published.

Leaving the Cossack Priests and the Pope and the Bourbons and the Bulwark, for the present, let me call your attention to a curious article in one of our newspapers, relative to the *Mississippi* and *Missouri*. It is in these words, in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 6th of May: "The bill for adding a new Province, *Indiana*, to the Union, has passed through the American House of Assembly. The DESIGNS of the States upon the great rivers *Mississippi* and *Missouri* are BECOMING EVERY DAY MORE APPARENT."

Now, who would not suppose, that the United States were here suspected of *ambitious* projects of invasion, or, at least, of *unwarrantable aggrandizement*? Who would suppose, that the territory here spoken of, and alluded to, is so much be-

longing to the United States as Hampshire is belonging to England? What would any one think of a writer in an American paper, who should say, that the DESIGNS of England upon the rivers *Severn* and *Medway* were becoming every day more apparent? One would say, that the man was a *fool*; and, perhaps, the observation might not be wholly inapplicable to the news-paper proprietor in this instance; but, I will engage, that the man, who has sent this paragraph to Mr. PERRY is *no fool*. He knows very well what he is at. He is some *Canadian speculator*, or, rather, *Scots speculator* in Canada, of which description of persons Mr. PERRY appears always to have one, or more, at his elbow.

I do not accuse Mr. Perry of any *evil design*; but, I am sure, that his publications about Canada and the Boundaries are calculated to do a great deal of mischief. They are calculated, and, by the suggesters, or authors, of them, *intended* to do mischief. These persons, who may be very worthy men, however, in other respects, want to carry on their traffick with the Indians within the Boundaries of the United States; and, for this purpose, of importance to them, but of no earthly importance to this nation, would they plunge us into a war, and make us, if they could, push it on to the amount of five hundred millions more of Debt! This nation has *no interest* even in the *keeping of Canada*; and, is it, then, to be plunged into a war for the sake of asserting the right of a Company of Fur-Dealers to traffick with a band or two of Indians? Were it *really* a right; and did the *honour* of our country demand the assertion of it, I would be the last man to give it up. But, we have no more right on the Banks of the *Mississippi* or the *Missouri*, than we have on those of the *Danube*.

Yet do I verily believe, that the famous *sine qua non* arose entirely out of the suggestions of the Canada Fur-Dealers. It is notorious, that we insisted upon America's giving up a great part of her territory; that territory lies in the countries here spoken of. It is notorious, that we insisted on prohibiting the United States from purchasing territory of the Indians in the same quarter. It is notorious, that, after suffering the signal defeats of *Lake Champlain* and *New Orleans*, subsequent to the date of the *sine qua non*,

and expending about thirty millions of money, to say nothing of the lives lost; it is notorious, that, after the Fur-Dealer's *sine qua non* had cost us all this loss of money and of military and naval character, we had to submit to the deep disgrace of having abandoned the *sine qua non*. What trifling and contemptible instruments often produce enormous mischief!

The language of this paragraph of Mr. PERRY shows, to me, its source. The word "*Province*" is made use of instead of "*State*." INDIANA is a *new State*, just admitted into the *Union*, the Constitution having provided, that, as soon as any new territory shall have a population of 70,000 people, it shall be admitted into the Union as a *State*. Thus, though there were only *thirteen* States, when America became independent, there are now *eighteen*, or *nineteen*. INDIANA is a beautiful country, several hundred miles from the Atlantic coast; and, yet, it is here called a *Province*. Then the paragraph says that the American "*Assembly*" are passing a Bill. It is the *Congress*, as you know, as well as I do. In short, you will plainly perceive, that this is a Fur-Dealing paragraph; and, you may be assured, that the intention of it is, to excite a jealousy in this war-loving dominion-grasping nation against you. "The DE-SIGNS of the States." As if your government were about to invade some territory belonging to us! Three thousand miles of sea and a thousand miles of land are nothing in bar of our claims! What impudence and what folly; but, especially, what impudence, to think of crossing three thousand miles of sea, and then traversing a thousand miles over a country wholly independent of us, there to find; in the heart of that country, territory to claim and to fight for!

Still, however, as to us, as to the nation, who have to pay for all these war projects of Fur adventurers and East-India adventurers, the *folly* exceeds even the impudence. I defy any man living to show, that it is possible for England to derive, in any way whatever, any advantage from the possession of Canada. It can afford her no aid in case of war on the ocean; it has been proved, that it can do nothing for her West-India Colonies; it can yield no revenue; the manufactures sent thither, and the Furs sent home, do not yield a gain amount-

ing to a *ten thousandth part* of the cost of keeping up a Colonial Government and an army in the Colony. It can only serve for the purpose of creating grounds of quarrel and of war with the United States, against whose militia it is utterly unable to defend itself for a summer month. It must always have a great army from England, in case of war; and not a small one in time of peace; while the United States can safely hold all it can muster in utter contempt.

For what, then, except for the purposes of *patronage*, can such a country be held as a Colony of England? To be sure, Captain HENRY, the spy and corrupter, did set out from Canada on his embassy to New England. But, then, our Ministers most solemnly disclaimed any knowledge of that mission; and, all the world knows, that they would not solemnly assert a wilful falsehood. There may be use in holding Nova Scotia for the sake of the sea-ports; but Canada cannot possibly be of any use at all to this nation. Yet, how many millions has it wrung from the hard hands of English industry! How many thousands of people has it placed on the list of paupers! One ship upon the Lakes, which ship has never been used, did, I believe, cost more than a million of money. If there be another war, she has been built only to be taken, the Americans being, at this hour, provided with a complete superiority of force; and, if there be no war for a great many years, the money, the sweat of the English people, to the amount of a million of money, is sunk in the Lakes for ever. Perhaps the building of this very ship has sent a thousand of the people of England to the pauper list, and broken a hundred farmers and tradesmen.

Mr. CURWEN, who owes the nation something for past errors, might partly repay it for his Bill of 1809 by moving for an enquiry into the state and cost of this colony; and especially into its cost at this moment. Nobody will do it better, if he will but set about it with resolution, and listen to the suggestions and flatteries of neither ministers nor placemen. But, the great mischief of Canada is, that it has been, and will be as long as it is in our possession, the fertile source of quarrels with the United States, with whom it is so much our interest to live in peace and cordial friendship; and which peace and friendship never

can be of long duration, while Canada is retained by us, or while we intermeddle in its affairs.

In such cases, too, there is always a strong body of interested persons to *mislead* the government at home. Persons who have got lands and settlements on the frontiers of the Province; persons who have trading concerns with the Indians. There have been, doubtless, faults on your side as well as on ours; but, humanity shudders at the deeds, which have been committed by the savages; and, more especially when those deeds are known to have proceeded from the instigation of civilized nations; nations of common origin, too, speaking the same language, and whose mutual interests dictate a precisely different line of conduct. If, indeed, the independence, the safety, the tranquillity, or the honour, of England, was concerned; if the possession of Canada were necessary to any of these, it ought to be retained; but, as the *contrary* is really the fact, I most anxiously hope to see it abandoned.

WM. CORBETT.

P S. The Paper-money begins to work in the recruiting of the spirits of John Bull. The wheat, which, *two months ago*, sold at 6s. a bushel, now sells at very nearly 12s. a bushel! The moment the *Bank Bill* was proposed, the rise began; and, I expect to see wheat 15s. a bushel in a month or two more. It may fall again, perhaps, after harvest; but, at this price, *on an average of years*, it must remain; or, *the interest of the Debt cannot be paid*. Many of the farmers; indeed all the small and poorer farmers feel additional suffering from this rise. They have *sold* their corn long ago. They have to *buy* for seed of oats and barley *dearer* than they sold. Some of them have not the means of buying. The rich, who have been able to keep their corn, will be richer still. So that here is an effect the most injurious and distressing that can be imagined; and, indeed, the most unfair and unjust:—what must the state of that country be, where thousands upon thousands of industrious farmers and tradesmen, persons of property, too, without any fault of their own, without any of those accidents commonly called misfortunes, but merely by the operation of a measure of the government, may, in any six months, of any year, be plunged into a state of pauperism? This

is really and literally our case. However, *for the present*, this new supply of paper-money will produce a *quieting effect*. The *landlords* will be satisfied. The tenants and tradesmen will begin to *hope* again. We shall see few more petitions about *economy*. John Bull's maw being again crammed with paper, he will stagger along without bellowing and roaring. The Ministers were great fools (in their view of things) not to send out the paper *five months ago*. If they had done that, and had done it in *good style*, they would have carried the Income Tax even at *ten per centum*. They were deceived by their underlings. The Ministers wished to return to gold and silver money. They wished, to be able to collect the taxes in a currency of *high value*. They were, accordingly, by their underlings, who always, "prophecy *smooth things*," told that the thing could be done. The real state of the country was disguised from them. But, when they were told by those who had all along supported them, that *they* must quit them, or give up their estates, they saw that more paper-money, or that a diminution of the Civil List and Salaries and public pay of all sorts and a diminution of the interest of the Debt, *must* take place, or, that they must turn out of the ministry. The two latter were not to be thought of; and, of course, fresh supplies of paper were resorted to. But, only think of the effects of this sudden change upon all ranks and descriptions of people! An estate, sold in February, or even early in March, will now be paid for in a currency of vastly inferior value to that in which the bargain was made. A debt contracted in February will now be paid in the same way. Wages, agreed for last Michaelmas, will now be paid to not more, perhaps, than half the amount agreed for. Even day-labourers will suffer very much indeed. Our labourers at Botley have been, for some time, receiving about 18 or 20 pence a day. That is to say, the price of a bushel of flour in a week. Their wages will not now purchase much more than *half a bushel*; yet it will be some weeks, perhaps, two months, or more, before they will obtain a rise of day-wages: In the mean while they must be half starved, or go to the parish; and thus a new batch of paupers will be created. But it is endless to describe the evils, the injustice, the cruelty, the curses, of such a system,



And, just at this very moment, comes the news, that *you* have passed a law to establish a *National Bank*!

## THE AMERICAN PACKET.

### NO. II.

#### *Character of Major-General Jacob Brown.*

*Bollev. 13th April, 1816.*

DEAR JOHN BULL,

One of the means, which the parasites of your press make use of to amuse you, is, to put forth biographical anecdotes of royal and aristocratical commanders by land or by sea. How many volumes have you read, or, rather, gaped at, about "Prince Blucher," and other German and Russian Commanders! How many swords, set with diamonds, have the citizens of London voted to such men! Let me, in order to give a little variety to your reading in this way, relate to you the actions, and describe the character of a republican General, decorated with *neither ribbons nor stars*, bearing no other title than that of his office, and exerting his skill, courage, and perseverance, in no other cause than that of freedom, which cause, indeed, appears to have induced him to strip off the garb of a *quaker* and to put on that of a soldier.

The American MAJOR GENERAL BROWN, concerning whom I re-published (from a Boston paper, called the *YANKEE*) an article in a late Number (No. 14, vol. 30), is a person really worthy of your attention much more than all the Russian and German Commanders, about whom you have heard so much and have made so much empty noise. It is stated, in the article, to which I have just alluded, that he was born of quaker parents, and was brought up a quaker, "in *Duck's County*, *Pennsylvania*, a little below *Trenton*." The Boston Editor has here made two mistakes. There is no *Duck's County* in *Pennsylvania*, and *Trenton* is in *New Jersey*. It should have been *Buck's County*, and I dare say a little below *New-town*, which is the County-town of *Buck's County*. And, as little men have always a hankering after an acquaintance with great men, I am strongly disposed to believe, that I had the honour to know this celebrated man before he had a flap to the pocket of his coat. There was a most

worthy Quaker, whose name was *John Brown*, who had, I think, several sons, and who lived not far below *New-town*, in *Buck's County*. His father was one of those who went from England with, or soon after, *William Penn*. This quaker we used to call "*Old John Brown*," and if alive, he must now be about 80 years of age. He was a very hearty, active, and intelligent man 17 years ago. I remember, that, on a shooting party at his house, a Mr. Wm. Ewing and I shot at single shots, just one hundred partridges in one day; that is to say, Mr. Ewing shot ninety-nine and I shot one. He shot just a hundred times, and I, perhaps, fifty. If Mr. Ewing, who was a lawyer at Philadelphia, be still alive, as I most sincerely hope he is, he will remember this adventure.

If, however, Major General Jacob Brown, be a son of old John Brown, (a fact which I should very much like to know), he inherits no small portion of vigour and of spirit from his father, who, though always a Quaker, had kept a pack of hounds in his younger days, and was not a man to turn the left cheek, if smitten on the right.\* Be this matter of

\* Something of the character of John Brown may be gathered from the following anecdote, which I had from himself. A great many years before the date of the relation to me, his home was broken open in the night. The family were awaked by most furious barking of the hounds. When he and his people, or brothers, or whoever else it might be, went down stairs, in order to go to the kennel to see what was the matter, they found, that a chest of some sort had been broken open, and that the robbers had gone off with a little box which had been locked up in the chest, and which contained money, title deeds, and, perhaps, some other things of value. At a loss to know what course to take in pursuit, Mr. Brown called out to somebody to let out the hounds, while he and some other person, or persons, saddled their horses. The hounds being brought to the door, from which the robbers had started, and being properly cheered on, took to the scent, and away they went at full cry just as if they had been after a fox. The robbers crossed a river (or creek); but, over went the hounds and hunters after them. The chase ended in catching the robbers, who were with difficulty saved from the dogs. They were lodged in *New-town jail*, and, after some time, confessed, I believe, that they had thrown the little box into the creek, upon perceiving that the hounds were at their heels. How the robbers were dealt with I do not recollect; but the box was sought after in the creek, and recovered. This used to be cited by Mr. Brown, as a triumphant answer to all those Quaker friends, who used to contend



parentage, however, as it may, it is certain, that only 16 years ago, General Brown, now the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Troops, was the Master of a Quaker-School in the city of New-York.

The great services, which this gentleman performed for his country on the Canadian frontier, during the last war; the activity, intelligence, and courage which he displayed, first as a mere volunteer officer, next as a commander of militia, and lastly as an Officer of the Regular army, were of a kind and attended with consequences, that justly called forth the admiration and gratitude of his country. But, his American Biographer has omitted one particular trait in his conduct, during the last campaign, which above all others, ought to have been noticed, because it is so well calculated to give the reader a correct idea of the character of the man. After the battle of Niagara, I believe it was (for I cannot find the documents), in which battle one of his Aid-de-Camps had been wounded mortally and carried off as a prisoner by General Drummond's army, General Brown pressingly requested an *exchange* of this Aid-de-camp, for whom he was willing to give up an officer of ours of superior rank. This request was refused, unless he would *first* send in the English Officer. General Brown, informed by this time, that his Aid-de-camp was *dead*, sent in, nevertheless, the English Officer, as an *equivalent* for his dead Aid-de-camp, whose corps he actually received in return!

This was an act worthy of Napoleon himself. But, what is most worthy of our attention, is, that General Brown has mixed the *soldier*, all along, with the *farmer* and *settler*. Called forth, time after time, in defence of his country, he has

that hounds were of no use. The facts here related, and which are well known to hundreds of persons in Buck-County, add another instance to the thousands upon record, which are calculated to excite great doubts upon the subject of the cause of the discernment in dumb animals. Was it mere *instinct* which taught these hounds to set up such an extraordinary out-cry upon this particular occasion? Was it mere *instinct* that urged them to push on upon the *scent* of man, to hunt whom was not their nature, nor ever had been their practice? I should like to hear these questions answered by some one who has studied the subject.

again and again returned to resume the arts of peace. He has built a flourishing village, called "*Brown's Ville*," which is now the Head Quarters of the Army of the United States. What a character is here for us to contemplate! Not a mercenary who fights and kills for mere pay; not a man who follows war as a trade, and who has no pretension to any right to investigate the merits of the cause, in which he draws his sword, but a man, engaged in the great work of education and civilization; a man, who, out of means wholly of his own creating, is raising up a village with one hand, while, with the other, he directs the thunder of his country against its menacing invaders.

While America has such men as this in her bosom, she has nothing to fear; and, it must be confessed, that the very state of society, in that country, is calculated to produce such men. The distance, in many cases, of settlements from each other; the adventurous spirit and personal hardihood and courage naturally engendered by new, various and grand scenes in nature, and by the toil and danger inseparable from first settlements; the ingenuity and adroitness brought forth by that great mother of invention, necessity; and the wonderful skill, which practice from infancy, has given the Americans in the most destructive weapon of war: these, and other causes that might be mentioned, will always provide America with able Generals, if, unhappily, she shall have occasion for them again.

Now, John Bull, in concluding this article, let me beseech you to look at the United States. You will find, that they have a frontier of 2,000 miles in extent, at least. That our Provinces of Canada lie beside them; that there are several nations of savages not always peaceably inclined; that there are some Spaniards to watch in another quarter; that there are numerous Forts to garrison; and yet, that the *peace army* of the United States consists of only *six thousand men*.

WM. CORBETT.

#### STATE OF IRELAND.

(Continued from page 412.)

He (Lord Liverpool) was most willing to admit that the system of government established originally for Ireland, and which

had long prevailed, had been radically defective and vicious. (*Hear.*) It was a system of short-sighted policy, that sacrificed the real interests of Ireland to the supposed interests of Great Britain—he called them supposed interests, because true and enlightened policy demanded that the prosperity of each should be equally promoted, since the one could not flourish while the other was in decay. (*Hear, hear.*) He could not allow, however, that during the present reign that mistaken system had been pursued; on the contrary, for the last fifty years, a system of concession to, and of accumulation of benefits upon Ireland had been invariably supported; and in favour of this assertion he could quote the opinion even of a Noble Baron opposite, delivered in a former session. The whole plan had been altered, and every exertion had been used to ameliorate the state of Ireland; but, because much had been done, he did not mean to state that no more should be attempted. In fact, progressive improvement was a fresh spur to perseverance; and if fundamental differences existed between the two sides of the House upon some important points, it was not on that account necessary that it should shut its eyes upon measures of benefit to Ireland. For himself, and for his colleagues in office, he could lay his hand upon his heart and say, that whenever a question had arisen between England and Ireland, the advantage had uniformly been given to the latter: in proof of this statement, he needed only to refer to the Corn Bill of last year, which, if it were of doubtful advantage to England, was of certain benefit to Ireland. It was not his wish to undervalue the evils under which Ireland still laboured, but it could not be questioned that they were rapidly disappearing: within the last fifty years her prosperity had increased beyond that of any other country in the world. As the agriculture of England had doubled, and that of Scotland had trebled, it was not unfair to assert that the agriculture of Ireland had quadrupled; since the Union, her commerce had been carried to twice its former extent. It was undoubtedly true, that in the course of the last summer it had been found expedient to put in force the laws for securing the internal tranquillity of Ireland, and the conduct of Go-

vernment in this respect had met with the approbation of all parties: it might be said, that this fact proved the existence of some evils; and the question, therefore, resolved itself to this—what were those evils? As to the disturbances which existed last year, and during the period when a Noble Duke opposite (Bedford) was at the head of the Irish Government, his Lordship was convinced that they were to be ascribed only to the lawless and dissolute conduct of some of the lower orders of the inhabitants, and not to any fretfulness at prevailing religious distinctions. Since the operation of the insurrection act, the outrages had been directed indiscriminately against Catholics and Protestants, without the intervention of religious animosities. What then was the fair conclusion? It was, that the amelioration so much desired by all was to be accomplished by the education and refinement of the lower classes—by inculcating principles, and encouraging habits of order and tranquillity. (*Hear, hear.*) All experience showed that this was the best and the only remedy. About a century ago the situation of Scotland was nearly similar to the state of Ireland at present. By a work written by a Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, it appeared that in 1698 there were no less than two hundred thousand mendicants in Scotland, who lived under no subjection, obeying neither the laws of God nor man; that fathers among them incestuously cohabited with their daughters, and brothers with their sisters; that they assembled to feast and riot during many days, and that men and women, perpetually intoxicated, indulged themselves in most horrible oaths and blasphemies. What was the condition of the lower classes in Scotland at the present day? They were even more orderly, regular, sober, and industrious, than the peasantry of England, and all crimes were of less frequent commission—not from a better administration of civil and criminal justice, not from a more effectual representation, for in both these respects England had the advantage, but from the improved state of civilization.—The same means that produced these effects in the one case would not fail in the other; and a commission had been regularly appointed for the purpose, from which some important benefits had already resulted.

without the interposition of Parliament, which persons of all persuasions had deemed inexpedient. It was a prejudice now indulged by few, that legislation could accomplish objects in this case which in no other it had ever attained. The points upon which the Noble Marquis had touched were—1. The Catholic question; 2. Tithes; 3. Grand Juries; 4. The appointment of Magistrates; 5. Finances. Upon each of these he (Lord L.) would say a few words. As to the Catholic question, he agreed in the general proposition of the Noble Mover, but he doubted its application; whatever the merits or demerits of that subject of repeated discussion might be, he was firmly convinced that it had no connexion with any of the evils of Ireland, and that concession to the claims of the Catholics would have no sensible effect in preventing the disturbances so often lamented—the same seeds of discontent would still remain. With regard to the Catholic claims, he (Lord L.) had ever considered it a simple question—convinced that guards and securities frequently debated could be of no avail, and that the point to be decided was merely that of concession or non-concession. (*Hear, hear!*) He could assure the Noble Marquis that the subject of tithes had occupied the most serious attention of Government: the principle no doubt was, that the right to tithes stood on the same footing in England and Ireland, but the propriety of a fair commutation in the latter under the peculiar circumstances, was a very different question, and his Lordship was inclined to think that such a commutation might be effected. The late Secretary for Ireland had bestowed much time upon the topic, without yet coming to a definite conclusion; and unless some Noble Lord should come forward with some outline of a feasible plan, his Lordship would oppose the hasty interposition of Parliament. As to the third point, which related to Grand Juries, he admitted that great evils existed; but the notice of the other House of Parliament had been last year directed to it; a Committee had been appointed, and he believed a bill had been prepared, which it was hoped would afford an effectual remedy. If their Lordships did not think it expedient to wait until that bill should be sent from the Commons, he had not the slightest objection to a previous investi-

gation. He did not mean to deny, in the present state of Ireland, when so many persons of property and character were non-resident, that improper individuals were sometimes included in the commissions of the peace; but he most firmly believed that the magistrates selected were in general selected from the most respectable inhabitants, for whose appointment Ministers were responsible. His Lordship could not, therefore, assent to the project thrown out of a separate commission for the nomination of magistrates in Ireland, by which the Crown would be there deprived of its acknowledged prerogative. As to the last point—the finances of Ireland—his Lordship did not think it necessary to follow the Noble Marquis through the details into which he had entered: three Committees had already made full reports upon this complicated subject; and he was happy to be able to state, that it was the intention of Ministers, immediately after the recess, to bring forward a general system of consolidation for the treasury departments of both Great Britain and Ireland, which he hoped would meet with the willing sanction of both branches of the Legislature. If the Noble Marquis was desirous that the House should be provided with information which it did not now possess, the reports of the Committees upon the finances of Ireland might be laid upon the table. After all, as he had stated, the great, indeed the sole effectual remedy for these grievances, was the bettering of the state of the poor, which had been much retarded by the non-residence of persons of fortune, and which, next to education, would most tend to the civilization of the natives of Ireland. He admitted the pressing nature of this question, and the importance of rendering Ireland a source of riches and of strength; but he did not think that a single practical object could be attained by the motion of the Noble Marquis. The intervention of the authority of Parliament might excite expectations that could not be gratified, and perhaps retard or defeat the very object in view, by imprudent precipitateness in remedies of slow but certain operation.

The Earl of Roslyn thought, that as it seemed generally agreed that the only mode of remedying the evils of Ireland was by the introduction of good and wise laws, a Committee was the best place for

*trust between the advance to Government and the renewal of the restriction for two years?* [Hear! Hear!] He had observed by the accounts of the Bank proceedings in the early part of the year, that the first notice of the intention of the Government to propose the renewal of the restriction had been given, *not in Parliament, but at the Bank meetings.* [Hear, hear, hear!]  
 —When the second bargain was effected between the Bank and the Government, and the restriction was introduced, a rise took place in the price of Bank Stock to the amount, he believed, of near 18 per cent. Was it not extraordinary that the most ignorant buyer of Bank Stock should be aware that this Bill was an advantage to that species of property not to be missed? The proposal to renew the Restriction Act for two years was a most extraordinary measure, when compared with the extension of it at a former period. It was known with what trembling anxiety in 1797, six weeks and six weeks had been added to the term of the Act; and with what caution in 1802, the Government, suspecting the peace of that year was precarious, had proposed short extensions of the restriction. Even after the principle (an ignorant and fatal principle he conceived it to be) of making the restriction a war measure had been adopted, it had always been determined that it should cease six months after the conclusion of peace. And last year, when surely the peace did not present such a prospect of duration as at present, it was only extended to a fixed day (July 5) in the following Session. But now it was to be extended two years without any reason, unless it was to be understood as the price of the loan which the Bank was to advance. The question of the restriction had of late been put on a new ground, by connecting it with the agricultural distresses. But why, if the Bank Restriction was to be grounded on the agricultural distresses, why was it to be continued for two years? Was not every one more and more convinced every day that the distress would be a temporary evil; why then was not the restriction of a short duration? Only with a view to the bargain between the Bank and the Treasury. He knew this would not be avowed, because the House would not sanction the restriction if placed on that

ground. He would put it to every independent Gentleman who felt for the country or for his own property, whether he would consent to renew the restriction without any idea of the grounds on which it was defended, and without any security that means should be taken for renewing the payments. And here he should remark an error into which some had fallen respecting his opinions, though it could only have happened to those who had paid very little attention to them. *He had never said that on any one day the Bank should be opened for payment, but that no time should be lost in giving the country full assurance that payments would be renewed, and in taking speedy measures that this might be done with safety.* The measures which had been successively proposed to Parliament, were to put off, not only the cash payments, but the consideration of the means of again bringing them about. He would ask the House did they not feel some anxiety on this head? Had they felt no evils from the long suspension of cash payments? Were they sensible of no evils after all that had passed in the discussion of the Agricultural Distress, during which no one had been hardly enough to deny that a great evil had arisen from the sudden destruction of the artificial prices? [Hear, hear!] Would any man say that there had not been *a great change in the value of money?* What this was owing to might be disputed; but, for his own part, he had not the least doubt. From inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table, he was convinced that *a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats.* He should not go into the question how this reduction had been effected, though it was a very curious one, and abounded in illustrations of the principles which had been so much disputed in that House. The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce. This fall had produced a destruction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. *The Bank of England had*

also reduced its issues; as appeared by the accounts recently presented; the average amount of their currency was not, during the last year, more than between 25 and 26 millions; while two years ago it had been nearer 29 millions, and at one time even amounted to 31 millions. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of the country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place. Another evil which had resulted from the state of the currency, which he had foreseen and predicted, but which had been deemed visionary, was, that during the war we had borrowed money, which was then of small value; and we were now obliged to pay it at a high value. This was the most formidable evil which threatened our finances, and though he had too high an opinion of the resources of the country, and of the wisdom of the Government, to despair, he was appalled when he considered the immense amounts of the interest of the debt contracted in that artificial currency, compared with the produce of the taxes. These were the two grand inconveniences which had resulted, and it was to be remembered, that the great difference during the former discussions on these subjects, was not so much in the theoretical as in the practical question. The late Minister, Mr. Perceval, who had no general principle on the subject, thought that to revert to cash payments in time of war would be so difficult that it was not worth the hazard. He (Mr. H.) though he thought that the renewal of the cash payments was a matter which required caution and preparation, thought that the true policy was to meet the difficulty at once, and that it was a fallacy pregnant with evil to suppose that any lasting benefit could be derived from so factitious a state of the currency. The event had decided the question, but turning from these results, and looking forward to the operation of this restriction in time of peace, it would leave us without any known or certain standard of money to regulate the transactions, not only between the public and its creditors, but between individuals. The currency which was to prevail was not only uncertain but cruel and unjust in its operation at one time upon those whose income was fixed in money, and to all creditors—at another time, when by some accident it was diminished in amount, to all debtors.

Was not this an evil sufficient to attract the attention of a wise, a benevolent, and prudent Government? [Hear!]—If they looked at the Agricultural interest, was not a fluctuation of prices the greatest of evils to the farmer? For supposing prices were fixed and steady, it was indifferent to him what was the standard? [Hear, hear!] Persons who were aware of the importance of this subject must be surely anxious to know whether there were any imperative reasons for continuing the present system, to know whether it was intended to revert to the old system, and if not now, when that system would be reverted to, and what would be the best means for bringing about that measure. This was the object for which he proposed to appoint the Committee, that the House might know something of the true state of the case before they plunged into the system of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He hoped they might hear the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and know on what grounds the Bill was now proposed, and what were the circumstances when they might revert to cash payments. [Hear, hear!] If he looked at the professions of former times, he was at a loss to know how to apply them. The reasons for continuing the restriction had been said to be—our great foreign expenditure—the necessity of importing corn—the high price of the precious metals—and the unfavourable state of the exchange. These subjects had created much controversy, which he should not now renew, but which he did not shrink from, and which he thought it probable he might have an opportunity again to discuss; for, if the present system were persisted in, the exchange and the price of gold would be very unsatisfactory to the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The opinions which he had formerly given had received a strong and unexpected confirmation by late events; but he had already modified the opinion which he had formerly given as to the price of gold.—When, by the depreciation of the currency, gold was permanently separated from paper, it was subject to all the variations in price of any other article of merchandise. On this subject it was to be remarked, that in last year, a year of peace, gold, though lower than it had previously been, was never below 4l. 8s. which was equal

to the whole of the alleged depreciation; but now that the country banks had called in their paper, it had fallen nearly to and would soon be quite as low as the mint price. Let not the Right Hon. Gentleman flatter himself that if the Bank of England were to issue their notes to that extent, which they were like to do upon the enactment of his Bill, the Country Banks would not return to *their former practice, and the rate of prices be affected by that practice*. The House should therefore be prepared for such consequences, and in due time consider how to provide against them. To afford an opportunity for that consideration was the object of his motion, and he hoped the house would see the propriety of acceding to it. The high price of bullion, the rate of exchange, the importation of foreign grain and the amount of our foreign payments, which were on a former occasion pleaded as reasons for the restriction of cash payments by the Bank, could not now be urged, because those reasons no longer existed. Therefore the Right Hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) who urged those reasons on the occasion alluded to, was called upon in consistency to support his motion, in order to ascertain how it became necessary, after the cessation of those reasons, to continue the restriction. For himself, he could not conceive, after those reasons had ceased to exist, the measure could be justified. He had heard of publications, copies of which were pretty widely circulated, and the object of which was to shew, *that if Bank-notes were issued in the same abundance as they formerly were, prices would again rise, and the farmers be consequently benefited*; that therefore it would be a good thing for the country, that grain might probably again rise to 100 shillings a quarter. But he (Mr. H.) could not suppose the Right Hon. Gentleman prepared to support his measure upon such grounds; or that he would be an advocate for the issue of Bank-notes, with a view to raise the price of grain. For if the Right Hon. Gentleman would do so, he must become the advocate of

one of the *most monstrous projects that had ever been imagined*. Projects somewhat similar had no doubt been brought forward and tried during the Regency in France and about the same time in this country, but the result proved their fallacy. Both Governments were, however, in these cases, the dupes of projectors. But if the Right Honourable Gentleman should press such a project as that to which he had alluded, he (Mr. V.) would not be a dupe. No—the Right Honourable Gentleman would be a projector himself. This course, however, he could not suppose the Right Honourable Gentleman prepared to pursue. In what he had said, the Honourable Member did not wish it to be understood that his object was to have cash payments resumed immediately, but that steps should be immediately taken with a view to that resumption—that the Bank should set about it—that the Directors should prepare for the resumption—that indeed both Government and the Bank should set about measures to relieve the Right Honourable Gentleman from the dilemma in which he was placed by the removal of those causes which he had formerly assigned to justify this restriction. He (Mr. H.) would not specify any time within which this restriction should be removed—he would not even mention two years, but he could not help thinking that it was the *duty of Government and the Bank at once to set about the means of accomplishing that object which the public had a right to expect*. Necessity was the only reason ever urged to justify this restriction; and when the necessity ceased, the country naturally expected that the restriction should cease also. The Hon. Member here proceeded to discuss the second branch of his motion, namely, the best means by which the Bank might be enabled to resume his payments in cash. He had, he said, already observed, that he would not specify any time at which that resumption should take place, but he felt it highly desirable that measures should be *taken with a view to that resumption*.

(To be Continued.)

## TO CORRESPONDENTS,

*Who have written to me on the subject of taking Manuscript out to America.*

Having settled with persons to take out in June and in August, I shall not have to trouble any of those gentlemen, to whom I have not written by post. In the number before last I gave an account of the *Laws of Emigration*, as far as related to the power of prevention, possessed by this Government. But, in answer to a Correspondent, who asks me, what the *law* will say to him in America, after he has landed in that country, it is necessary to give him, and others in a similar state, some information. There is no *Alien Act* in America. The Secretary of State has not *there* the power of sending Englishmen out of the country, as the Secretary of State in England has the power of sending Americans out of this country. An Englishman, or an Irishman, or a Scotsman, or any other man, once landed in America, may, if he conform to the settled laws of that country, set at defiance, if need be, the Secretary of State, the Judges, the houses of Congress, and the President. He may safely enjoy his property, practice his profession or craft, carry on his trade or commerce, in any place that he chooses. There are no Corporations or Guilds with exclusive privileges. No poor creatures, who, as it were in mockery, are called *free-men*. All are really *free*; and, when a man lands in the country, he may go where he pleases, settle where he pleases, stay as long as he pleases, and come away when he pleases. Whatever he earns, he may spend if he like, or, if he like, he may save, at least, a part of it. Emigrants, according to the law, as it now stands, cannot *vote* at elections for Congress-men and President, until they have resided in the country *five years*, and have thus been there the time required to entitle them to be considered *Citizens of the United States*; and, moreover, it is necessary, that, *at the beginning of the five years*, they make and cause to be recorded

a declaration of their *intention* to become Citizens at the end of the five years. The reasons for this law are, that, without some test, and time of probation, persons sent by corrupt and malicious governments, might go to America, become citizens, perform some infamous services under that character, and then be off again. There are, too, some rules of the *law of nations*, in operation in war time, the just and honest observance of which require, that his character of Citizen should not be assumed, and cast off again, in the course of a few weeks. But, in the meanwhile, the man who goes from England, is just as completely under the protection of the *ordinary laws* of the land as an American is. He enjoys every right and every privilege, except those of electing lawgivers and of being elected a lawgiver; and, at the end of five years, he may fill any office in the Country, except only that of PRESIDENT, the Constitution requiring, that the Chief Magistrate should be a *native* of the United States. But, is it not for speculators in politics that this information is intended. It is intended for industrious and high-spirited men, who wish to enjoy the fruit of their own earnings, and to creep and crouch to nobody. The newspapers tell us of flocks of people of property, going from the borders of Switzerland, descending the Rhine and the Scheldt, in order to embark for America! No wonder! Alien Bills and boundary guards work powerfully in the peopling and enriching of the United States. The *mind*, the *very soul*, all that is worth *saving alive*, of the French nation, will have gone to America, if the Bourbons remain on the throne for five years. What rests behind will be the dregs; not the lees or the grains, but the mere dirt at the bottom of them. The alembic of despotism is at work in Europe to send off the spirit to the land of real freedom. Bad enough, lamentable enough, is the fate of the people of Europe *now*: what would it have been, if Mr. Madison had been "*deposed*," and the freedom of America overturned! What would have been the situation of



the world, if the \* \* \* \* \* had become the rulers of the United States! the very idea makes one shake with indignation and rage.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER XIII.

*John Bull's great Lottery.—John Bull's Bulwark in Peace.—John Bull's Counterbuff.*

*Bolton, 10th May, 1816.*

You have *Lotteries* in your country, and, I think, it would be a great deal better for your morals if you had none. Qualify the thing how we please, be the object of it what it may, still it is *gaming*; it is, at the very best, a game at hazard. It is an endeavour to get money out of the pockets of others, by exciting in those others, a hope, which, *upon the whole*, must of necessity be *false*; and, where is there any man of character, who would not be ashamed to acknowledge, that he had wilfully and deliberately excited a false hope in another for the purpose of getting money from him? But, I am now about to talk to you of a lottery of a very different description indeed. It is John Bull's great annual Lottery. You have blanks as well as prizes in all your lotteries; and so have we in some of ours. Those who put into your lotteries purchase tickets, or shares of tickets. So it is in some of ours. But, in John Bull's great National annual Lottery, there are *no blanks*; and the parties give nothing for their tickets.

Not to keep you longer in suspense, this is the nature of the thing. Just after Easter Tuesday, the officers of the several Parishes hold a meeting, at which, by the way of Lottery, they distribute amongst the most able parishioners, *young paupers*, to be kept by the said parishioners and brought up by them in their own houses, or, at any rate, maintained by them, clothed, fed, lodged, and doctored, at their own particular expense, until they grow up to be men, or women. Luckily I have just had a prize drawn for me in this lottery: a *girl*, about 10 or 12 years

of age. So that, besides about *six hundred dollars* a year that I pay towards the keep of the paupers *in money*, I shall if I live so long, have this girl upon my hands for *seven years*! This is Big John Bull's Great Lottery. If I had all my share of paupers quartered upon me as this girl is, I should have about *twenty-eight*, of all ages. This number I maintain, and have maintained for years, while, upon an average, I have not employed more than *twelve* labourers, or *thirteen* at most, including garden and every thing. In my own house we are *twelve* all-together. So that I have more than one pauper to every other human being moving within the sphere of my support.

These facts, which I state in the face of the country and of my own neighbours, cannot be denied; and, it is from facts like these that we are enabled to judge of the real state of a nation. The coaches and chariots and landaus that rattle through the squares and streets of London; the forests of masts that rise in the sea-ports; the loads of pearls and diamonds that shine at the Court; even the beautiful mansions and pleasure grounds that are seen all around the metropolis: these; no one; no, nor all of these put together, are a proof of the prosperity of a nation: all these may exist, and the nation be plunged in the deepest of misery and degradation.

Let any sensible man apply his mind to this subject for a moment, and (for it is worth his while) trace this poor girl to her probable fate; and then he will see the effects of a taxing and pauperising system. What am I to do with this child, whom the law compels me to take and maintain? I know not whether she be bastard, or orphan, or one of a family whose father and mother are alive. She is forced upon me to be kept and reared up by me. Were I so disposed, it would be impossible for me to pay any attention to her morals or any part of her conduct. I must of necessity leave her to the care of some other person. My intention is to place her in a farm-house, under the authority of a woman, who may teach her, perhaps, to feed pigs and poultry, to milk, and make butter and cheese; but, can I expect *any one* to have due care of the moral behaviour of this girl? Yet, what is to become of her? Can I point out any thing *better*? I cannot; for, in the poor-

house her chance would be infinitely worse. My wife? Faith she has the rearing of *her own* children to attend to. Her time is as precious as mine; for no children of ours will have to reproach us with having fed them from mercenary breasts, or with having committed their education to hirelings.

I do not complain of the expense imposed upon me in this instance. I do not complain of any unfairness in the drawing of the Lottery. My neighbours would becom an act so mean. But, I complain of a state of things, that imposes upon me a duty, which it is out of my power to perform. All I can possibly do is to see that this girl has plenty of food and clothing, and that she is properly lodged, and duly attended in sickness. But, do I not do all this for my horses and my cows? What I complain of, is, a state of things, which takes so large a part of the children from their natural guardians, their fathers, mothers, relations and friends, and throws them upon the mercy of those who are utter strangers to them, and who, instead of natural feeling for them, must, unless they bring great consideration to their aid, naturally have a feeling *against* them; and, especially in cases, where the support of a pauper is a serious pecuniary burthen to the party on whom it is imposed.

Now, my Old English Friends in America, who used to join me (for I took the lead) in singing the praises of the English government and Pitt, what do *you* think of this? Perhaps you think, by this time, as I do; that we were a set of very ignorant though honest fellows, who confounded admiration of men in power with love of country, and whose violent prejudices, though bottomed in the best of principles, led us into a thousand follies, and really made us, perhaps, instrumental, in some small degree, in producing the enormous evils, under which our country now groans. I remember a book, that we used to look at a good deal, entitled "*A Picture of England.*" It contained views of *Country Seats* and of fine hills and valleys. This book and *Grose's Antiquities* were enough for me. Alas! This was no picture of *England*, if by *England*, we mean any thing more than a certain portion of the Houses, Trees, and Herbage. If, by *England*, we mean the *English nation*; and, if, by the nation, we mean the *great body of the people*, I

now give you the means of judging of the real state of England; I give you the true "*Picture of England.*" Here am I, with twelve persons in family, including servants, and with thirteen labourers, on an average, constantly employed; and the maintenance of *twenty eight paupers* falls fairly to my share! This, my old Friends; this, my worthy countrymen, is the real *Picture of England*; and should I not be a very despicable man, if the false shame of acknowledging past erroneous opinions were to prevent me from laying this picture before you?

Now, in a state of things like this, what a farce it is to talk about "*enlightening the lower orders!*" How are my twenty-eight poor wretches of paupers, and my thirteen labourers, and their families, but one step above paupers: *how*, I ask, are they to be *enlightened*? And, if this were *possible*, which it is not, what would be the *use* of it? What could it do more than add mental to bodily suffering? Away, then, with all the talk; all the palaver; all the cant; all that cunning can suggest to hypocrisy for the purpose of deluding the well-meaning, thoughtless, but liberal men, who subscribe their money to support this shew of regard for the minds and souls of the poor! Were not a system of eleemosynary education *necessarily* calculated to debase the objects of it, in a state of things like this it is pure folly to attempt it. It is bread, and not books, that the poor creatures stand in need of. The government takes from me so much, that I am unable to give more than I give to my labourers. I have only enough left to give them the means of barely keeping life in their bodies. They, therefore, successively become paupers. If, as in America, the labourer took the share, or the far greater part of it, which the government takes here, there would be no paupers: Labourers would save money against a day of sickness. This, however, has all been so clearly shown, in No. 2 of this Volume, that I will here take it as an established fact, that it is the increasing, and now enormous, weight of our taxes, and that only, which has caused the fearful increase of pauperism, crimes, and capital punishments.

Away, then, I say again, with all the projects for *enlightening* the people by the means of *schools*, and of *enriching*

them by the means of *saving banks*. What! Put by the "*savings*" of my twenty-eight paupers and thirteen labourers, few of the latter of whom *taste meat once a week*! What! a project for putting out the *savings* of such people to interest! Yet I should not wonder if this project were to *reach you*; there being none of our projects, of the humanity kind, that you do not adopt, as it were in the way of *rivalship*. Would you not do well to make haste and *rival* us in number of paupers? I hope to be able to give a check to this ape-like disposition, which leads you to look for example to follow, where you ought to look for example to shun. As to the *professed* object of the Saving Bank project, nothing would be easier, if it were worth while, than to show the *impossibility* of its doing any good in *any country*; but, as to the *real* object, a word or two may be said. With regard to the labouring people in *country* places, they will never hear of the thing. But, in large towns, where there are numerous journeymen, who may save now and then a shilling, and who are sturdy chaps that read newspapers and that *talk politics*, it is thought to be of importance to get sums of money thus collected, and to place them in the *funds*, and thereby *attach* these swarms of sturdy, talking, and active men to the *System*. Not another word need be said, only that the project will *fail*. The *Friendly Societies* were great favourites. GEORGE ROSE, their patron, brought in many acts of parliament to encourage their increase. Their money was put into the *funds* too. But, these Societies are now found not to be good. They *drew men together*; and, when assembled together, they *TALKED*! Wicked rogues!

The saving bank project, which has originated in that seat of all that is, at once, conceited, impudent and servile, Edinburgh, whence, too, is coming a project for changing our *weights* and *measures*, and for throwing into utter confusion the trade and transactions of England, the Colonies, and the United States, as connected in trade with England; this saving bank project has in view to avoid the *congregating* evil of the Friendly Societies. It is intended to *collect* the money, *without collecting the people*. But, the projectors do not seem to reflect, that, in getting rid of the gre-

garious quality, they throw aside the strongest lures of all such schemes; to wit: the pot, the pipe, the song, and the chat. For the sake of these, journeymen will yield up a little of their wages to go into a fund; but, when there are no lures of this sort, they will not so easily discover any solid reason for their giving up the means of present gratification with a view to spare the purse of the parish in their old age.

Back, then, we still return to the old point; the taxes, the taxes, the taxes! while we are loaded with them as we now are, nothing can retard the progress of pauperism and of crimes. A tradesman, who works for me, and to whom I was talking, the other day, about the distresses of the times, observed, that he found it very hard to stagger along with four children upon his back: "But," said he, "I could make shift to carry them, if I had not *somebody else* to carry. I have a soldier or two to carry besides; and you, Sir, have a general, I dare say, upon your back." The idea put me in mind of HANNAH MOORE's religious tract, entitled, "*Bear ye one another's burdens*," which was intended to reconcile the nation to its sufferings under the calamities of 1796, and, at the head of which she put a woodcut, representing a parcel of people carrying bags and bales of *sins* and *misfortunes*; for HANNAH was, perhaps, as artful, as able, and as useful a scribe as ever drew pen in the cause of the system. But, Mrs. HANNAH, with your leave, it is not exactly *one another's* burthens that we bear. It is, according to the idea of my tradesman, that some of us carry others upon our backs. In the first place, I, for instance, have twenty-eight paupers fastened upon me. Then, I pay taxes direct and indirect, about a thousand pounds a year besides the poor-rates. Perhaps a great deal more. Now, as I am a sort of literary man as well as a farmer, I may suppose myself ridden by WILLIAM GIFFORD, who has two or three sinecures, which amount to about a thousand pounds a year. Here I stagger along, then, with the Political Editor, Poet and Reviewer astride upon my shoulders, and with my twenty-eight paupers hanging upon my arms, and in my skirts. Come, then, my old English friends in America, you who still confound the *System* with *England*, and who bid us be content, and call us *Jacobins* if we

complain; come here yourselves, and stick to it as we do. Do not remain there abusing republican government. Do not content yourselves with giving us advice. Come and *share* with us. Come, any one of you, and take a leg of William Gifford, and fourteen of my paupers; and then preach patience and divine right as long as you like.

Thus, those who receive nothing out of the taxes, are loaded according to the strength of their backs. Such a man as Sir Francis Burdett, or Mr. Coke, has a rider like GEORGE ROSE mounted on him; and, if all goes well, the son of Sir Francis will have to carry George's son, after both the fathers are dead. To carry three or four Captains, or a General-officer, or a Company of soldiers, or an Admiral, or a parcel of Lieutenants or Sailors, would not mortify one so much; but do you not think, my old English friends, that it is a sweet reflection to me, that the taxes that I pay, or, at least, a sum equal to them, is swallowed up in sinecures by a man like WILLIAM GIFFORD? To those who render honourable service to the country; or, who endeavour to do it, no just man will grudge a reward. But, is it not as clear as day-light, that whatever sum this sinecure man takes from me, I cannot have to give to my labourers? Is it not clear that taxes make paupers? Is it not clear, that as long as these enormous taxes exist, pauperism and crimes can never be diminished?

Come, then, I say, my old English Friends in America, and participate in our *burdens* as well as in our *glory*. Do not remain there, while you exhort us to pay and be silent. It is very easy for you, who do not feel the little finger of taxation, to reproach us for our grumbling. It is very easy for you, whose labourers may eat bread and meat every day of their lives, to tell us, whose labourers cannot get a full meal of the former, that we ought to be contented and to think our government "the *envy and admiration* of the world." At this time the wages of a labourer at Botley are 10s. a week; and flour is 15s. a bushel. Consequently the most that he can get is 38 pounds of flour a week; or 5½ pounds a day, for himself, wife, and perhaps, three or four children. In some parts of the country, labourers have not more than 8s. a week, and in some not so much. Why do you not

come, then, if this be "the *envy and admiration* of the world;" why do you not come and share in our blessings?

And, you Cossack Priests of New England, why do *you* not come and help us to enjoy the benefits of those "ancient and venerable establishments," in the praise of which you have snuffed so sweetly for so many years? The newspapers tell us, that the Prince of SAXE COBOURG has ordered *fifty white horses* to be bought for his use. (A) Why do you not come, then, and see these fine sights? I would not advise you to come and preach to our labourers, that potatoes without either meat or bread are better than beef, pork, bread and turkey; for that would expose your reverend pates to the unsavory salute of addled eggs. But, if parsons Osgood and Parish and Gardiner and Channing, and as many more as would make up a score, will perform a pilgrimage from Boston to Botley, I hereby engage to find them a lodging, not under the same roof with myself, but under those of my labourers, in whose fare they shall participate, which will give them an opportunity of saying grace over a platter of cold potatoes, and of proving to their hosts how happy they ought to think themselves in living under those "*venerable* institutions," of which the Yankees, through the means of "a successful Democratic Rebellion," have been wholly deprived. Anticipating in idea the scenes that will arise from the performance of this pilgrimage, I burn with curiosity to hear the arguments that parson Channing will make use of to prove, that a mess of potatoes is better than a joint of meat; though, I must distinctly premise, that if, in such a case, the mess, platter and all, should go, souze, at the head of the holy pilgrim, he must place the damage to the account of "the Bulwark," for that I will not be responsible for any consequences that may result from his harangue.

JOHN'S BULWARK IN PEACE is nearly completed by the progress of the *Alien Act*. But, this measure has not been carried into effect without a great deal of exposure. There is something so awkward; something so ugly; something so much like a *lurking fear* on the very face of the thing; and, when in addition, the opposition to the measure was taken up by such a man as SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY,

it is not wonderful, if a great degree of shame has stuck to it. Accordingly the hired writers have laid on upon Sir SAMUEL with great fury and filth. Of the manner, in which they perform this sort of work you will easily judge by the following specimen from the *COURIER* of the 10th instant. "Sir Samuel's exertion and personal situation may therefore well excuse the tendency of his mind against an Alien Bill; but we are at a loss to guess why such men as Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Horner—they are persons for whom, though we differ from the general course of their political conduct, we have much respect; they are estimable in consideration of their own individual talents and character, but they are doubly so from comparison with those amongst whom we find them;—we are, therefore, surprised and mortified to find them opposing a measure which we think strictly constitutional, absolutely necessary, and connected with all real English interests and *English feelings*. —What, says Sir Samuel Romilly—"Will you exclude the skill, industry, and genius of foreigners from England?" "Yes, we reply, *yes*; we do not lack their skill, industry, and genius; we want them neither in commerce, nor in handicraft, nor in the church, nor in the law. We are come to a *fine pass* indeed, to be told that it is good policy to introduce foreigners to assist, that is to say, to rival us, in arts and manufactures. No, no, Sir Samuel, we have had enough of these gentry, and John Bull would be but too happy to get rid of this plague in future. But this is not the object of the present Bill, which is purely political, but intended, as Lord Castlereagh expressed it, 'not to carry into effect any policy of Foreign Powers, but to protect British policy from being disturbed by the misconduct of strangers.' In private life, we all have the power of turning an impudent, a knavish, a riotous, or even an impertinent stranger out of doors:—why should the State not have a power that every subject possesses? Why should England not enjoy a protection that every other nation in the world has? In looking over the debate we observe a curious circumstance—Not one *English* Gentleman opposed this Bill; there

"were Hamilton and Brougham, Horner and Mackintosh; but not one *Englishman*. We beg pardon; there was one —Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY."

This is the way, in which these hirelings do their work. Now, the gentleman, whom this writer thus attacks, though not a politician such as the times call for, is allowed, on all hands, to be the most able lawyer in England, and a man of spotless reputation; while Horner and Mackintosh, who are here praised, are nothing more than what I have before described to you.

But, only attend, for a moment, to the shameful language of this writer! Only think of a Bill of this sort being called an *enjoyment for England*! Thus it is, that these men induce the people to confound the *government* with the *nation*. What a falsehood, too, to say, that *every nation in the world* has such a law. You have no such law; and you are a *nation*, I hope; and though not so old, full as stout as big John Bull. The Morning Chronicle answers his opponent thus: "When The Courier states that not an *Englishman* voted against the *Alien Bill*, the Editor should have added, that the Bill itself was not brought in by an *Englishman*. It is the measure of Lord Castlereagh, and comes from the Congress of Sovereigns against the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity. It is a bill of inhospitality; the preamble to which should be to refuse an asylum to all who trusted to the first professions of the British Court, that they would not impose, on the French any form of Government or family without their consent—and to all who should desire to withdraw themselves from capricious tyranny and religious intolerance. It may be entitled a Bill to open the ports of America for the introduction of the arts, manufactures, and property of all the ingenious, useful, thinking, independent and provident part of the population of Europe. And when it is recollected what we gained by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the value of this Bill to America may be properly estimated."

This view of the matter agrees precisely with my views of it, stated in my late Numbers. This Bill will be a great benefit to you. It will hasten to fill your country with the best men in Europe.

When once a man has his foot on the plank of an American ship, he may set despots at defiance. But, pay a little attention once more to this measure as it affects us. This hired writer blusters in the real John Bull style. He wants no *foreigners*. He despises foreigners. He hates foreigners. The mercenary creature knows that this suits the prejudices of his readers; but, then, he seems to forget how many hundred of thousands of pounds have been extracted from foolish John Bull to support *French Emigrants; German Sufferers; Vandean; Chouans*. He forgets how many pounds in pension money silly John Bull paid to the foreign scribes, Mallet du Pan and Sir Francis D'Ivernois. But, does he forget the Hanoverian Officers and Soldiers? Does he forget that whole districts of this same England were, for a long while, placed under the command of foreign Officers, and that even regiments of English militia, with English gentlemen (B) at their head, were commanded and reviewed by these foreigners? Does he forget, that English country gentlemen stood at the head of their county-regiments of militia, and dropped the point of their swords and their colours to a German Baron? Does he forget the history of the Germans and that of the English Local Militia, at the town of Ely? Does he forget that the Germans were brought to force the English Local Militiamen to be flogged? No, he cannot have forgotten this, for he published the history, and I was imprisoned two years and paid a thousand pounds to the king for commenting on the history; and one CHARLES ADAMS, then a Member of Parliament, had, while I was in prison, the baseness to say, that I ought to have been flogged myself. Can any body tell me what is become of this fellow? I have not heard of him for some time. The hired writer cannot have forgotten these things; but, did he forget (he surely did) that Saxe Cobourg is a *foreigner*? Nay, that our beloved Queen herself is *not an Englishwoman*! So that, it is only foreigners that come here to *work and trade* that he appears to dislike. However, big John Bull may raise his head with empty pride as high as he pleases; talk as loud as he will in contempt of *foreigners*, he will not be able to disguise from the world that there are foreigners, who \* \* \* \* \*

his big and blustering talk cannot get rid of this everlasting shame.

There can be little doubt, that the Alien Act is no more than part of a general system adopted in Europe; for Lord Castlereagh said, during one of the debates, that, so far from its giving offence to any of our *allies*, he knew, *that they had adopted similar measures*. This shows that they are all still upon the alert. *Let them*. Keep you quietly on your way; have alliances with none of them; love none of them; fear none of them; imitate none of them; have none of them for an enemy, if you can avoid it; but, above all things, never think one of them your FRIEND. I need not advise you to open your ports to all the emigrants that arrive. Your ports are open to them. There they may land, and, if they like, skip about like wild cats, without any earthly condition other than that of yielding obedience to the settled laws of the land. They will find no Alien Offices in your country. There will be nobody there with authority to measure their height, to write down their names, age, colour of their hair and eyes and complexion, description of their nose, chin, and mouth. They will need no *licences* in your country; and to your country they will go in thousands upon thousands. You are always in *luck*! Let what change will take place in Europe, you are sure to gain by it. What we got by the emigration from the republicanism in France was the mere dross of that country. The Noblesse and Priesthood vermin, whom we had to keep as a sort of state paupers. That part of the emigrants, who were worth having, you had then; and now you will have the very heart and soul of the country. That this government wishes \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*; and it is very likely, that it will succeed so far; but, then, the mind of France is, by the same means, transferred to the United States, and there it will be in never-ending existence, and at all times ready to take its revenge.

It does not follow from this, that those who are driving the people to America are *short-sighted*. They may perceive plainly enough what will be the *final consequences*. But, how are they to help themselves? They saw, long ago, what would be the effect, in the end, of America remaining *free*; and hence the loud and incessant cry of the literary slaves in

England for the *deposing of Mr. Madison*; for the taking up of a *commanding position in the heart of the United States*; for the *separation of the States*; and so on. The danger of leaving America to be a rallying place of all the enemies of the *legitimates* was clearly enough seen; but, it was found impossible to avoid it. The *present* danger is, however, still greater. The Bourbons cannot be kept on the throne without such a system of rule in Europe as will send off hundreds of thousands of its most valuable people to America, there to work the loom and cultivate the vine. Oh! if your country could have been subjugated! If Mr. MADISON could have been *deposed* and sent to Elba, or Saint Helena, as our blustering bullies (C) threatened, and as your unnatural Cosacks exultingly anticipated! What would then have been the situation of the civilized world?

JOHN BULL'S COUNTERBUFF is well worthy of your attention. I observed, in a late Number, that one very serious evil of sending out fresh supplies of paper-money would be, that the wages of labourers and journeymen, which had been lowered very much in consequence of the low price of wheat, would, all of a sudden, become inadequate to their support. This evil has already discovered itself in very hideous forms. The people have committed acts of violence, which I will not describe myself; but, which, even the hireling press shall describe for me; for, it is necessary that you should, and that, through your free press, the civilized world should, be kept well and quickly informed of every thing material that passes here.

About two on Friday afternoon a most destructive fire happened at Maunden, near Bishopstortford. The malt upon the kiln belonging to some extensive building, occupied by Mr. NASH, caught fire, which, it is said, might have been easily put out, had the extinguisher provided for that purpose been immediately used, instead of which, the man who had the care of the fire went up into the kiln when, after vainly using effort, he was obliged to descend most rapidly to save himself. Mr. NASH's premises were totally destroyed, together with a very large stock of perfect malt, and a considerable quantity in its various stages. Maunden Hall, occupied by Mr. PATMOX, is but a short distance;

"the wind carried the fire to those extensive premises, which, with the stacks of corn, hay, and straw, next fell victims to the devouring element. The Hall alone is standing, but all the out buildings, with their contents, are levelled to the ground. The damage is estimated at 15,000/."—*Ipswich Journal-Suffolk*.

"During the night of Wednesday se'nnight, a fire was discovered on the premises of Mr. HUSTLER, of Gedding, Suffolk, which raged so furiously, that in a short time a barn, neat house and cart lodge, together with 45 coombs of wheat, a quantity of straw, some live stock, &c. were consumed. There is strong reason for thinking the above were wilfully set on fire. On Saturday se'nnight, a thrashing machine belonging to Mr. JOHN FENTON, of Whelnetnam, was set on fire on the premises of Mr. SERGEANT, of Cockfield, Suffolk, and entirely consumed."—*Essex Herald*.

"Friday se'nnight a fire broke out in the premises of Mr. LONG CHANDLER, of Ilminster, which threatened destruction to the body of the town, but through the activity of the inhabitants was got under, after destroying the premises in which it commenced, and the workshops of a cooorage adjoining, containing property to a large amount, a part of which only was insured."—*Bury Paper*.

"About one o'clock in the morning of Wednesday se'nnight, the barn and out-buildings of Mr. GLANDFIELD, at Martlesham Hall, near Woodbridge, were discovered to be on fire. The flames consumed a quantity of barley in the straw, and also the waggons, tumbrels, ploughs, and general implements. A cart lodge, about 150 yards distant, was also consumed, a circumstance which sufficiently indicated that the fire was not accidental. A man, of the name of Jos. BAGE, who had been heard to use threatening language respecting Mr. GLANDFIELD, was by the active exertion of Mr. CHAS. MOOK, of Woodbridge (agent to the Suffolk Fire Office, where the corn was insured) soon after apprehended on suspicion of having set fire to the premises. He was examined before EDWARD MOOR and WILLIAM CARTHEW, Esqrs., and has been fully committed to take his trial at the next Assizes.

"About two o'clock in the morning of yesterday se'nnight, an alarming fire broke out in the premises of Mr. KINGSMURRY, of Bungay, which, from the quantity of tallow, tar, oil, &c. therein, threatened total destruction to the adjoining buildings, but was got under by the prompt exertions of the inhabitants, though not until the offices were destroyed.

"Same day, a fire was discovered in two barns occupied by Mr. SCOTT, of Kettlebaston, during the time the men who had been thrashing therein were gone to breakfast, which circumstance leads to a strong suspicion they were wilfully set on fire. The flames raged so furiously, that the whole were destroyed in a short time, together with a stable, cow-house, and a stack of clover.

"Same morn'g, a fire broke out in a cottage in the occupation of Mr. ROSE, of Gruesdiburgh, which was entirely consumed, and not an article of the furniture saved."—*Colchester, May 4.*

"Monday morning, in consequence of the advance in the price of bread, several groups of the manufacturing poor assembled at different parts of Bridport, complaining of the grievance, added to their want of employ from the present stagnation of trade. Their numbers increasing, one of the most active bore a quartern loaf through the streets on a pole. This drew together a great number of men, women, and children, who soon proceeded to acts of violence, demolishing the windows of the principal millers and bakers, and taking from the brewery of Messrs. GUNDA three hogsheads of beer, which they drew in triumph to the centre of the town. The Riot Act was then read, but several hundred more having joined the mob, it was evident that nothing but the most prompt measures could prevent the dangerous consequences likely to follow, and which were happily prevented by the exertions of some of the principal inhabitants who rushed among the mob, destroyed the beer, seized the ringleaders, and in a very short time dispersed upwards of 2000, committing the former to prison."—*Bath Journal.*

There have been no open violences at Portsmouth and Gosport; but, the *writings on the walls* indicate what the feelings of the heart are. (D) These places, where

a Jacobin would have been skinned alive, four years ago, now exhibit a most striking contrast. The acts above recorded are acts not to be justified, under any circumstances; but, when did hunger listen to reason? If the price of labour could keep *daily* pace with the price of food, these angry passions would not be engendered. But, that is impossible. It takes time to bring up wages; and, as the labourer has had only *just enough to exist on* while the flour was at 9 or 10s. a bushel, he becomes exposed to starvation now that the flour has suddenly risen to 15s. a bushel. For some months, while the wages *were following the flour downwards*, he was better off than before; but, *then* he had not as much as nature required. *Now* he is wretched indeed; and, the worst of it is, that the resources of the farmers are so much exhausted, that, until long after harvest, they will not be able to add a penny to the wages of their labourers or to find employment for an additional hand. So that here we have before us five months of distress not to be described by the pen or tongue of any man living. Here springs up new work for the Military, for the Hulks, and the Gallows! What a subject is here for the contemplation of the political economist and the law-giver!

What *now* becomes of our Mr. WESTERN's notion of the distress of the farmer having arisen from "a surplus produce?" Only think of the short space of *two months* having produced such a change! The *seasons* can have had nothing to do here. There has been no intervening harvest. And, as to the corn having been *hastened to market* before; it must still be in store, or it must have been eaten. So sudden a change could have been produced by *no other cause* than the fresh issues of paper-money, which accompanied the renewal of the Bank Protection Bill; and, indeed, Lord Castlereagh *foretold*, that corn would soon rise in price. But, the "*statesman*," asked, "when wheat comes up to 80 or 90s. a quarter, where will *then* be the distress?" The "*statesman*" had not, amongst other things, learnt, at the Congress of Vienna, to know all the effects of a paper system. He may now see *where* the distress is. He may now read of it in the Suffolk and Dorsetshire newspapers.

Thus THE SYSTEM goes on, continually, swagging from one side to the other. In



endeavouring to avoid this rock ; crack ! it goes against that ! It is in a state of continual peril ; continually looking out for dangers, continually in a storm, or amidst shoals or rocks ; or beset by, or running into the teeth of, enemies. It was, only a few months back, riding, like Cymon's Ship, so proudly before the wind of success and conquest ; and, now, like that ship, it is buffeted to-and-fro, the sport of every species of danger, and alarm.

Vain hopes ; and empty joys of human kind,  
Proud of the present, to the future blind !  
Secure of fate, while Cymon plows the sea,  
And strers to Candy with his conquer'd prey,  
Scarce the third glass of measur'd hours was up,  
When like a fiery meteor snuk the sun ;  
The promise of a storm : the shifting gales  
Forsake, by fits, and fill the flagging sails :  
Hoarse murmurs of the main from far were heard ;  
And night came on—not by degrees prepar'd—  
But all at once : at once, the winds arise,  
The thunders roll, the fork lightning flies.  
In vain, the master issues out commands ;  
In vain, the trembling sailors ply their hands :  
The tempest unforeseen prevents their care ;  
And, from the first, they labour in despair.  
The giddy ship, betwixt the winds and tides,  
Forc'd back, and forwards, in a circle rides,  
Stunn'd with the different blows ; then shoots  
amain,  
'Till counterbuff'd, she stops, and sleeps again.

Not more aghast the proud Archangel fell,  
Plung'd from the height of heaven to deepest hell,  
Than stood the Lover of his Love possess'd,—  
Now curs'd the more, the more he had been  
bless'd.

\*\*\*\* Mean time, with sails declin'd,  
The wandering vessel drove before the wind :  
To-w'd, and re-to-w'd ; aloft, and then a-low ;  
Nor port they seek, nor certain course they }  
know ;  
But every moment wait the coming blow.  
Thus blindly driven, by breaking day they view'd  
The land before them, and their fears renew'd :  
The land was welcome, but the tempest bore  
The threaten'd ship against a rocky shore.  
A winding bay was near ; to this they bent,  
And just escap'd ; their force already spent ;  
Secure from storms, and panting from the sea,  
The land, unknown, at leisure they survey ;  
And saw (but soon their sickly sight withdrew)  
The rising towers of Rhodes at distant view ;  
And curv'd the hostile shore of Passarod,  
Sav'd from the sea, and shipwreck'd on the ground.

This description, which was not written by Mr. Leigh Hunt or Mr. Wordsworth or Lord Byron or Walter Scott or Southey ; this beautiful passage, which is worth more than all the pompous stuff and all the poems of Milton and Shakespear, gives an adequate and correct idea of the situation of our system.

WM. CORBETT.

#### DEBATE ON CASH PAYMENTS.

(Continued from page 607.)

For instance, he (Mr. Horner,) thought it should be enacted that the Bank should *gradually pay its several notes according to their value*. Thus as the Restriction Act was to expire in July, it might be provided that the Bank should pay all notes of 1*l.* within six months ; afterwards, its 2*l.* notes within the next six months ; its 5*l.* notes within the succeeding six months ; and all its notes above 5*l.* after that period. By such an arrangement, the Bank would be guarded against the consequences of any sudden change, while the just claims and expectations of the Public would be gratified. But before the Committee which he proposed, this subject might be fully considered after an examination of witnesses, including the Directors of the Bank and others, competent to afford every necessary information. Another subject, which would properly come under the consideration of such a Committee, would be the state of our metallic currency. He had heard that it was in the contemplation of Government to have a new silver coinage, with a view to relieve the country from that sort of bad English, and still worse French silver, with which it was at present inundated. This silver was indeed so very base, that it would probably be better for the country to have no currency at all, than be subject to suffer by such a circulating medium. But in considering this subject it would be very material to ascertain whether the new silver coinage should be according to the old standard, or whether any new standard should be established. For if the system of paper currency were to be restored to the rate at which it some time since prevailed, it might be inconvenient and unjust to re-establish the old Mint standard of silver ; for by such re-establishment, Govern-

ment, as well as individuals who sent silver to the Mint for coinage, would be very likely to suffer a considerable loss. But he did not require the House to adopt any opinion of his upon this subject. All he asked was, that an inquiry should be instituted—and he should only add, that if without that inquiry the Right Honourable Gentleman's Bill were adopted, *he had no hesitation in stating, that the Bank restriction would continue for ever. He would indeed be an idle dreamer who could suppose that cash payments would be resumed by the Bank, so long as Parliament and the People submitted to the restriction.* The Honourable Member concluded by moving for the appointment of a Committee to consider the expediency of resuming cash payments at the Bank, together with the best and safest mode of effecting that object.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that the difference between him and the Learned Gentleman, as to the grounds upon which the restriction of cash payments by the Bank was justifiable were far less than might appear; but in one point he decidedly differed from that Learned Gentleman—namely, that the adoption of the Bill which he had brought forward was likely to prevent that resumption for ever. He could not indeed imagine the grounds upon which the Learned Gentleman rested his calculation. As to the preparations which the Learned Gentleman would have made with a view to the resumption of cash payments, it would be recollected that by the original Restriction Act provision was made for the payment of certain notes in cash, in order to guard the Bank against any shock. It was indeed notorious that ever since the enactment of the 37th of the King, notes under 5*l.* had been paid in cash. Therefore the objects described by the Learned Gentleman were already provided for by law. Another proposition, with a view to prepare the Bank for the resumption of cash payments was intended—namely, that even after these payments were renewed, the Bank, as well as private Banks, should be at liberty to issue notes under 5*l.* The example of Scotland before the restriction, and of all private bank-notes since the restriction, which were never made a legal tender, served to show that no practical inconvenience was likely to arise from such

a measure. It was also intended in the same view to propose, that for a considerable time after the resumption of cash payments bank-notes should be received by Government, and in the payment of Exchequer Bills. It was notorious that the amount of bank-notes in circulation never exceeded one-half of our annual taxes; and that before the restriction, the circulation of these notes bore exactly the same proportion to our taxation. Therefore no material change was produced in this respect. But to revert to preparations, he felt that such provisions were intended as would serve to protect the Bank or the Country from any shock upon the resumption of cash payments. No thinking man could deem it practicable that cash payments should be immediately resumed, and the only question then was as to time. It would be recollected that a Resolution was adopted, which he had the honour to propose upon the discussion of the Report of the Bullion Committee, namely, that Bank Notes were equal to cash for all legal purposes, and whatever difference of opinion might then have been urged, no difference whatever could exist at present that a bank-note was equal to cash for every purpose in this country, while in other countries these notes bore a premium. Thus all the prophecies which the House had heard from the other side were completely falsified, while the opinions which he took occasion to advance were fully justified. Among those he maintained that the extended circulation of bank-notes was not the cause of the rise of prices, but the natural effect of the increased activity of trade which, necessarily called for an increased circulating medium. And now it appeared, that when the activity of trade was diminished, the circulation of bank-notes diminished also. That the price of agricultural produce being reduced, the country banks reduced their issues. Hence it was evident that the extended issue of bank notes was the consequence, not the cause of a rise of prices; for when prices fell, that issue was proportionably reduced, especially from the country banks, whose issues were quite voluntary. From this experience he felt himself warranted in asserting, that the issue of Bank Notes, however it might have been affected by the rate of exchange or the price of

gold, had no connexion with the prices of our agricultural produce, although that opinion was so often and so confidently advanced. That would, indeed, appear more strongly from this fact, that while corn was at 120s. a quarter in January, 1813, and fell to 82s. by the close of the year, gold was at the former period 5*l.* 6*s.* an ounce, and at the latter 5*l.* 10*s.* Thus it was clear that the price of gold and of corn had no relation. The former was enhanced by the supplies of bullion which we were under the necessity of remitting to the Peninsula, and what would have been the degree of enhancement if at the same time the Bank paid in specie? The advantage of such payment would, he need now hardly say, have been very dearly purchased, if it had interfered with such remittances. As to the time which his Bill proposed to continue the restriction, it would be remembered, that the report of the Bullion Committee recommended the continuance of the restriction for two years, with a view to guard against the danger of any sudden change, and to prepare for the event, while his Bill proposed to continue the restriction only for seven months longer. Among his reasons for continuing the restriction, that quoted by the Learned Gentleman from certain publications, had certainly no influence whatever. For he had no desire to produce a rise of prices; but from what he had stated with respect to this connexion of an extended circulating medium, with an extended trade, it was evident that the rise of prices must necessarily occasion an increased issue of Bank notes. Now with regard to the proposition of the Learned Gentleman, he could see no necessity for further inquiry. The whole case was already sufficiently understood, and any Gentleman who desired further information, might obtain it by reading the Papers before the House. Therefore a Committee was unnecessary. The Bank would no doubt exercise the utmost discretion in preparing for the resumption of cash payments in collecting treasure for that desirable event, not only for its own supply, but for the use of the Banks of Ireland and Scotland which must so materially depend upon it. On these grounds, he felt himself bound to resist the Learned Gentleman's motion.

Mr. J. P. GRANT declared he never heard a case more ably stated than that of

his Learned Friend, or more feebly answered than that of the Right Honourable Gentleman. He fully concurred with his Learned Friend, that if the Right Honourable Gentleman's Bill were adopted, the resumption of cash payments would never take place while the people submitted to the Restriction. But the impolicy and danger of continuing the Restriction, must be obvious upon due consideration.—All that was wanted was, that some inquiry should be gone into, some pledge given to shew the Bank that Parliament was not playing fast and loose, but that it was their determination to have cash payments resumed, allowing a reasonable time for preparation. That was all that his Honourable Friend required. They had been told that the financial operations of Ministers had nothing to do with those restrictions, and they were told also that the restrictions themselves were of no advantage to the Bank, or at least that the Bank did not desire them. Now under what circumstances was it that the restrictions were originally imposed? From the necessity, created by the financial operations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that period, of doing something for its security. If Honourable Gentlemen would take the trouble of examining into what passed at that time between the Government and the Bank, they would find that the Bank made a representation, stating that the demands upon it, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were so great, that the establishment was not safe.

Upon that ground it was that the Bank stopped its cash payments, on the authority of the Council. Now what was the plan proposed by the Right Honourable Gentleman preparatory to the resumption of cash payments by the Bank? He built his whole system of finances for the year upon borrowing a certain sum from the Bank, and at the same time he brought in the present Bill, thus connecting the two circumstances together by that operation, connected as they ever must be in their own nature. He did that very thing which prevented the Bank from resuming cash payments, and yet desired the House to believe that it was only a temporary measure. He had little doubt, however, that it would prove a settled system, by which to carry on the financial operations of the country, *through the medium of accommodations from the Bank.* The sys-

tem itself was not only a most absurd one, but it had produced the most serious inconveniences to the country, for the price of every commodity had kept pace to a certain degree with the price of gold and silver. If the present measure were adopted, what would be our situation at the expiration of the two years? when in time of profound peace the price of gold would be the same, the paper currency depreciated to the same extent, and consequently the resumption of cash payments by the Bank impossible. He certainly thought a very strong ground had been laid for inquiry, and he trusted the House would not reject the motion of his Honourable Friend.

Mr. MARRYAT said the House and the country at present laboured under the grievous disappointment of finding their expectations deceived, of the resumption of cash payments by the Bank, at the expiration of six months after the signature of a definitive Treaty of Peace. With respect to the Bill, proposed by the Right Honourable Gentleman, he had read its provisions with extreme surprize, for he could not see a single ground which rendered such a Bill necessary. What were the points of expediency as applicable to it? Was the price of bullion as high now as it had been? Quite the reverse. It was well known that a large quantity of specie had found its way into this country. He, as a merchant, knew the fact; and it had also happened to him individually, that a considerable quantity of foreign specie had been sent to him, which, from the depreciation of its value, he had sent back to his correspondents, as a less loss was sustained, even by the expence of double freightage, than would have been incurred by selling it here. [Hear, hear!] Then, as to foreign exchanges, how did they stand? They were in our favour in every part of the world. With respect to the Bank, it was said that they made no objections to the resumption of their cash payments. On the contrary, they protested against not being allowed to establish their credit upon the same basis as it had heretofore stood, and upon which it always sought to stand. What other causes then could be alleged? Was there to be a loan?—No. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressly said, that there was not the slightest connexion between the continuance of the restrictions and his dealing with the Bank. He was

glad to hear that statement; for if there had been any such connexion, he should have no hesitation in saying, that it was one of the most usurious bargains which any Jew broker ever made with any heedless spendthrift minor. [Hear! and a laugh.] What possible argument, then, could be urged to prevent the resumption of cash payments? The consequences of the present Bill would be most grievous to the country. All that distress and difficulty, that revulsion, he might almost say convulsion, which the country had undergone during the last year, would be renewed whenever the Bank should be compelled, as a time must surely come when it would be compelled, to resume its payments in cash. [Hear, hear!] *The restrictions he considered as a great and powerful engine in the hands of Ministers, to alter and modify the property of the country at their discretion; but such a power they ought not to possess, and he wished to see the necromancer's wand broken and thrown into the Red Sea.* [Hear, hear!] The only way, in his opinion, of compelling the Bank to resume their payments, would be by making it their interest to do so. The Act was originally passed to rescue the Bank from the consequences of its own improvidence, and what had they done since? The average annual issue of their notes, in the four years preceding the passing of that Act, was about 11,000,000*l.* It was now about 27,000,000*l.* producing an annual profit of 800,000*l.* He thought it would be a wise course, when the Bill went into the Committee, to propose the insertion of a clause for the Bank to pay 50,000*l.* a year, or any given sum, to the public, until they did resume their cash payments; and he trusted that some such amendment would be adopted.

Mr. F. LEWIS said, he wished to add his protest against the dangerous system involved in the principle of the Bill. He thought a strong and unanswerable case had been made out for inquiry. He had on many occasions watched with the utmost anxiety to collect, if possible, from the Right Hon. Gentleman his real opinions upon the nature of the connexion with the Bank, but hitherto it had been in vain. He could not, even after the speech which the Right Hon. Gentleman had that night delivered, see thoroughly what course he proposed to himself in

good faith and sincerity. He said, indeed, that he thought it highly desirable that the Bank should return to cash payments, but he did not seem to say it with that confidence as if he really believed himself. There were many reasons which led him to think, that the Right Hon. Gentleman did not sincerely believe that at the end of two years the Bank would be one jot nearer to the resumption of cash payments.—If the Bank were left to itself, its interest was so diametrically opposite to a resumption of cash payments, that it was utterly childish to expect from it a voluntary proceeding of that kind. The House must take upon itself to make it compulsory, or all other measures would be nugatory. The appointment of a Committee was, he thought, indisputably necessary, and after a due investigation, the House could then point out the preparatory mode by which the object might be ultimately accomplished.

LORD CASTLEREAGH, concurring with the general wish of the House and country for a speedy return to payments in cash, had no intention at present to travel over the ground which had already been gone over, but he could not help expressing his decided conviction that the measure of restriction was the best ever adopted in this country, and had been productive of all those advantages which had elevated the British Empire to its present pinnacle of grandeur. He considered the dread which the Honourable Member who had just sat down entertained of this measure being a precedent for Administration in all time coming, to be ill founded. He wished the House to consider that the late war had been no ordinary one, but had combined a variety of circumstances which rendered it unparalleled in our history, and he trusted it would be always unparalleled. When Gentlemen talked of a pure standard of value being kept, he would put it to them, how that purity could have been maintained in any way so well as the one adopted by Parliament. The standard of value must have been distorted by the precious metals being drawn out of the country, and it could only be preserved by setting a high value on these metals at home. When he considered the various systems suggested for preserving that parity, he felt none equal to the one adopted by Parliament, without which he believed no Bank could have

remained. He decidedly thought some measures were necessary to prepare the Bank and the country for the issuing of payment in cash, and that it was better to act on a persuasive than a compulsive system. The question was of infinite moment, and was worthy of serious consideration. If compulsion were used, without due preparation, the Bank would obviously suffer a very great shock. They required an interval to prepare salutary measures, which he had no doubt the intelligence of the Bank Directors would suggest; whereas, if compulsive measures were imposed on them, they would only be menaced, and public credit endangered. The salutary effects of some regulation in the silver currency had been seen, and if the same principles were applied to gold, he saw every reason to believe the Bank would voluntarily come forward themselves. He thought it impossible to attribute to so respectable a body the motive of filling their own pockets by thus paying in paper.—[Hear! from the Opposition.] If Gentlemen on the opposite side thought so, he begged to assure them he did not. He had this security, that when the gold exchange became sufficiently favourable, should the Bank become so infatuated to their interests as to withhold a metallic circulation, individuals would have it in their power to carry gold to his Majesty's Mint, and thus to secure a metallic circulation. After some remarks on the necessity of the Restrictions, the Noble Lord observed that by an intermediate principle of compulsion respecting minor notes some good might be done. His object was, in what he proposed, to make matters go on smoothly, as it was better to tell the Bank at once the precise period at which they were called to issue cash than deceive them by a false period, as much inconvenience had arisen to the private Banks through the country, from the ignorance of the period when cash payments would be called for.

SIR J. NEWPORT observed, that the Noble Lord, in his usual style of eloquence, peculiar no doubt to himself, but at all times unintelligible to the House, had talked of "an intermediate principle of compulsion."—[Hear, hear! and a laugh.]—His not understanding the Noble Lord arose probably from the sublimity of style to which the Noble Lord uniformly aspired, but which was unfor-

fortunately inaccessible to any individual but the Noble Lord himself.—[A laugh.] He wished to know what these words meant?

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that he meant if any compulsion at all were to be used, it should only be for small notes.

SIR J. NEWPORT proceeded. Now he had the pleasure for once to understand the Noble Lord; but would it not have been better for him at first to have spoken in a manner fit to meet the comprehension of all, than to have clothed his meaning in language totally devoid of common sense?—[Much laughter.] The Noble Lord thought the Bank Directors would not be so indifferent to the interests of the public, or so criminal, as to fill their pockets at the expense of the public. [Hear!] But did he know that they were sworn to do all they possibly could for the promotion of the interests of their constituents, and must either perjure themselves, or act criminally? The Noble Lord had said the Bank Restrictions should be taken off so soon as the gold exchange enabled private individuals to compete with the Bank. This was a happy illustration of the principles on which the Noble Lord acted; but he (Sir J. Newport) certainly thought such a period would be contemporaneous with the termination of the Noble Lord's political existence. [Hear, hear!] "The intermediate principle of compulsion" (to use the Noble Lord's exquisite phraseology) was neither more nor less than a beginning, on his part, to circulate cash payments. Why not tell the House so at once? [Hear, hear!] Why express his sentiments in language unintelligible by any man of common understanding? [Hear, hear, hear!] But the fact was, grant the Noble Lord the two years he now sought, and there would never be an end of "his intermediate principle of compulsion." [A laugh.] This transaction indicated in the strongest manner *the too close connexion existing between the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being.* It was on this principle the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the day *tried to get over, by every means in his power, the awful aspect of public finance, and endeavoured to turn away the attention of the public from its alarming nature.* He believed on his conscience

that this would rain snare, and he protested solemnly against the idea of a measure being established in time of peace, which had only been at first proposed for six weeks in war, and continued from six weeks to six weeks.

MR. MANNING was of opinion that two years were necessary, and in fact it was the safest course Parliament could pursue. It was much better to adopt this, as it would prepare the country, drained as it was, for the reception of cash payments. The question was of some importance to the commercial interests of the country, independent of the Bank. There was no such oath administered to the Directors as the Honourable Baronet had said, for they were merely called to exercise their best judgment in promoting the interest of their constituents, but were not sworn. The Honourable Member entered at some length, but nearly inaudible in the Gallery, into a variety of instances, to show that the issuing of notes had not been so productive of mischief as some Members supposed. External causes had interfered in a very great degree to prevent the possibility of their suddenly resuming cash payments. There was not a Bank Director who did not wish to resume cash payments; [Hear, hear!] but at the same time the Bank was thankful for the Bill in progress through the House, as it felt that those payments could not be resumed for the period of two years. [Hear, hear!] If the return to cash payments was left to the discretion of the bank, such measures of precaution would be adopted as would insure its being as speedy as circumstances would permit.

MR. PONSOMBY, in reply to the Honourable Gentleman who said that his Honourable Friend had intimated the oath of the Directors, contended, that if no oath were taken at all, yet that the Directors were bound by honour and their duty to the proprietors to make the best profits they could. He had no doubt that from the moment at which Parliament might declare their opinion of the expediency of returning to cash payments, the Bank Directors would take the necessary steps that would lead to that return, but he had also no doubt that until such a declaration should be made by Parliament, things would go on in the way in which they now did. The object of his Ho-

nourable and Learned Friend's motion was to fix some time at which the House might declare its opinion that it would be proper and safe for the Bank to resume cash payments. If the House refused to accede to the motion, he (Mr. P.) and every body else, must think that the measure of restriction was intended to be a measure of perpetuity.

Mr. BARNES expressed his sense of the necessity of returning, as soon as it was practicable to do so, to cash payments; and exposed the absurdity of the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the circulation of the paper was safe, because it was issued voluntarily—the great mass of the Bank paper being issued compulsorily, in the payment of the public creditor, and in the other great transactions of Government. Still, he contended, that there had been no abuse on the part of the Bank in the amount of the paper put into circulation. In fact, it was impossible that the Governors of the Bank could mismanage, in this respect, without injuring themselves, more than any other class of the community. With reference to the question before the House, he maintained that nothing could be more calculated to impede the return to cash payments, than any pledge made by Parliament on the subject. As for the declaration of opinion recommended by the Honourable Gentleman who had just spoken, that was already to be found in the Bill now in progress.

Lord FOLKESTONE supported the motion; and expressed his firm persuasion, that if the Bill passed they might as well enact a perpetual suspension of cash payments.

Mr. HUSKISSON declared that he was for returning to cash payments as soon as would be consistent with the public interest. Until the paper circulation of this country became convertible at pleasure into coin, that circulation would not be in a satisfactory state. He admitted also, that the

suspension of cash payments, and the consequent issue of paper, had occasioned much mischief by the encouragement they afforded to inordinate speculation. But then, on the other hand, if cash payments had been renewed at a former period, the country would not have been able to make those exertions which had more than counterbalanced every inconvenience. Adverting to the proposition made by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, he maintained that it would be unwise for Parliament to take the direction of the matter into their own hands; but it was essential that they should declare to the Bank and to the country, that they expected that cash payments should be resumed, and that they were aware that there was no safety to the property of the country but in a recurrence to the ancient system of our currency. He hoped, therefore, that when the House went into a Committee on the Bill, his Right Honourable Friend would propose the introduction in the preamble, of a declaration that the time allowed to the Bank was to enable them to prepare for a return to cash payments.

Mr. THOMPSON expressed his confident hope, that in the course of the year specie would be circulating in great abundance in this country; founding this opinion on the fact of the great rise of the exchange, within the last four months. He hoped the time was not far distant, when, as had been said by a Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, on a former occasion, every man would have a guinea in his pocket; and it would then be seen what little anxiety there would be for Bank-notes. He concluded by expressing a hope, that Ministers would promote the productive labour of the country, in which, more than gold, its real wealth consisted.

(To be Continued.)

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

## LETTER XIV.

*Battle at Grenoble.—State of France.—Causes of a new Revolution.—Consequences to the English System.—Land-  
ing of the English Ambassador in America.—Complaint of the officers of the  
Niger.—Sir Francis Burdett.*

Bolley, 25th May, 1816.

You will have heard, long before this reaches you, of the battle, which has recently taken place at Grenoble in France; but, you will not have heard any true account of the impression, which that event has made in England, where, as I have repeatedly shown, exists the \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*. The alarm is felt in all the cabinets of Europe; but, here; here it is, amongst the \* \* \* \* \* that the greatest alarm is experienced. It appears, that the "attack" on Grenoble was not so much an attack on that place, as it was a general commotion, or rising in the whole district, of which Grenoble forms a part. Six hundred men are not killed in battle without some fighting. It appears, that an extensive district was in a state of insurrection, and that it still is so. Such documents as the following show very clearly what is the situation of that part of France; and they merit being recorded even in a work where there is so little room to spare; for they are of the very essence of political history.

"On the 7th the Prefect published an Arrêté to the following effect:—

"Considering that justice and public example require that all those who participated in the sedition with force and arms, which broke out on the night of the 4th of May, should be inexorably pursued and delivered to the Prevoial Court;

"That general security requires they

"should be deprived of every means of refuge and defence; and consequently that, as a measure of high police, a general disarming ought to take place;

"Therefore all those who within 24 hours from the publication of the present arrêté shall not have delivered up to the Mayors of their respective Communes all weapons of war and cartouches, which may be in any manner at their disposal, shall be considered as accomplices in the sedition, and criminally prosecuted as such; as shall likewise all those who, knowing of any depot of arms or cartouches, do not give information thereof.

"Every inhabitant is required to make a declaration of the hunting arms in his possession.

"All persons convicted of giving an asylum to rebels shall be regarded as accomplices, and criminally prosecuted as such.

"A recompence of from 100 to 3,000 francs is promised to all those who shall deliver up the authors, leaders, or abettors of the sedition.

"Guilot, an ancient Officer of Artillery, who directed the insurrection of that Commune, and who, once saved from capital punishment by the goodness of the Duke of Angouleme, has covered himself with the double infamy of ingratitude and treason, is denounced to the public vengeance. He who shall arrest him is to receive five hundred francs."

PROCLAMATION OF THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING THE 7TH MILITARY DIVISION, AND OF THE PREFECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ISERE.

"The Lieutenant-General commanding the 7th Military Division, and the Prefect of the Isere, make known to the inhabitants of that department that a telegraphic dispatch brings them the following instructions:—(6th May, 6 p.m.)  
"The Department of the Isere is to be considered as in a state of siege. The Civil and Military Authorities have a discretionary power.



"The King is satisfied with the Magistrates and the Military. Troops are in motion on different points to occupy the department of the Isere, and ensure the just punishment of the rebels.

"These instructions, which suspend the ordinary course of the laws, must reassure all peaceable citizens who know that their Military and Civil Authorities are constantly watching for the maintenance of order and the good of the service of the King. Let bad citizens tremble. For the rebels, the sword of the law is about to strike them.

"The Prefect Count MONTLIVAUT.

"Lieutenant-General DONADIEU.

"May 8."

### ORDER OF THE DAY.

"GRENABLE, MAY 8.

"The Lieutenant-General, considering that notwithstanding all the searches and all the orders of police hitherto given for discovering and apprehending the *Sieur Didier*, senior, the principal author of the revolutionary movement which took place at Lyons in the course of the month of January last, he has not only escaped the pursuit directed against him, but found places of refuge in this department; in consequence of which he was enabled to become the principal agent of the open rebellion, with force and arms, which broke out in the night of the 4th, hereby decrees, as a measure of extraordinary security:—

"Art. 1. The inhabitants of the house in which the said *Sieur Didier* shall be found, shall be delivered up to the Military Commission to be shot.

"2. Whoever shall deliver up the said *Sieur Didier*, dead or alive, shall receive, as a gratuity, the sum of 3000 francs.

"3. The Military Commanders and all the chiefs of the armed force, are charged with the execution of the present order.

"Description of *Didier, senior*.—Aged 64; height, five feet five; hair almost white, eye-brows black, beard black and grey, large forehead, aquiline nose, mouth middle size, walks negligently, and stoops a little."

In spite of all this, who would not rather be in the place of the "*Sieur Didier*" than in that of Louis "the *Desiré*?" These documents speak volumes. It is impossible

not to see, that the half of the population of France must be exterminated, in order to establish the reign of the Bourbons. Louis may *proclaim* as long as he pleases. He only proclaims the hatred of Frenchmen against his family and against their allies. His proclamations will be answered by execrations; and the knighthoods which he bestows on his adherents will be regarded by the People at large as badges of infamy.

This affair opens pretty clearly the prospect before us. The hireling newspapers now begin to say, that, though we have peace with "the *amiable Monarch* of France," we have not peace with the people of that country. This they now openly acknowledge; and, they do so because they are compelled to do it, in order to justify measures like those of the *Standing army* and the *Alien Act*. At first, Oh! what a happy peace! How glorious! How secure and lasting! What safety; what permanent safety, had we obtained! And, was it not worth a twenty-two years' war and a debt of a thousand millions, to obtain such a peace? But, now, behold, we have no peace with the people of France, who are again called "bloody Jacobins," and accused of sighing for the regime of 1793. So that, none of our *expences* are removed. They are now *greater* than they were in 1806 or 1807. And they must *continue greater* for ever, unless the interest of the Debt be in part *lopped off*. In 1807, that interest was about 30 millions. It is now 44 millions. Yet, we have not *finished the war*. The Ministers themselves have declared, that we are in an *intermediate state*, between war and peace. Before that state changes into a state of peace, are not the chances, that the French nation will again be roused? Are not the chances in favour of a rupture of some sort on the continent? At any rate, is there the smallest room to expect, that we shall see any diminution of *expençe*? And, if we do not see any diminution of *expençe*, what a prospect have the fundholders before them?

But, let us trail along in this state of misery for four or five years, then let the French people rise, and what are we to do? Can we add *another thousand millions to our debt*? No: we must leave the French people to settle their own affairs in their own way, and suffer their

*example to spread* in all directions. Here, then, is the old ground of alarm to our system again staring it in the face, and with ten-fold terrors. In this case, I should not be at all surprised to see Napoleon \* \* \* \* \*. This is not *my* opinion only. It is the opinion of many others, and those, too, persons of great political judgment. It is very certain, that, previously to the first fall of Napoleon; that is to say, about 1811, a scheme was on foot to \* \* \*. And, indeed, this would have been a grand resort! But it would have failed in the end; and so will any scheme which shall not include the secure existence and prosperity of the paper-money mammoth, on which every thing, not only in England, but in all Europe, depends, as far as regards the cause of freedom.

Thus, then, the struggle is *not over*, say the Cossacks what they will to the contrary. Their *processions* at Boston were *premature*; and so were their *thanksgivings*. They may yet, before they die, have the pleasure of *embracing* some of those "legitimate" gentry, of whom they seem so fond, and with whom the people of Europe, and especially those of France, seem extremely willing to part. Be the contrary the result. What then? Why, at the very least, unrelaxed taxation in England, and the regular progress of our funding system towards that point at which it must stop. For, you will observe, and always keep in view, that it is not on the *faith* of fund-holders, or any body else, that the thing depends. It is upon the effects, which the system goes on producing upon the people. Do you think, for instance, that it can go on, until *one half* of the whole population are paupers? It cannot be. Something very material, from some immediate cause or other, *must* take place, in the way of *change* before a people can be brought to such a pass. Incessant fluctuations in all sorts of property and affairs will, of themselves, change the very character of the people as dealers and proprietors; and will cut up the resources of the country by the roots. The immense emigration now going on, and which will increase, will produce, in a few years, a sensible effect. During the debates upon the Alien Bulwark Act, a Member observed, that he wished for some act to prevent

*emigration* also. This clearly shews, that the evil is one of great magnitude.

But, the facts to keep in view are, that the struggle is *not over*; that we are now paying as much as we paid during the war, up to 1807; and that, unless a reduction take place in the interest of the debt, we must pay as much *for ever*. These are the facts to be always kept in view, and will always furnish a complete answer to all the Cossacks upon the face of the earth. In the meanwhile the good part of the population is fast making its way to America, there to add to the *mind* and to the physical powers of freedom. Five or six years of a state like this in Europe will add a *million of men* to your population from the source of emigration; while, on this side of the Atlantic, no renovation, no additional strength, no revival of spirit, will take place; but, in every quarter, regular and speedy decline. Keep you *united*. Guard well against aristocracy in every shape; and the cause of freedom will eventually triumph; and that, too, at no very distant day. We often rejoice at what we ought to lament; and often lament at what ought to be a subject of joy. If Napoleon had remained in power, there might have been better ground for the processions and thanksgivings of the malignant Cossacks of New England. If he had been firmly seated in his empire of the West, he might have handed it down, twenty or thirty years hence, to his son, a branch of the *House of Austria*. In the meanwhile he had given *proofs* of his desire to make common cause with *all* the enemies of free government. His great talents; his greater renown; the admiration which his deeds in arms naturally excited, and especially in a people like the French; the gratitude which the French thought they owed him for the same he had acquired for their country; nay, even his wise and merciful code of laws; all might, and, indeed, *must*, have worked *against* the cause of freedom, if he had remained, as he would, the enemy of that cause. He was become the supporter and creator of Royal Dynasties. He would have been *master* of all the rest; but that would not have mended the matter. He would have *supported* all the rest. He would never have taken part with any people. He uttered, towards the close of his reign, as many and as bitter philippics against Jacobins as Pitt or Dundas ever uttered. In

order, in short, to be what he aimed at, and what he really was, it was absolutely necessary, that all Europe should consist of a set of small despotisms, dependant on him. If, therefore, his power had once been consolidated by the adoption of a scheme, such as I have mentioned above, the cause of freedom, in Europe, at least, must have perished, if he had lived for twenty or thirty years.

By his fall a *chance* has been afforded of seeing better days. New scenes of pillage and persecution and blood without doubt; but, now, at any rate, despotism will not be decorated in the attire of *valour* and *science*. It will appear, as it ought, in its native garb. The pillaging of the galleries and museums and breaking up of the National Schools and Institute, though the acts, in themselves, are what I have before described them to be, will produce great good. They were, without being intended to be such, acts of justice towards the Armies and the Republican Assemblies of France. The *Bourbons* had no right to retain what was won by the valour and the wisdom of those whom they accompanied foreign armies to overthrow. They had no right to possess the *Column of Austerlitz*, or the *Bridge of Jena*. There they are, as they ought to be, with nothing but their guards and their priests as embellishments. They can never do a millionth part of the mischief, that Napoleon, settled down a despot would have done. Under him despotism would have bound men with gilded chains. Now, she comes with bare iron to manacle them. The charm is taken away.

"Well," say the Cossacks, "but, after all, this despotism is the *natural end* of *revolution*." Oh, no! For, this was not the case in *America*; and, I should be put in jail for many years, if I were to say, that it was the case in *England*. On the contrary, we call ours a "*glorious revolution*;" and, if it be a *glorious deed* to pack off a king and his family in *England*, and to make it *treason* to adhere to him, why may it not be *glorious* in any other country? But, this is not the point. The point is, whether any *other* revolution ought to be attempted, seeing that the French revolution has ended in the restoration of the old despotism; or, as your Cossacks have it, in the return of the "*legitimate sovereign*." Why, yes, to be sure; or, at least, *this is no reason* why

another revolution ought not to be attempted. Was it ever yet held as a maxim, that, merely because a man has failed in any undertaking, he ought never to undertake the same thing again? What would become of soldiers or of lovers if this maxim were adopted? What of farmers, gardeners, or planters? What! is no writ of error to be demanded in favour of a *people*? What! because our ships of war failed most lamentably in their battles with yours, during the last war, is big John Bull never to try his luck again, except on the Serpentine River? I would ask that celebrated essayist, Captain Henry, whether he thinks, that his failure ought to discourage any other adventurer in the same line?

Well, then, if, in none of these instances, failure ought to put an end to future efforts, why in the particular instance of political revolutions? Why should not the French, or any other people, try their hand at a revolution, if they are convinced they have a base and wicked crew to govern them? Besides, there is *experience* now to guide the French, if the idea should take them. They have now seen the *cause* of their failure; and, of course, are less likely to fail again. They have now seen the difference in the effects of their schemes and that of the United States. They have seen what that government has been able to do in war. With all this experience, they would not easily fall into their former errors. The people, too, have had a republican education; or, at least, something approaching towards it. Then, again, that condition of the great enemy of their revolution is very much changed. John Bull would, I dare say, be as ready as ever to pour out upon them; but John Bull would not have the same means as before. A nation does not a *second time* contract a thousand millions of debt.

It is nonsense, therefore, to say, that the French will never attempt another revolution. The end of the last has not been a *natural* end. It has been an *unnatural* end. If, indeed, the French had been left to themselves; if nobody had interfered with them; if so many nations had not made war upon them; if Brunswick and his Germans had not invaded them with threats of fire and sword. Then, indeed, the atrocities of the French

revolution (though falling infinitely short of the atrocities of the Bourbons, committed on the Protestants of France at various times) would have been fairly ascribed to the revolution; but, as it was, the whole progress of the revolution presented nothing but war external and internal, until the despotism of Napoleon came and produced internal peace.

One thing is certain; and that is, that Europe cannot long remain as it now is. This government, which is the pivot of the whole, is in such a state as to render a change, a material change, of some sort, absolutely necessary. And, whenever any such change shall take place, the effects of it will be felt from Cadiz to St. Petersburg.

JOHN BULL'S AMBASSADOR TO AMERICA was, it would appear, disappointed at the reception he met with on his landing in your country. My authority is the following paragraph, published in our newspapers.

"The Narcissus, Capt. G. A. Crofton, arrived at Portsmouth, on Thursday, from Halifax and Bermuda. The Niger, Capt. Jackson, had arrived at Halifax, having landed the Hon. Mr. Bagot, Ambassador to America, at Annapolis. Mr. Bagot had no reason to feel flattered with the reception he experienced; it appeared to the officers of the Niger, that the Americans were apprehensive, should they even suffer their natural curiosity to be gratified at the moment, it might give a degree of *eclat* to the arrival of the English Ambassador; they therefore shut themselves up in their houses. They could not fire a salute, as their guns upon the fort were out of order.—Eight of the Niger's men deserted from the boat, and no authoritative aid could be obtained to discover their retreat. The Niger, so soon as she had landed all the Ambassador's suite, proceeded to Halifax, and was there preparing to receive on board Gen. Sir John Sherbrooke, for Quebec, he having been appointed Governor of Upper Canada. The Narcissus was 18 days from Bermuda. She has sailed for the River to be paid off."

What *flattering* did Mr. Bagot want, I wonder? Did he expect you to run out and prostrate yourselves before him, and lick his hand, or his shoes? What! these "officers of the Niger" expected,

I suppose, that the people of Annapolis were to range themselves in two lines with bare heads for the Hon. Mr. Bagot to walk through? He ought, I suppose, as they thought, to have his way strewn with flowers to the City of Washington, that grand scene of the exploits of Ross and Cockburn? "*Eclat*" indeed! what *eclat* should the people of Annapolis make upon such an occasion? What cared they for the Hon. Mr. Bagot any more than for another man? And what should they care? I do not believe, however, that they "*shut themselves up in their houses*" to avoid him. They are not such fools. But, it is one of the follies of John Bull's gentlemen, that, wherever they go, they are surprised, if all the world do not run gaping after them and pulling hats off to them. The people of America care nothing about "*great people*." If the "officers of the Niger" had wanted a shouting mob at the heels of Mr. Bagot, they should have taken out a detachment of the bullet-proof-coach rabble, and such of those who followed "Old Blucher" about. But, in order to have effected their purpose in a handsome manner, they should have carried out a dozen ton of strong beer as well as the rabble. Then Mr. Bagot would have been most cordially welcomed. "*Fire a salute*" indeed! What should an American fort fire a salute for upon such an occasion? What subject of *joy* was it to America, that an English public envoy had arrived? The *silliness* of all this surpasses even its conceit and impudence. Was it because Mr. Bagot was the son of a Lord that all this piece of work; as if this *eclat*, was to take place? Just as if the Americans had not seen Lords and Knights and Honourables before! Just as if they had not seen Sir George Prevost, Sir James Yeo, Sir Alexander and Sir John Cochrane, Sir E. Pakenham, and the ever-memorable Sir George Cockburn, to say nothing of Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis? SMYTH tells a story of the capture of LORD PRACY, now Duke of Northumberland, at, or just after, the battle of Lexington. The Yankee Soldiers had put his Lordship in prison in a room of what we call a public house, and what you call a tavern, in some country place. The people of the neighbourhood, who knew nothing of Lords except by hearsay,

crowded to the tavern to see the Noble Personage; when a young girl, who was looking through the window at him, exclaimed: "what! *is that a lord, you?*" "Come away Jemima!" The people of Annapolis have, I dare say, something else to do than to stare at Lords, or Lords' sons, or at any such people. I'll engage, that there were very few of them who knew who Mr. Bagot was, and not one who would have shut himself up in his house for the sake of either avoiding him or for any other purpose connected with his arrival. But, pray, when did the people *here* give any *eclat* to the arrival of an Ambassador? And especially of an American Ambassador? When did we *fire salutes* upon such an occasion? Oh! we are big John Bull! Verily this insolence is a little ill-timed as to America. It may do with regard to the poor, crawling, lousy wretches in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and the other countries that are under the dread of England; but, it will not do with regard to America, except, indeed, as far as relates to the Cossacks of New England, who, perhaps, might have been willing to crawl upon their bellies to give *eclat* to the arrival of a Lord's son.

The best way, upon such occasions, is for the Blue and Buff to hold their tongues. They cannot complain with any effect. They can obtain no *redress*; for, I can assure them, that John Bull, conceited as he is, is not prepared to add five hundred millions to his debt and twenty millions a year to his taxes in order to avenge this pretended slight to the Honourable Mr. Bagot. John will have to pay the amount of Mr. Bagot's salary and the expences of his mission, together, most probably with a couple of thousands a year to that gentleman for life; and that is quite enough for John without a new war on account of the taciturnity of the people of Annapolis. No, no! "the officers of the Niger" will not succeed in stirring up strife between the two countries upon this account. The history of the events of the last war is still before us.

But, they must *talk*; they must send forth paragraphs; they must let their anger have vent. What in all the world but an unconquerable propensity to do this could have induced them to publish to the world, that "*Eight of the Niger's men deserted from the boat*" which

landed the Ambassador? This must have been nearly the whole of the boat's crew. Now, what could be the *cause* of this? These were not *pressed* men; for the ship was manned with people *enlisted since the peace*. It is well known, indeed, that she lay a good while waiting for men. We never hear of any American seamen deserting. At any rate, why was this fact told to the world? Were the men *bad men*? If they were, it is well known, that the *best* of a crew are generally selected for such services; and what, then, were the *rest* of the ship's company? And, could no better men be enlisted? If they were *good* men, what could make them leave their boat? Was the *temptation so strong*? If so, *what was* that temptation? What a country must that be, where such powerful temptations to remain exist? These eight men, it seems, were not discouraged by the cold reception of the Ambassador. They clearly expected a different sort of reception. When our seamen land in Spain and Portugal, or any other of the Social-Order countries, we never hear of their running away. The land of America seems to be spread over with bird-lime; or, else, the people must have love-powder to give to our fellows.

Be the cause what it may, however, the best way would be, in all such cases, to hold our tongues; for, the *complaint*, which the statement of this fact was intended to introduce, was, that "no *authoritative aid* could be obtained to *discover their retreat*." This is the *jet* of the narrative. This was the object principally in view. As if the *government*, or *nation*, of America had, in this case, committed an unjustifiable act against *us*; against *England*. In the first place, what should the people of Annapolis want these men to desert for? What good could their desertion do any of the people of Annapolis, or any other of the people of America? Why should any Governor, Justice of the Peace, or any body else wish them to desert? And, in the next place, how should any of the people have any thing to do in the inducing of them to desert, or in the *secretting* of them, seeing that "*all the people*" had shut themselves up in their houses?" No "*authoritative aid* could be obtained" certainly, because no justice of the peace could grant a warrant for any such pur-

pose. The moment the sailor was landed, *the law protected him*, I presume, and I am sure it did, unless *breach of contract* could be urged in this case; and then, the affair would require legal investigation. How was any magistrate to issue his warrant for *discovering the retreat* of these men? For, I would have the English nation bear in mind, that an *American's* house is *really* his castle, and is not to be stormed with impunity. Suppose one of "the Officers of the Niger" had forced his way into a house in search of any of his men, and had been shot by the owner or his servant, or by the sailor by the owner's command. Do "the Officers of the Niger" think that this would have been *murder*? I can assure them that it would not. And, as to searching *with a warrant*, upon *what ground* was the warrant to be granted? What was the oath to express? It could not alledge, that the man to be searched for had committed any crime against the laws of America; and yet, without such allegation, I am very sure, that no search warrant could be legally granted by a justice of the peace in America. What do these officers mean, then, by their *complaint*? There was no *legal* authority to assist them. Did they want to suspend the settled laws of America? The sailors who had deserted had as good a claim to be protected by the law as the Ambassador himself had. Not that they *did right* in deserting; for they had voluntarily entered; but, the laws of America were not to be suspended for the sake of their being taken back to their duty. A justice of the peace, in England, has no *legal* authority to issue a warrant to search for an American deserter, if such a man should ever exist in England. Why, then, should we think of claiming such interposition in America? Are the laws of all countries to give way at *our* nod? In short, it is *impudence* and *ignorance* that suggest the publication of articles like this. You will, I am sure, stick to your laws.

Of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT I have spoken to you before; but, I have by no means done justice to his efforts in the public cause. You know what the *Honourable House* is very well. I have given you a description of that; and, a very true and very pretty description it

is. Very well, then, only figure to yourselves such a man as SIR FRANCIS BURDETT \* \* \* \* \*

WM. COBBETT.

## THE AMERICAN PACKET.

### No. III.

MY DEAR JOHN BULL,

In the first Number I gave you an outline of the Political Parties in America. I said, that the Aristocrats, who have been the friends of *our government*, were called *Federalists*, and, that the staunch friends of freedom were called *Republicans*. But, you will observe, that it is, in fact, only a *small portion* of the Federalists who are really of the Aristocratic clan, and who really are friends of the English government. Both parties are, in reality, republicans to the back-bone. They love their country and their government. The contest between the two parties is a contest for power; and such a contest, so long as there is nothing base and sordid in it; so long as it has not *plunder*, so long as it has not *public robbery*, in view, has nothing hurtful about it. But, amongst the *Federalists*, there have grown up some men, who appear to have abandoned every good political principle. Such are the men, of which the *Hertford Convention* was composed. These persons have, as far as they have been able, allied themselves with all the enemies of freedom in Europe. Their hostility has not been against this or that measure of their government; but against the principles of the government. One of the priests in New England openly declared in a sermon, that the *English Monarchy* was preferable to the government of America. These men set on foot *processions* and *thanksgivings*, when the news arrived of the entrance of the *Cossacks* into Paris and of the restoration of the Bourbons. Hence they have been called the *Cossacks*, which is the name that I shall always make use of, when I am speaking of the Aristocratic faction in America; for, it would be most unjust to confound such men as Mr. RUFUS KING, for instance, with such men as Mr. ORMS, or Mr. GOODLOE HARPER.

To such a length did the Cossacks

carry their passion for *Royal Government*, that, upon the occasion just alluded to, a priest, or parson, at Boston, of the name of CHANNING, put up the following thanksgiving:

“ ‘Most holy, most merciful God,’ exclaims the priest, ‘thine was the work; thine be the glory! The sceptre of France is now wielded again by a benignant sovereign, who will heal her wounds.’

“ ‘Europe then is free! Most transporting deliverance!’

“ ‘Europe now flies for shelter and peace to the *pure* and *mild* principles of christianity.’

“ ‘The old and revered institutions of Europe are restored.’

“ ‘*Thrones* and governments which had endured for ages, were overturned,’ but they are now re-established.”

Do not your fingers itch, reader, to sieze the Reverend hypocrite and tumble him head-long from his pulpit? What a scandal to the town of Boston (formerly the seat of the elect of free-men) that such an impious farce should have been acted in its precincts! The joy of the Cossacks was proportioned to the sorrow of the rest of the Americans, who, though they were as far as the friends of freedom in England were from approving of many of the deeds of Napoleon, saw, in his fall, the restoration of all the old despotisms and persecutions in Europe, and who, therefore, deeply lamented that fall. As these enlightened friends of freedom apprehended, so it turned out; and we had very soon to record the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Inquisition. These instruments of “the *mild* and *pure* principles of Christianity” having returned into power and operation, the blood of Protestants began to flow. The consequences of the fall of Napoleon; the terrible acts which have been committed against civil and religious liberty, have, as it was natural to expect they would, produced a great sensation in America; and, as was also natural, has made the Cossack faction hang their heads.

This faction are *now reminded* of their rejoicings and their thanksgivings at the restoration of the Bourbons. The people of America have their eye upon all that passes here. They have well ob-

served the conduct of our government and our clergy as to the massacres of the Protestants in France, and as to the treatment of the Patriots in Spain. They will soon learn, that the French government is at work to restore what was called *the property of the Church*; that the Convents and Churches, which had been purchased by Protestants, and applied to the purposes of Protestant worship, have been taken from them, and that they are, as in the former times of the Bourbons, compelled to worship God in holes and corners. They will also learn, that all Protestant School-masters are put out of employ, and that Catholics supply their place. They will learn, in short, that, while an English and Cossack and Prussian and Austrian army are keeping the Bourbons on the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples and the Pope in his Chair, the persecution of Protestants, in all those countries, and every species of religious intolerance, is going on.

These facts will all be well known in America, where the fall of Napoleon will be, every day, more and more lamented, and, of course, where the Cossacks, who put up thanksgiving for that fall will be more and more despised. It will never do for them to say, that they did not *wish* for the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits and the Inquisition, and that they *lament* the murder and degradation of the Protestants of France. They *did wish* for all these, they *must* have wished for all these, because they did wish for the restoration of the *Bourbons*, under whom all these had formerly existed. But the Cossacks will, perhaps, say, that they *hoped*, that the Bourbons would become the patrons of civil and religious liberty. What *reason* had they to hope this? They *regretted* the *fall* of the Bourbons; and did they not, in that regret, express their approbation of the *former* government of those Bourbons? They thanked God for the restoration of the Bourbons without any *qualification*. They thanked God, as we see in parson Channing’s impious trash, that the sceptre of France was “now wielded *again* by a *benignant* sovereign, who would *heal her wounds*.” Yes! Her *wounds* have, indeed been *healed*, if murder and robbery be the means of healing.

Therefore, there is no apology for the



conduct of these Cossacks, and their affected *lamentation* at the sufferings of the French Protestants must, if possible, expose them to additional contempt. The Americans will learn that the City of London have just presented two addresses to the Prince Regent, the object of the first being to congratulate him on the **SUCCESSFUL** *termination of the war*, and that of the second being to beg of him to *interfere in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of France*. To this latter "His Royal Highness was pleased to return the following most *gracious answer*."—"The just sense entertained by his Majesty's subjects, of the value and importance of religious toleration, is necessarily calculated to excite in their minds strong feelings of uneasiness and regret, at any appearance of the want of it in other nations of the world.—In such feelings, *when called for and justified by the occasion*, I shall ever participate, and whilst I lament the circumstances which led to your Address, I derive great satisfaction from the persuasion, that they are in no degree to be attributed to an indisposition on the part of the Government of France, to afford to the freedom of religious worship, the benefit of its promised protection and support." And then the Citizens *kissed his hand*(A), and Mr. BELL, one of the Sheriffs, was *knighted*. It was a "most gracious answer," we are told; but, the Prince as good as told the Citizens, that he thought that the occasion did not call for, no, nor *justify*, a participation in their feelings, while he hinted at their having been guilty of *injustice* in supposing, that the Desired Louis, his brother Knight of the Holy Ghost, was at all to blame for what had happened. This, considering the circumstances, was a very gentle *rap upon the knuckles*; for, if I had been in the Prince's place, I should have said something in this way: "Oh! So you *congratulate* me, do you, on my having, by the means of the money and blood of the country, put down Napoleon and restored the Bourbons; and, in the same breath, you beseech me to interfere with those Bourbons in order to prevent the natural consequences of the restoration! Your *loyalty* and your *affection* for my Royal Father's person and family become you well.

"It is your duty to honour and obey us, and all that are put in authority under us. Go home, loving subjects; labour in the several states of life, to which it has pleased God to call you; continue to be loyal and obedient; pay your taxes cheerfully; but, keep your *vice* to yourselves." They might have kissed my hand, if they chose, but this is what I would have said to them.

It is not only foolish, but, unjust, to find fault of what is going on in France, unless, at the same time, we disapprove of the war and of its object. Those who approved of the war; those who applauded that which they call its "*glorious result*;" those who approve of the treatment of Napoleon; those who huzzaed the return of the Bourbons: all those have done their utmost to produce what is now going on in France; and, if they affect to lament over the murder of the Protestants, and the horrors now committing in Spain, France, and Italy, they are hypocrites, or, they are extremely foolish people. This latter character does not belong to the Cossacks of America, and, therefore, the former must.

These transactions, in Europe, as I have before observed, appear to have drawn away from the Cossack faction almost every man of honest intentions. What remains of the faction may be considered as implacable enemies of free government. Indeed, the Members of the *Hertford Convention*, that selection of Cossacks, appear to have fallen into a state of utter contempt even in New England. Mr. H. G. OTIS, who was a sort of leader of the Cossacks, and who has been, for a great many years, aspiring to be elected GOVERNOR of Massachusetts, has, upon the approach of an election for that office, *slunk away*, and (being a lawyer,) taken refuge *on the Bench*. He is safe there, perhaps, from being *displaced*, and compelled to *earn his bread*; but, though Mr. OTIS, the Judge, may be safe, Mr. OTIS of the *Hertford Convention* will, as long as he has breath, be the subject of censure, contempt, and ridicule. His friend, GOVERNOR STRONG (of Massachusetts) has *declined* offering himself again. These are sure and certain proofs of the discredit, into which the Cossacks have been thrown by their own wicked designs. Mr. DEXTER, whom I



remember as a very able lawyer, and who was a stout *Federalist*, is now the person proposed, *by the Republicans*, in the State of Massachusetts, to supply the place of Governor Strong. This is, with me, proof enough, that the character of the Federal Party is wholly changed; and, that, nearly all who remain attached to it are Cossacks. I told the Ministers, during the war, that the Cossack faction had *not* the support of the *people* of Massachusetts to the extent that it appeared to be supposed here. This truth is now evident; for all the eulogists of "the Bulwark" are falling into disgrace.

In the meanwhile, the Cossacks are becoming, in New England, more *religious* than ever. They are, as a correspondent observes, "*Offering up to God the Devil's 'Leavings.'*" It is the pity of the malefactor, just as the kind cord is about "to convey him to the Bosom of his 'Saviour,'" as the man, or, rather, the monster, said, who had committed the deliberate and unprovoked murder on his indulgent Master and Mistress, Mr. Bonar and his wife. But, this pious fit of GOVERNOR STRONG and his associates comes rather late. It comes after their thanksgivings for the restoration of the Old despotisms and persecutions in Europe; and, if religion, of *their sort*, improve them, all that I can say is, that it will be the first time that mankind ever beheld a similar effect produced by such a cause. The religious fit, however, has arisen from the circumstance of a great, and rather sudden, increase of the *Unitarians* in Massachusetts. This is by no means a trifling event in the history of the progress of the human mind. *Calvin* has had almost exclusive possession of New England, ever since the first settlement. *Priestly* appears to be giving the old *burner of Servetus* a blow, such as he never before received. It will be a curious thing, if, at last, the Devil and his imps and his brimstone should be laughed at in New England, the country above all others in the world, where they were most firmly believed in, except, indeed, those countries that have been buried in brutal superstition, under the sway of despots and monks. To give up the Devil seems a hard thing, after having so long believed in him. My friend, Mr. FORDHAM will remember with what zeal I resented an attack on the old gentleman's

authority, and he will conclude, of course, that I am now on the side of Governor Strong and the Cossacks, seeing that they are for the Devil. But, I beg Mr. Fordham's pardon. Though I certainly did call the Devil as the "*sheet anchor*," I am not bound to stick even to him in such company as the New England Cossacks.

It is supposed, that the New England part of the United States will, in general, choose Republican Governors and Members of Congress, in which case the cause of the Cossacks is completely done for. It is also expected, that Mr. MONROE, or Mr. ADAMS (who is now the American Minister in England), will be chosen *President* for the next four years. The election is held next autumn, and the new President enters on his office in the ensuing Spring. If Mr. MONROE should be elected, *four* Presidents out of the *five*, who will then have been chosen, will have been *Virginians*. WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE; Mr. ADAMS having been the only President chosen out of any other state. This has been purely *accidental*. The men who have been successively chosen from the State of Virginia *happened* to be the men of the greatest estimation in the Country. Yet this circumstance has been made a great handle of by the Cossacks, who have endeavoured, and, for a while, not wholly without success, to persuade the people of New England, that *Virginia* was making a *monopoly* of the Office of President. But, what a stupid thing it would be to make a law to *prevent* the same State from giving a President *twice running*, which, however, was actually proposed by the Sages of the *Hertford Convention*! Just as if the people should consent to a law to restrain them in their own choice! The President is the Chief Magistrate of the whole Union, and, of course, the people ought to preserve the right of looking through the whole Union for a man to fill that important office. What! because a fit man was found in a particular spot, last time, is the same spot to be prohibited this time? The Hertford Convention sent round their propositions to the Legislatures of the several States, in order to obtain their concurrence. The *answer* of the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania and of that of the State of New York were admirable, the latter for its spirited tone of indignant rejection, and the former for its close and powerful rea-

soning in language the most dignified and, at the same time, the most cutting. With the exception of the poems of Pope, I never read any thing, of which I should so much like to have been the author, as this answer of the State of Pennsylvania. Let any man compare this paper, penned in one of the State Legislatures of America; and, when he has compared it with the State Papers of our Ambassadors and Ministers, let him say whether Aristocracy has reserved to itself a monopoly of talent. I cannot help thinking how the Cossacks of the Hertford Convention must have *hung their heads*, while the answer of Pennsylvania was reading to them. A sword, run into the tenderest part of the body, would have been less painful to men of any sense of honour.

Mr. MONROE and Mr. ADAMS (the Minister in England,) who is the son of Mr. ADAMS the former President, are both firm friends of truly Republican Principles. It is of little consequence to the cause of freedom which of the two is elected; and, it is of little importance, perhaps, to themselves. For, as to *pecuniary gain*, there can be none; and, as to power and patronage, they are worth the possession of neither in any other light than as the means of doing good to their country. What a fine thing is it to see two men, Mr. ADAMS and Mr. JEFFERSON, now living in common life, after having been the Chief Magistrates of a country, which has a population and a trade nearly equal to those of England! Before they were Presidents, the former lived on his estate in Massachusetts and the latter on his estate in Virginia. To those estates, unaugmented, they have returned to spend the remainder of their lives. Was there ever any thing so honourable to the human mind as this sight? And, can we view it, without feeling indignation unutterable against the hired writers who have the audacity to say, that the order and happiness of society demand the subjection of the many to the will of the few? In about twelve months Mr. MADISON, whom our writers threatened to *depose*; whose deposition they insisted upon as a *sine qua non* of peace with America, will have finished his sacred Presidentship, and will have also retired to private life, after having seen his country restored to honourable peace, at the end of a most arduous struggle for the preservation of its rights and its freedom.

How it relieves one to turn one's eyes towards this scene, after having had them, for a while, fixed on those scenes of human degradation, which surround us in Europe! And how anxious ought we to be, that America may go on, under such a government, to grow in prosperity and in power! Power in such hands can never do harm, and may do infinite service to the whole civilized world. It is of vast importance, that we, *the people* of England, see this matter in its true light. What is there which ought to prevent us from living on terms of harmony and friendship with America? There is nothing but the base passions and private interests of the basest and most sordid of mankind. I know, that there is another description of men, very worthy men, who look at America with constant *jealousy*, as a country, that may, one day or other, *rival* England on the sea, at the bare thought of which they sicken. But, is there any sound sense in this? If we are fond of *Naval Glory*, how are we to have it, unless there be some power with a navy equal to our own? Who admires the Kite on account of his being able to keep the Linnets and Goldfinches in awe? The feeling of anxiety about distant danger to the power and fame of England is very laudable, though it be unfounded. But, it is an error which may lead to great evils on ourselves as well as on others. We have really put back the naval power of all Europe for an age. And, what have we got by it but the most shocking misery at home? Besides, there is no ground for the fear. England must *always* be a great nation. She may be reduced very low by her government, but, by one means or another, she will revive. Why, then, should we look with envy and jealousy at the rising power of a country so far from us, and so naturally, for a thousand reasons, prone to do us good instead of harm? The ties of language, of manners, of common ancestry, of similarity of common law and of forms of legal proceedings, of literary intercourse, are alone, without the connections of trade, more than a match for all the advantages, and all the professions and all the acts of friendship that all the other nations in the world can offer to either of the parties, and particularly to America, where there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of men, who hate our government as they hate the rattle-snake, and

who *think* they hate the English nation ; but, who really, if narrowly watched, discover a partiality for every thing English, without at all suspecting it themselves. This must be so, until human nature be changed, and that is a thing not so easily done as to make war, or peace.

However, if, in spite of the dictates of reason and justice, there be still persons in England to wish that America may be kept in a state so defenceless, as to be unable to defend herself against any act of hostility on the part of our government ; if this be still your wish, my dear John Bull, learn, for your punishment, that your wish will not be gratified. That fleet, which a saucy upstart called "half a dozen "fir frigates with some bits of striped "bunting at their mast heads" is becoming a fine Navy ; and, the Americans, so far from being divided upon this subject, dispute with each other the honour of having been the founders of this branch of their country's defence. The people of Boston quit their meeting-houses and cover the tops of their hills to see *their own* great ships bearing into their harbour. The scenes of their sea-fights during the last war form the subjects of the pictures that decorate the dwellings of the farmer and even of the labourer. Mr. CURWEN very wisely observed, the other night, that it would be good policy to abandon Canada ; to declare it independent, and leave it to itself. And, really, what can it be kept *for*, except as the means of kindling war, and of enjoying patronage ? Be this as it may, we may be well assured, that, on the *Lakes*, we never shall again be masters. We have no business there at all ; but, if we insist upon keeping Canada, it must, in case of another war, cost us a couple of hundreds of millions, and, for no earthly reason that I can possibly discover, other than those of war and patronage.

It was fully believed, in England, and by ninety-nine hundreds of the people, that, during the last war, all the battles ended in *our favour*. They did, indeed, hear of a frigate or two being taken by the Americans ; but then, they thought it was by a 74 gun ship that one of our frigates was subdued. They believed, that the Americans were *always* beaten by land ; that they were cowards, who ran away like so many sheep ; that, at New Orleans, in particular, we made mince meat of them ; and, why not be-

lieve this, when they saw, that a *monument* was voted in honour of Packenham, who commanded the land part of the expedition against New Orleans ? Besides, it was positively stated, in our newspapers, that we did gain the victory ; and, though the contrary, at last, sneaked out in the Official Gazette, it was put on the back-side of the news-papers, as much out of sight as possible. The Americans can hardly believe, that a people like the English can have been kept in such darkness. But, in a series of Numbers, which they have read, I hope, by this time, I have fully explained to them how this deception and hoodwinking is carried on.

But, John Bull, the point, upon which you were the most grossly and most fatally deceived, was the *grounds* of the late war with America. You were made to believe, that the President of America had, underhandedly, *made a league with Napoleon for the purpose of conquering England*. An impudent Attorney, a notoriously wholesale dealer in bribery and corruption, said, one day, in the hearing of several persons, that America, like an assassin, *attacked us in the dark*. (B) False and foolish as this was, it was the prevailing opinion. I will, therefore, John, in the next AMERICAN PACKET, tell you the real truth of this story once more. It is right that you should know it, and that you should be guarded against another quarrel and war ; for, you may be assured, that, if you persist in your hostility against America, you will get more and more disgrace. The Americans do not want to quarrel with us. They wish to live upon friendly terms with us. They know how to discriminate between a *people* and \* \* \* \* \*. But, if we will insist upon it, that the Americans shall be *kept down*, we shall bring upon ourselves chastisement, even more severe than that which we now feel.

I am, my dear John Bull, your friend,  
WM. COBBETT.

#### DEBATE ON CASH PAYMENTS.

(Continued from page 640.)

Mr. HORNER commenced a very luminous and talented reply, by declaring, that in any thing which he had advanced on this question, he had meant no personal disrespect to the Directors of the Bank, or to their organs in the House. He had

spoken of them merely collectively as a corporation, and considering them in that capacity, he had no hesitation in repeating that he put no confidence in their declarations, when they expressed an anxiety for the resumption of cash payments. He would not take up much of the time of the House, at that late hour, and therefore would forego the tempting opportunity of exposing the inconsistency of the arguments which had been urged in support of Restriction, by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, (Mr. Huskisson) who though he admitted the sound policy of a speedy resumption of cash payments, seemed by his speech to leave that question in the same state which it had been in for some years past. As to what had been said on the subject by the noble Lord (Castlereagh), he (Mr. H.) expressed his ignorance of the precise tendency. He would therefore, from inability, abstain from following him. The Noble Lord had thrown out such a mass of language and ideas, and had made such a novel combination of twisted expressions, [Hear, hear!] that it was difficult, in the many theories he urged, to understand that one which applied to the resumption of cash payments, or to the manner in which they might be most speedily effected. [Hear, hear, hear!]—It was possible that the Noble Lord had a thread which would guide him through the labyrinth of theory and phraseology into which he had gone, but as that thread was not visible to him (Mr. H.) he would not risk an entrance. [Hear, hear!]

The Honourable and Learned Member then took a view of arguments which had been urged on the other side of the House in favour of restriction, and observed, that if the expediency of the resumption of cash payment at the end of two years, which had been admitted, was put into the Bill—if it were made part of the Bill that the Bank should resume its payments in that time, and that the intermediate period should be spent in making preparatory arrangements for that purpose, he should withdraw his motion, and lend his aid to the forwarding of such arrangements. But he added, that this was not the intention of Ministers, and that by the present Bill they left the time of payment as undefined as it was in 1797. The Bank Directors had once expressed themselves anxious to attend to the directions of the

House; it therefore now became the House, if they sincerely wished for the resumption of cash payments, to give such directions as would most speedily conduce to that object, [Hear, hear!] He had asked of the Gentlemen opposite what were those fortunate circumstances under which cash payments would be more easy than at present? To this question no answer had been given. No one efficient reason had been given why those payments should not now be resumed—Under those circumstances then he put it to those Members who were present, whether after all they had heard they did not conscientiously believe that an inquiry was necessary. If after what had passed they did not vote for inquiry, they should stand to the consequences. The Honourable and Learned Member concluded his reply, of which we regret that from the lateness of the hour we have only given a faint outline, by stating, that if the Committee on the Bill were pressed that night, he should move some clauses, in consequence of what had fallen from the Noble Lord (Castlereagh).

Mr. HUSKISSON and Mr. HORNER explained. The House then divided, when there appeared,

For the motion, 73; against it, 146.

Majority, 73.

#### PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

(May 23, 1816.)

Sir S. ROMILLY rose, in pursuance of notice, to bring this subject under the consideration of the House. He had waited for some time in the hope that there would have been no occasion for such a motion as that which he was now about to propose to the House; but, considering the impression which had been made throughout the whole country, it appeared to him that it would be extremely to be lamented if the session were to pass over without any notice having been taken of the subject. Reports had reached this country of dreadful acts of riot, violence, and oppression in the southern departments of France; they had made a deep impression upon the public; public meetings were called; resolutions were formed, subscriptions were opened with that liberality which had always characterized the British nation; and the House would recollect the progress that was making in the public feelings, when a sudden turn took

place, and the face of affairs was changed. Although these meetings had not taken place without a previous communication being had on the subject with his Majesty's Ministers, yet those meetings were discouraged, and he was most sorry to have seen that a very successful turn was given to that meritorious course of proceeding. In a letter written by the Duke of Wellington to one of these meetings, his Grace had said, that he felt satisfied that every thing possible had been done on the part of the French Government to prevent these disturbances; that the King of France had extended his protection to his subjects of all persuasions, and had secured them in the exercise of their religious rights. The effect of that letter was very strong upon the minds of the people. The Common Council of the City of London had considered this subject, and had voted an address to the Prince Regent: much delay occurred in its presentation, and although his Royal Highness had said that it could be received by him on any occasion on his arrival in London, that occasion had never arrived, and the address had never been presented. He was not bringing this question forward to criminate his Majesty's ministers; and he most sincerely assured the House, that he had not such an opinion of them as to believe, that if they had been acquainted with what had really taken place, or had seriously considered what the interposition of the French government amounted to, and had known in what manner it had been demonstrated, they would have acted as they had done. He never could think that it could have been in human nature to have conducted themselves in such a manner, if they had known the real facts of the case. All that he imputed to his Majesty's ministers was, that they had too credulously believed, and too lightly judged upon, all the stories they had received. He could also assure the House, if indeed it were necessary, that in introducing this matter to its consideration he was actuated by no party or personal feelings, but by motives of justice and humanity to an injured and disheartened people; and after having received information from various quarters, after having had the means of conversing with many persons that had been on the spot, he did think it would have been a dereliction of the duty he owed to oppressed and in-

jured individuals, had he not drawn the attention of the House to the subject.— The letter of the Duke of Wellington had been published at Nismes, and was scattered about the town with the greatest joy and exultation by the Catholics; but it filled the Protestants with the utmost consternation: it took from the oppressors the only restraint imposed upon them, and from the oppressed their last hope. So completely were they oppressed, that they were looked upon as mere slaves, under the control, and subject to the passions, of an enraged master — without hope, without comfort, and without relief. In considering, then, this important subject, there were three principal questions to be discussed: 1st, whether any and what punishment had been inflicted on these murderers and assassins; 2dly, whether these offences had been committed against law and nature from political or religious motives; and, 3dly, whether the French government had afforded any protection to the injured. Unless these three questions were considered, it would be impossible to give a distinct idea of the disgraceful transactions which had taken place in the department of the Gard, to which the distressing scenes were almost wholly confined. There could be no doubt that there had been a most unjust persecution of the Protestants in the south of France, and that Nismes was the principal scene of horror and of bloodshed; but in order that the subject might be fully comprehended by the house, it would be necessary for him to put it in possession of the situation in which the Protestants were placed previous to the restoration of his present Majesty Louis XVIII. on the throne of France. The department of the Gard was the first part of France, and, he believed, of Europe, where the doctrines of the reformed religion were promulgated; and it was in the mountains of the Cevennes that, in the 12th century, heresy, as it was then termed, first took its root, distinguished by the piety of the doctrines of those who professed it. In this situation they remained unmolested to the time of the Reformation; but by the unhappy communication between the leaders of the two parties at the latter end of the reign of Francis I. a dreadful destruction of the Protestants took place at Aix. This was the first appearance of that bitter animosity which afterwards spread devas-

tation throughout the whole of France, and the commencement of those dreadful wars between the Hugonots and Catholics, so disgraceful to human nature. At last religious peace was restored under the reign of Henry IV. when the Protestants enjoyed the most perfect liberty. Nismes was then the city to which the Protestants resorted. So matters rested until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when those bloody orders were issued, the object of which was to convert the whole province of the Gard by a regiment of dragoons. The face of things was immediately changed; all France became a Catholic country, and not a Protestant was to be seen in it. In the time of Louis XIV. and XV. the Protestants again began to rear up their heads; and of so novel a description were they, that the term of "*les nouveaux convertis*" was applied to them. Proceeding in his statement of the grievances under which the Protestants laboured, the Honourable Gentleman mentioned that it had been stated as an instance of comparative lenity by one writer, that from the year 1745 to 1770 only eight of their Ministers were hanged. In all this period their marriages were declared null, their children of 14 years old, who professed the Catholic religion, were taken from the care of their parents: instances might be mentioned of husbands being sent to the galley for marrying according to the Protestant forms, and their wives to a receptacle of prostitutes. Such by law was the condition of the Protestants in France—ameliorated, no doubt, by the increasing toleration of the age. Louis XVI. had the distinguished merit of remedying many of those grievances from the earliest years of his reign. There were extant memorials presented to him by the lamented M. Malesherbe, and others, on this subject; and their remaining grievances would, doubtless, have been removed by that unfortunate sovereign, had not his throne been overthrown by the torrent of the revolution, amidst his wishes to establish a constitutional liberty. One of the first acts of the revolution was to restore the Protestants to a perfect equality of privileges. They were declared admissible to all civil offices without distinction; and one of their Ministers, Rabaut St. Etienne, was president of the national assembly. The Protestants, with the feelings natural to

men, could not but applaud and admire a work by which they were raised, from being outcasts in society, and from a state of degradation and infamy, to that of citizens with equal rights. This, however, had been objected to them by some persons as matter of reproach; but he trusted he should be able to show, to the satisfaction of the House, that all that had been said of their being revolutionists and Bonapartists in a peculiar degree was perverted and misrepresented. He would assert, that in those scenes of horror which soon disgraced the progress of the revolution, not one Protestant was found to be an actor. Of course he must here be supposed to speak generally, as far as his information extended. He acknowledged, indeed, that some of them who were members of the convention voted for the death of the king, but all of them with the addition of the appeal to the people, which, if not displaying due firmness, at least discovered their wish to save the monarch. There was not one Protestant member of the revolutionary tribunal of the department of the Gard; and of the 130 persons who were guillotined by its orders at Nismes, more than 100 were Protestants, though the Protestants formed only about one third of the population. He might say, that amidst the horrors of the revolution they were always found on the side of moderation and justice. He did not speak this invidiously, but, as was usual in a sect which formed the minority, many of whom were opulent, greater regularity of conduct and correctness of morals were generally found to prevail. The Protestants being thus restored to the rank of citizens, all religious animosities seemed to subside in the south of France. In 1802, Bonaparte, being then First Consul, procured the enactment of a law which placed their religion precisely on the same footing with the Catholic faith in point of establishment and privilege. Could it be matter of reproach to them that they were grateful for this favour?—it was not possible but that they must have felt attachment to him for it. Hence, however, it was deemed proper by some that they should be stigmatized as Bonapartists. There was no foundation for the assertion that any partiality was shown to them by Bonaparte. There was not one Protestant prefect or commandant of department appointed by him; none of them

filled the tribunals of justice; and probably one reason of this might be, that before the revolution they were not allowed to follow the profession of the law. It was not improbable, however that the circumstance of the Protestants being thus placed on a level with their former masters might excite a rankling jealousy in the latter, which would break out on the first convenient opportunity. This state of things continued until Louis XVIII. was restored to his kingdom in April 1814. At this period Bonaparte had become odious to the Protestants at Nismes, both from the weight of taxation with which they were loaded, and from the incessant demands of the conscription. The taxes fell with peculiar hardship on the Protestants, as, generally speaking, there was more property in their hands; and leading, as they generally did, retired domestic lives, the conscription, which tore from them their children, was peculiarly felt by them as a hardship of the greatest severity. He believed that the Protestants were, under these circumstances, unanimous in the joy which they expressed on the restoration of Louis XVIII. Unfortunately, however, during the course of the preceding ten months, a considerable change of opinion took place. Persons who had been long absent returned with their old prejudices, and the lower orders of the people began to threaten the Protestants, who conceived on their part that there was a strong tendency to go back to the old regime. They were not much alarmed by the circumstance of the charter issued by Louis, declaring the Catholic the established religion of France, because the other guards which it afforded appeared sufficient to protect their rights: they could not forget also that the King had just returned from a residence in a land of Protestants, where he must have witnessed the effects of religious toleration; and they looked forward to a season of tranquillity and enjoyment. But circum-

stances soon compelled them to change their ideas. They were insulted by the populace on the ground of their religion; songs were sung publicly in the streets of Nismes, in which they were threatened with the renewal of the horrors of St. Bartholomew; gibbets were drawn on their doors. In this situation of things, Bonaparte suddenly made his appearance in France in the month of March 1815. It was a trying occurrence for the Protestants at Nismes: but uniting with the established authorities, they declared their determination to support the government. He had in his possession the original declaration to this effect made at Nismes on the 13th of March last year, and which was signed by the principal Protestants, the five Catholic clergy, and three Protestant Ministers of the town. The list of Protestants who signed it was greater in proportion to their respective numbers than that of the Catholics. It contained an expression of the warmest attachment to the government of the King, and called upon the people of the department for their support. Soon after this the Duke d'Angoulême fixed his head-quarters at Nismes, and here it was alledged that the Protestants did not join the Duke with much alacrity. They were in truth deterred from so acting by the previous alarm which had been excited among them, and perhaps it was not surprising that they did not zealously join the Duke's army. Some of them, however, offered their sons to join him. On the 3d of April the authority of Bonaparte was declared in the town of Nismes: the few soldiers in the garrison there were called out, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur*. It had been represented, that during the second reign of Bonaparte, acts of the greatest violence were committed by the Protestants; and that when Nismes again became a royal town on the 17th of July, the atrocities which ensued were merely retaliative.

(To be Continued.)

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXX. No. 22.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1816. [Price 1s.  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.]

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TO THE  
ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

*On the subject of choosing, in case of a vacancy, a Member to be the Colleague of Sir Francis Burdett.*

Batley, 28th May, 1816.

GENTLEMEN,—We are now all well convinced, that the real cause of the evils, with which our country is afflicted, is the want of a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament; and, therefore, it becomes our duty to take into our serious consideration what we ourselves ought to do in order to assist in the producing of such reform. It becomes us, too, to enter upon this consideration *in time*. What man is there, who, in his private concerns, puts off to the last moment, the preparation for the adopting of any step, which he deems essential to his prosperity or happiness? And, therefore, if we deem parliamentary reform essential to the prosperity and happiness of England, do we act the part of good and true Englishmen, if we neglect to consider and to discuss, while there is time for consideration and discussion, what measures we ought to adopt, and that are within our power, for the restoration of those blessings to our country?

There are various ways in which you are able to serve this great national cause; but, in no way so effectually, as by a just and judicious exercise of your right of choosing your representatives in Parliament, which right you and you alone really and practically possess; and, it being, in my opinion, of the utmost consequence to the success of the cause of reform, that your next choice of a person to have the honour of representing you and

of being the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett should be fixed on a man the most fit in the whole kingdom, I have thought it my duty to address you upon the subject.

As an introduction to the remarks which it is my intention to submit to you, and, indeed, as the grounds on which those remarks have appeared to me to be the more pressingly called for, I will first state, in as brief and clear a manner as I am able, certain circumstances which came to light at the recent celebration of the anniversary of the glorious triumph of principle over corruption in the City of Westminster.

That triumph, Gentlemen, was so complete; it was, as Mr. Windham, in a speech in the House of Commons, confessed it to be, so “unmixedly meritorious;” it was, in itself, so honourable, and, in its effects, so beneficial to our country, that I always feel respect and gratitude towards those who in any degree, distinguished themselves on that memorable occasion. And, if I now am compelled to call in question the conduct of any of the individuals to whom I allude, I beg you clearly to understand, that I impute that conduct, by no means to evil intention, but to error. Of the political errors of *others*, I am well aware that it becomes nobody to speak with more lenity than myself; for, though justice has been seldom done to me in this respect, I shall, I hope, never think of denying justice in return.

Being invited as a guest to the Dinner on the 23rd of May, I went, as requested by letter, to the private room of the Stewards, where I saw the *List of Toasts*, which had been prepared by the managing committee. I need not tell you, Gentlemen, that Toasts, upon such occasions,

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contain opinions, well weighed beforehand, and intended to go forth as the solemnly promulgated sentiments of the meeting. It is, therefore, of the greatest consequence, not only that the sentiments be sound, but, that, if particular persons be placed at the head of them, the names of these persons should stand on the List in the Order in which the persons themselves stand, as public men, in the estimation of the Meeting.

On the list, of which I am now speaking, stood, first, "*The People*;" next, "*the King*," and then "*the Princess Charlotte*," with an appropriate sentiment subjoined to each. Next came "*Sir Francis Burdett*," and after him "*Lord Cochrane*," the two representatives of the City of Westminster. Thus far all was unexceptionable; but, what was my surprise upon seeing the next in order, "*HENRY BROUGHAM, Esq. the enlightened advocate of the people's rights!*" This surprise, however, was soon changed into indignation, when, after a long list of Toasts, and some, too, at best, of very trifling import, I found almost at the very bottom of the List, and even after the name of Mr. Curwen, who was one of the first to "rally round" Perceval in order to send Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower under the escort of a regiment of guards; when, even after *this* name, I found that of Major Cartwright! The venerable and venerated Major Cartwright; the *real* advocate of the people's rights; he who has literally spent a life in advocating those rights; he to whom we owe more, perhaps, than to any other human being, the still existence of sound constitutional principles; the man who is beloved by every friend of freedom who ever heard the sound of his name, and of whom even its bitterest foes dare not, for their own character's sake, speak with disrespect; the man, whom Sir Francis Burdett, during his admirable speech, in an hour afterwards, distinguished by way of excellence

as "*the honest, true-hearted Englishman!*"

Gentlemen, I am afraid, that my conduct and language, upon making this discovery were not precisely such as sober reason would have dictated even under circumstances so irritating. I will, therefore, not detain you by a detail of that, to which I look back with no pleasing sensations, but will proceed to the result, which was, that, in consequence of a declaration, that, if my tongue did not fail its office, I never would, in silence, sit in the room and hear the name of any man living toasted, after the two Members, before Major Cartwright, Mr. Brougham's name was taken out, and that of "*the honest, true-hearted Englishman*" introduced in its stead, and in that amended order the name of the latter was given at the dinner.

Yet (and at this you will be astonished), the List of the Toasts, as originally drawn up, was afterwards sent for publication, and was *actually published* in the *ADVERTISER*, which it is well known, I believe, has the greatest circulation of any daily paper in London; and this, too, notwithstanding the toast of Mr. BROUGHAM was *never given at all*, he having, long after the company had dined, sent an apology for not attending.

Thus by the means of *somebody*, I do not pretend to say of whom, a very gross misrepresentation of the proceedings of the meeting was sent forth to the public, and this misrepresentation, too, upon points of the greatest consequence. Through the means of this publication, a meeting of, I believe, about four hundred gentlemen, assembled together from all parts of England, and some from Scotland and Ireland, having Sir Francis Burdett as Chairman, stand exhibited to the nation at large, as having placed Mr. Brougham the first in public merit after the Members for Westminster, and as having preferred even Mr. Curwen before Major Cartwright!

Why, Gentlemen, were there no other

motive than that of rescuing a meeting, at which I was present, from such foul disgrace, that motive alone would be sufficient to call forth this address. But, there are other motives, and those much more powerful, by which I am actuated upon the present occasion, and which will induce me to cast aside all reserve of every description.

I had, for sometime, known, that it was the intention of certain persons, who have been active in Westminster, to endeavour to promote the views of Mr. Brougham, which evidently were to obtain a seat for that City; and, the Toast before mentioned, especially when I looked at the order in which it stood, appeared to me to be a complete confirmation of what I had heard upon the subject. You will please also to bear in mind the curious circumstances attending Mr. Brougham's, appearance at, and disappearance from, the last meeting in Palace Yard. All the persons, who were present at that numerous meeting, know, that Mr. Brougham was formally announced and introduced to the Meeting by Mr. Wishart; and, that the Meeting were informed by the last-mentioned gentleman, that they would be *presently addressed by Mr. Brougham*. He did not name Mr. Brougham here; but, the description and allusion were too plain to be misunderstood. In short, it was clear, that this occasion had been fixed on for the purpose of *introducing Mr. Brougham to you* as a preliminary to further proceedings, which scheme was defeated in the manner, which I will presently describe.

Before the Meeting in Palace Yard took place, a meeting had been held by a *Committee* to settle upon what should be moved and urged at the Palace Yard Meeting. At this meeting of the Committee *Mr. Brougham himself attended*; and, which I beg you to bear in mind, there was agreed upon, while he was present, a *Re-*

*solution*, to be moved at Palace Yard, containing an expression of *the thanks of the people of Westminster to the Opposition Members for their having supported the rights of the people*. Upon this resolution's passing (of which the framers had no doubt), Mr. Brougham was, of course, to come forward and address the people in return.

Therefore, when the Resolution was *moved*, he stood ready for the performance of his part of the ceremony. But, to the utter discomfiture of the whole project, Mr. Hunt came forward, and *opposed* the motion of thanks, which motion, when put to the vote, you *negatived* without one single dissenting voice. Mr. Brougham, however, did not wait for the *decision*. Mr. Hunt had not half finished the statement of his objections to the vote of thanks, when Mr. Brougham thought proper to *withdraw*; or, more properly speaking, to *decamp*.

Now, Gentlemen, it is necessary that we call to mind, that since the meeting in Palace Yard, it has been stated in the newspapers, that Lord Castlereagh has, in the House of Commons, taunted Mr. Brougham with this mark of the people's disapprobation, and especially with the *precipitate retreat* from your presence; and, the newspapers have also informed us, that Mr. Brougham, asserted, in answer, 1st, that the *only* objection made to him, was, that he was a *lawyer*; and, 2nd, that he did not appear at the Palace Yard Meeting with *any intention to speak*, he *not being an elector of Westminster*!

Gentlemen, I should be sorry to impute wilful falsehood to any person of respectability, and more particularly to a person, of Mr. Brougham's great talents. But, how are we to account, then, for Mr. Wishart's *announcing Mr. Brougham* to the meeting? How are we to account for his telling the meeting to expect to *hear* that gentleman *speak*? How are we to account for Mr.

Brougham's going upon the hustings, erected for the use of the speakers? How are we to account for Mr. Brougham's attending the previous Committee of arrangement, at which Mr. Wishart also attended, and to attend at which required him to be an elector as much, or more, than to speak required it? In short, it would be to trifle with you; it would be to insult your understandings, to pretend to believe, that the whole thing was not prepared for the introduction of Mr. Brougham's speech, as much as any piece was ever prepared for exhibition at a theatre. And yet, if the report of the debate in the House of Commons be correct, Mr. Brougham did assert, that he went to that Meeting *without any intention to speak!*

The scheme having, however, been frustrated here, the misled friends of Mr. Brougham seem to have resolved on making another effort at the dinner of the 23rd. I was, therefore, particularly attentive to what I saw going on for this purpose; and, the scheme was, as you have seen, once more blown to air. But, seeing that it might again be revived; seeing the parties so pertinacious, I thought it my duty not to let slip the occasion of respectfully offering my opinion to the company upon the subject of their choice (in case of a vacancy) of a gentleman to be the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett. And, in order to avoid the possibility of being misunderstood, and, if possible of being misrepresented, I put my opinion upon paper, in the form of distinct propositions, which paper I read to the meeting, or company, in the following words:

"That it is now manifest to all men, that the evils, under which our country labours, arise solely from the want of a Constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.

"That, assembled, as we are, to celebrate the triumph of purity of election in this city, it becomes us to think seriously,

"and *betimes*, on what we ourselves ought to do, in order further to aid the cause of Reform, whenever an opportunity for that purpose shall offer.

"That the City of Westminster, since its emancipation from the thralldom, in which it was held by the intrigues of a crafty Oligarchy, and particularly after the admirable manner in which they chose the Honourable Baronet who now fills the chair, has been deservedly looked up to by the rest of the nation, as the source of sentiments to be held, and of actions to be imitated.

"That, therefore, it is of the utmost importance, that, in no part of the conduct of the electors of Westminster there should be any thing, in the smallest degree, equivocal; and that, more especially in their choice of a person to be the future colleague of the Honourable Baronet, their conduct should be such as to leave not the smallest doubt in the mind of any human being, that the Citizens of Westminster will never rest satisfied with any thing short of a full and fair representation and annual Parliaments.

"That we ought to feel, as to this great national cause, the same degree of earnestness and anxiety, that we feel for the success of any weighty private concern; that when we wish to preserve our property or our lives, we resort to the aid of the lawyer and the physician whom we deem most likely to effect the purpose in view, wholly casting aside all considerations of delicacy, all the ties of private intercourse and of friendships; and that, unless the electors of Westminster, in the case contemplated, entertain and act upon, the same sort of earnestness and anxiety, the cause of Reform must materially suffer.

"That, if a man can be found, whose attachment to the cause of Reform can no more admit of doubt than can the ex-



"istence of the sun ; whose zeal and perseverance in that cause surpass all that was ever heard of, of those qualities, in any other man ; whose experience, knowledge, and talents, as applied to this subject, stand wholly unrivalled ; and, if to these it be added, that he is an English gentleman, born and bred, of fortune independent and of character perfectly spotless ; if such a man can be found, who will say, that such a man ought not to be chosen ? And, who will say, that such a man is not found in Major Cartwright ?

"That, as to the effect of this choice (leaving aside the indulgence of those feelings of gratitude which we all entertain) it would set a great and striking example to the country ; it would give the Oligarchy a blow that would make it hang its head abashed ; it would enable the venerable champion of Reform to meet its enemies face to face ; it would waft on the wings of even the hired part of the press those facts and principles, which, in spite of all his exertions, are now confined by a partial and narrow calculation ; and, if even a few years (for he has courage to hear the calculation) should deprive us of him for ever, they will, at any rate, have been so many years of glory to the cause, and so many years of shame and confusion to its foes."

This paper, which was read by me just after Major Cartwright had spoken, had been written about two hours before the dinner, but had been shown to nobody, and I never had mentioned the subject to Major Cartwright in my life. It was not intended to propose the paper as *Resolutions* to be adopted by the Meeting. I merely read it, after a short introduction, as the expression of my own deliberate opinion ; and, I was happy to perceive, that it contained an expression of the opinion of the Meeting, signified by its unqualified approbation. During the re-

maining part of the evening, after the Chairman and Major Cartwright had retired, a Gentleman asked me to give him a copy of the paper, in order to his having it published. Having no copy, I gave him the original, which has not been returned to me. But I can safely trust my memory for every sentiment ; and, I believe, for every word.

Now, Gentlemen, though I cannot more clearly express my opinion than I have done it in this paper, as to *who ought to be chosen*, the occasion calls for some remarks as to *who ought not to be chosen* ; and, I have no scruple to say, that Mr. Brougham ought not to be chosen on any account. I object to him, in the first place, because he is a lawyer, practising at the bar. In the long list of lawyers, who have, during this king's long, *very long*, reign, been members of parliament, there has not been *one*, who, first or last, has not become a hearty feeder upon the taxes, in one character or another. After *fifty-four years of experience* in this way, you *must* believe, that nothing short of a real, bona fide *miracle* could possibly produce an exception in favour of Mr. Brougham ; that is to say (as Wilberforce said the other night), nothing short "of the immediate interposition of Divine Providence," for this especial purpose.

But, Gentlemen, this, though, in my opinion quite sufficient, is not the only, nor is it the greatest, objection to Mr. Brougham as a member for Westminster. This objection is immovable, unless Mr. Brougham will throw off the gown and wig ; for, it is impossible to believe, that the *same cause*, be it what it may ; be it ambition, be it love of money, be it love of fame, be it love of power, be it rivalry ; it is impossible to believe, that the same cause, which can induce a man to retain the wig and gown, when he well knows that they are a ground of suspicion as to his political fidelity, will not continue to operate, and that it will not,

first or last, place him upon the list of tax-eaters, who must of *necessity* be enemies of a Reform of Parliament. It is impossible for me to say how much of *the taxes* go directly into the hands of lawyers; but, when you consider the long list of lawyers who are employed by the government, I do not think you can estimate the sum at less than *two millions of pounds a year*; a mass of temptation too great for frail mortals to resist, while they have gowns upon their backs and wigs upon their heads.

Besides, what *proof*: no, I will not ask what proof Mr. Brougham has ever given of his attachment to the cause of Reform; I will ask what *symptom* he has ever given of such attachment? He has had many opportunities of distinctly declaring his sentiments upon this subject; but, upon no occasion, in the House or out of it, has he ever declared himself resolved to pursue a Reform of the House of Commons. Never has he given any *pledge*; never has he made any *promise*; never has he, upon this subject, uttered a clear and *unequivocal opinion*. But, on the contrary, he has *spoken* and *written* AGAINST a Reform, such as Sir Francis Burdett and you wish to see adopted. These speeches and writings would, of themselves, weigh nothing at all with me, if he had *now* come manfully forward, and, acknowledging his past errors, declared his opinion to have been changed, and his conviction, from experience, that a Reform ought to take place. I bring no charge against him on account of what he said or what he wrote, upon this subject, four years ago. He is now four years older than he was then. Men live to grow wiser. Stocks and Stones, in the shape of men, never, indeed, fall into error; but, then, of what *use* are Stocks and Stones to the cause of Reform, or any other cause, which demands mind and talent? But, from Mr. Brougham you have had no declaration of an altered way of thinking; and, if he were now to be cho-

sen by you, he would be perfectly at liberty to *oppose* Sir Francis Burdett and all the Petitioners for Reform, even including yourselves.

But, though Mr. Brougham has made no declaration of his change of opinion upon the subject of Reform, he appears to me to have made, by his conduct as to other matters, a pretty clear discovery of the use to which he would apply the weight which he would acquire from being chosen by you. I could mention a dozen, but I will content myself with one instance, which has occurred, during the present session of parliament; and that is, that he gave his decided approbation to the Bills, brought in by Castlereagh, to *make legal* the transporting and imprisoning of Napoleon, whom Mr. Brougham himself acknowledged to be a *prisoner of war*. He asserted, upon this occasion, that *all the nation approved of this part of the conduct of the Ministers*. Was this true, Gentlemen? Did you approve of that conduct? No; for you petitioned, in the most earnest language, against interfering to force the Bourbons upon the French people: and what were the transporting and imprisonment of Napoleon but a part, and a very essential part too, of the measure of forcing the French people to submit to that Family, which they had twice cast out? You are well convinced, that Napoleon was really the object of the French People's choice; you are convinced that he still *is* the object of their choice; you see a large foreign army kept up in France, partly at our own expence, to prevent the Bourbons from being chased out a third time; you see the scaffolds in France streaming with the blood of a people who cry out for Napoleon's return; you see, that all the cruelties of despotism and persecution have, over one half of Europe, followed closely upon the heels of that fall of Napoleon which was effected by immense German armies, subsidised by us; and, while you have all these

objects, before your eyes, while your hearts are filled with anguish for the sufferers and with indignation against those who have been the cause of the suffering, you hear Mr. Brougham assert, that the *whole nation* approve of the act which was intended to consummate, and put the seal upon, that series of deeds, by which those sufferings have been produced ! And yet, there are persons weak enough to hope, that you can be prevailed upon to choose this very Mr. Brougham as the *colleague of Sir Francis Burdett* !

Gentlemen, Mr. Brougham is reported to have said, upon the occasion here referred to, that the transportation and imprisonment of Napoleon were justified by the *law of nations*. Mr. Brougham is a lawyer ; and I challenge Mr. Brougham here, seeing that he did not give me an opportunity of challenging him at the anniversary Dinner, to produce from *any* writer on the law of nations, a single precedent, a single fact, a single rule, maxim, principle, or opinion, which, if fairly stated or interpreted, will justify, or apologize for, this ever-memorable deed. He acknowledged Napoleon to have been a *prisoner of war*. Well, Gentleman, and did he not cease to be a prisoner of war as soon as the war was at an end ? It is said that *his government* did not demand his release. But, did that circumstance authorize us to detain, and even to transport him ? Did it authorize us, too, to seize on his private property, and even to deny him any correspondence and any thing to read, except what our Ministers should approve of ? If, at the close of a war, prisoners made during that war be not demanded by their government, they become free at once, and may go whither they please. Our *Alien Law* would have enabled the Ministers to refuse him a residence here ; but, by the law of Nations and the law of England he was at liberty to go to any other country that he chose. If we may transport and imprison for life

prisoners of war not demanded by their government, why may we not hang and quarter them ? If this circumstance gives us a right to deprive them of their liberty and property, why not to deprive them of life ? Suppose, that, at the close of the next war with France, Sir Francis Burdett, by some accident, should happen to be a prisoner of war in that country, and that the Ministers should not think proper to demand his release ; are you ready to allow, that the Bourbons would have a right to transport and keep him a guarded prisoner on a rock for life ; and, moreover, to seize the property they might find in his possession and to cut him off from all correspondence and all means of knowing what was passing in the world ? Are you ready to allow this ? No : you feel your blood boil at the idea. Yet, according to the principle of Mr. Brougham, the Bourbons would have a right to act thus towards the Honourable Baronet.

So far from its being true, that the *whole nation* approved of this measure, the fact is, that a very great majority of the sound and enlightened part of the nation decidedly disapproved of it ; and, as you well know, that, greatly to their honour, the *Duke of Sussex* and *Lord Holland* entered and recorded their solemn protest against it. But, if Mr. Brougham could, by his conduct upon this occasion, secure the approbation of the weak, the timid, whose alarms had deprived them of the power to be just ; if he could, as to this great point, side with the Oligarchy ; and, if he could, at the same time, by his blandishments and intrigues, prevail so far over the minds of a well-meaning Committee as to induce them to work in the paving of his way to a seat for Westminster ; if he could do all these, at one and the same time, his prospect of the Attorney-Generalship, and, perhaps, of the post of Prime Minister, was as fair as heart could wish. But, Gentlemen, passing over his direct opposition to the motion of Sir

Francis for receiving a petition against the Scotch Judge; his expression, during his speech on the Liberty of the Press, that *there wanted only one or two little improvements* to make our present practical constitution *perfect*; and his occasional compliments to *Castlereagh*; passing over these and many other objectionable things, with which I will not weary you, is it to be tolerated, that any body shall propose to you to choose this gentleman as the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett?

In this gentleman it is impossible to discover any thing but great ability, without any fixed principle as to the object that you have in view; without any pledge, any declaration, any even the smallest security, or ground of hope, that that ability will not be employed *against*, instead of *for*, the efforts of Sir Francis Burdett and yourselves in the cause of Reform; and with recent instances before you of active and strenuous support of deeds hostile to every principle of general freedom and of common justice; adding thereto that long experience bids even the most credulous to take warning against him barely on account of the profession, to which he belongs, and which, out of hundreds of thousands, has never yet, in our country, produced one single politician firm in attachment to the liberties of the people. In Major Cartwright, on the contrary, what do we behold? Not only a man, whose efforts in the cause *have been* the efforts of a life; towards whom for us not to feel the highest possible degree of gratitude would pronounce us to be almost unworthy of the name of men; not only a man to whom we are *already* so much indebted, for I will here leave the *past* wholly out of the question; but a man on whose political integrity and courage we can always safely rely; whose principles are as well known to us and are as dear to our hearts as is the name of England itself; who has no other care upon his mind than that which arises out of his anxiety for

his country's freedom; who has no other object in view than that of accomplishing the restoration of that freedom; who is secure against temptation of every kind that corruption can imagine; whose purity of character, whose generosity of sentiment, whose inflexible adherence to justice, whose unconquerable perseverance, whose knowledge and whose talents mark him out as the man worthy of being the associate of "Westminster's Pride and England's Hope."

To such a man what can be objected? What can be discovered as a reason for his not being, as the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett, preferred before *any* other man? I have never heard but one reason even *hinted* at, and that is *his age*. Age is never urged as an objection to *kings*, seldom to Generals, Admirals, Chancellors, or Ministers. Age is not, as to the capacities of man, to be reckoned merely by *number of years*. Some men are much older, in this respect, at fifty, and even at forty, than Major Cartwright is at seventy-five. In this, the only true way of estimating, as to our present purpose, Mr. BARON MASERES, who is *eighty-five*, is much younger than many men are at *fifty*. He performs all his duties as Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, which duties are various and important, with as much regularity and in every respect as well, as he performed those of Attorney-General in Canada fifty years ago. Few men in England write, or speak, with more fluency, more precision, or more force; to which I take this opportunity of adding, that very few indeed have acted, as to politics, so disinterested, or, in any respect, so honourable a part. Degenerate and base as the times are, there are still some worthy men left in England; and, if their names should ever be collected, that of *Maseres* will certainly occupy a prominent place.

If it could, with truth, be said, that the mind of the great champion of Reform

had begun to discover any symptoms of feebleness, or that his body had relaxed in its part of its necessary exertions; if either his pen or his tongue had begun to falter; even *then* I would say, let us hasten to avail ourselves of what remains of his valuable life. But, such is not the case. If we look at the latest productions of his pen; if we listen to the last speech from his lips; if we keep in view his daily and almost hourly exertions: every thing tells us, that he unites what we so seldom see united, the wisdom of age with the vigour of youth. Besides, if age has its disadvantages, it has also its advantages. To treat age with disrespect is always a proof of an unfeeling and profligate mind; and, when to the circumstance of age is added that of unblemished character, they, of themselves, have a weight of no inconsiderable importance.

After all, however, the main consideration, is, the *effect* which would be produced in favour of the cause of Reform by the election of Major Cartwright. It would show to the whole kingdom; to the enemies of Reform as well as to its friends, that Westminster was resolved never to yield this great point. The enemies of Reform, in the House, would have to contend with two instead of one; and, that additional one having nothing else to do in the world but to combat against them. I defy the press, in spite of its hireling character, to suppress, or to prevent the effect of, the speeches, to which the House must and would listen. The nature of the subject would thus become better understood; men would more frequently have it in their mouths; a new and great interest would be excited. The bare circumstance of carrying the veteran patriot down to the House upon the heads of two hundred thousand men would be a demonstration of public discernment, public spirit, and public resolution, that would make corruption hang her head; and most sincerely do I believe, that,

after such a demonstration, the cause of the people would speedily be crowned with success; and that our liberties, our peace, prosperity and happiness would be established upon a sure and lasting foundation, and that, too, without any assault, or any encroachment, on the rights of the Church, the Nobles, or the King.

Having thus expressed my conviction, that such would be the effect of the step which I have taken the liberty to propose to you, and knowing your earnestness and sincerity in seeking such a result, I shall hardly suppose it possible, that any one will not have anticipated, and concurred in the opinion, that Major Cartwright ought to be elected to the *exclusion of Lord Cochrane*, even if the Noble Lord, from his father being still alive, should remain eligible. My opinion goes to the preferring of Major Cartwright before every other man living as the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett. But, having thought it necessary to be thus explicit with regard to the Noble Lord, justice to him and to myself also requires that I should go a little further, unwilling as I am longer to trespass on your attention.

Let me first observe, that my feeling towards Lord Cochrane is that of unfeigned respect. My confidence in his honour and integrity are undiminished. Without affecting to have any particular intimacy with his Lordship, I may say, that, as to the circumstances, which have harassed him for the two last years, I have had better opportunities of judging than the public in general. I can also say, that, from the first to the last, as far as related to the affair of the *Hoax*, I applied myself with all possible diligence and care to discover the real truth, especially after the appearance of the affidavit of his Lordship. And now, at the end of two years, having read all that has been published, and heard all that has been publicly said, upon the matter, I express



my thorough conviction, that he was entirely innocent of every part of the offence laid to his charge. Further I dare not go, or I would also express my conviction, as to what I deem to have been the real cause of his sufferings.

You, entertaining the same conviction, showed not less soundness of judgment than generosity of feeling by sending him back to the House after his expulsion. You acted upon principles which are amongst those that do most honour to the human heart: a love of fair play, and a scorn of the idea of deserting the oppressed. But, Gentlemen, having satisfied what you deemed (and, I think, rightly deemed) the demands of justice; having amply discharged your duty towards Lord Cochrane, your country, your distressed, your harrassed, your pauperised country, has now a demand at your hands, and that demand stands prior to the private feelings not only of one individual, but, to those of any half of the nation.

Gentlemen, look at Ireland; look at her niserable millions! Look at England, swarming with paupers, and convulsed in every limb of her body. Look at the shocking scenes at this moment passing under our eyes. Look at the military array; contemplate the approaching punishment of the unfortunate creatures, who, ignominious as their end may justly become, are still Englishmen, and still our countrymen. Do you believe, that these evils and this disgrace will ever have an end; do you believe, that there is any remedy for them, other than that of a parliamentary reform? If you do not, the plain path of duty is, to do all that lies in your power to effect that important end; and then the only remaining question is, which is the person most likely to advance that end, Lord Cochrane, or Major Cartwright.

In the particular case of the *expulsion* of Lord Cochrane, there was a motive which *cannot again exist*; for, it will

hardly be pretended, that *every* man, who has suffered from similar causes, ought, for that reason solely, to be chosen a member of parliament. If this were the case, there would be a great abundance of persons most amply qualified to receive your suffrages. Mr. LEIGH HUNT and his brother, for instance, have suffered most severely; and they have suffered, too, for what you and I, according to our wild notions, deem a *merit* instead of a *crime*. Yet, no one seems to think, that Mr. LEIGH HUNT ought to think his feelings wounded by your preferring Major Cartwright before him. There is, too, another feature, which distinguishes the case of his Lordship from that of Mr. Leigh Hunt. Mr. Hunt's sufferings *originated* in nothing that you and I deem a *fault*; whereas Lord Cochrane, though we deem him innocent of all knowledge of the *Hoax*, certainly would have avoided the charge altogether, if he had abstained from that pursuit, which is laudable in no man, and, *in him*, very indiscreet. If, indeed, an act of indiscretion had been committed in any attempt to defend, or assert, the people's rights; and, if that act of indiscretion had been made the ground of proceedings, ending in great mortification and suffering to him, the obligation on you to persevere in rechoosing him would have been more weighty. But, if we look at the case as it stands, the suffering did not *originate* in any thing done, or attempted to be done, for Westminster in particular, or, for the public in general. That my Lord Cochrane did nothing more than many others do, and than many *gentlemen* do, is certain. We knew, that the laws against gambling in the funds is set at nought by thousands, and that the paper-system has converted the country into one great gaming house. But still there is a *something* that sticks to the pursuit, which makes it unbecoming in such a person as Lord Cochrane, and which, even in many

really good men, has excited a prejudice injurious to any political cause in which his Lordship is embarked.

It appears to me, therefore, that it is inconsistent, not only with public duty, but with common sense, to consider Lord Cochrane as an obstacle in the way of Major Cartwright; but, besides this, I am morally certain, that an attempt to re-choose his Lordship would *fail of success*; and, when it is considered, that, by making that attempt, you will expose yourselves to the hazard of seeing a creature of Corruption foisted into one of your seats, there cannot, it appears to me, be the smallest room for hesitation with any man, who has sincerely at heart the triumph of the cause, for which we have so long been contending. Nay, judging of Lord Cochrane by myself, and forming my opinion on what I have always observed of his character, I venture to assert, that he would be amongst the last men in the country to recommend any attempt which might, in its result, prove injurious to that cause.

With the venerable Major your path is smooth as glass. There are no rubs, no obstacles, no drawbacks, no prejudices, no exceptions. You all know him. All England knows him. His name is synonymous with every thing that is patriotic and virtuous. The wonder will be, not that Westminster has done herself the honour of choosing him at the age of seventy-five, but that she has not done herself that honour long ago. His life exhibits a rare instance, not only of long continued exertion, but of still more rare patience and disinterestedness. The fittest amongst the fit to be chosen himself, he has always been labouring for the election of others. Animated solely by his desire to promote the happiness and true glory of his country, he has never sought for himself that distinction, which, I trust, gentlemen, is reserved to be conferred on him for the public good, by the

enlightened and patriotic City of Westminster.

With a deep sense of the gratitude due to you from the whole kingdom for the benefit which it has derived from your excellent example,

I remain

Your friend and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

#### PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

(*Sir S. Romilly's Speech continued from p 672.*)

The fact was however, that no acts of violence were committed during this interval—no persons were insulted—no houses attacked—none were killed, at least in the town of Nismes, though it was said that some stragglers of the Duke d'Angouleme's army were murdered by the peasants. Upon the 15th of July many of the royal volunteers, as they were called, returned to Nismes; numbers of armed men flocked in from the country, and required the garrison which held it in Bonaparte's name to surrender. This garrison, consisting of about 200 men, consented to lay down their arms; but they were all of them, with the exception of a few who contrived to make their escape, massacred as they came out of their barracks. For some successive days the whole of the Protestants of Nismes were exposed to outrages of every kind; their houses were plundered or pulled down, the rich were laid under contributions, the looms of the poor manufacturers were destroyed, women were stripped and scourged in the streets; no less than 30 females were subjected to this atrocity, one of whom was far advanced in pregnancy. He would repeat what he had stated on a former occasion, that 200 persons were murdered in cold blood, besides 2,000 individuals who were persecuted in their persons and property. One man, a Mr. Lafond, far advanced in life, these wretches threw from the balustrades of his own staircase, and, on still discovering some signs of life, they cut him to pieces, with their sabres. The seven sons of a Mr. Leblanc, and the five sons of a Mr. Chivar, were murdered. A wretch of the name of Trestaillon was the

chief leader in these atrocities. This man, hearing that Chivar the father was confined to his bed, came to his house, and asked the wife to let him see her husband, affecting to feel for him; but, immediately on being introduced, he shot the old man dead with a pistol. This monster in human shape had been twice taken into custody, but he had never yet been punished by the French Government. [Hear!] He had boasted of the murders he had committed. One of the first acts after the 17th of July, the period when Nismes reverted under the Royal Government, was to disarm the urban guard, which it was declared should exclusively consist of Catholics: and he should have to state an order of the new authorities, that all persons should be disarmed who could not belong to the national guard, which was equivalent to declaring that their intended victims should be disarmed, in order to their execution. In one place these infuriated persons dug up the body of a young man, and burnt it, together with the house of his father. In short, every kind of atrocity was committed. He was speaking now of persons who were murdered in cold blood, and not taken with arms in their hands. It was proper here to inquire what steps were taken by the French Government to prevent these excesses. The King had appointed the Marquis d'Arbaud Jougues Prefect of the department of the Gard. He arrived on the 30th of July, and issued a proclamation for the purpose of protecting the Protestants from the fury of their persecutors. In consequence of this he was ill-treated on his appearance at the theatre. They insisted that Trestailon should be released, which was accordingly done. This Prefect was still continued; and under such circumstances could any man say, in the language of the Duke of Wellington, that the French Government had done every thing to protect its Protestant subjects? The disturbances at Nismes still continued. The 21st of August was the important day fixed for the election of Deputies to the Legislature. He read from the official journal of the Gard the proclamation of Devallon, the Mayor of Nismes, on the eve of the feast of St. Louis, recommending to the people to abstain from the employment of squibs and crackers, and reminding them that

the least disturbance would throw great responsibility on the magistrates. What was the amount of force which this Mayor then had at his disposal? It was twenty-four companies of national guard, and three of cavalry. There was another proclamation issued on the 30th of August, in which he states, that many murders had been committed, the perpetrators of which concealed themselves in darkness. These, he said, had profoundly wounded his heart; but he ascribed them all to unknown agitators, who in this way abused their love for their king. What were we to think of a government which ascribed these murders to misguided demonstrations of loyalty? They are then reminded that such crimes could not be justified, because crimes of the same kind had been committed during an usurpation blasted by Heaven, and detested by man. But what was the fact? The national guard which was at the disposal of the Mayor had never exerted themselves during all these days to prevent the perpetration of the murders. It might be worth mentioning, that M. Trinquelague, a lawyer, who was chosen one of the deputies to the legislature, and lately appointed Secretary-General to the Minister of Justice, was the person who, after the first restoration, proposed that a silver image should be dedicated to the Virgin, in the event of the pregnancy of the Duchess D'Angouleme. It was also worthy of remark, that on the 24th of August another military force entered Nismes, exclusive of the national guard, when tranquillity was restored, and continued as long as they remained. The national guard was marched into the mountains of the Cevennes, where the people had remained in perfect tranquillity, though they were now treated by the national guard as in a state of rebellion. The Austrian troops that were soon after sent into the Cevennes, in order to disarm the inhabitants, declared, on the contrary, they had never seen a people more peaceably disposed. They quitted the country on the 25th of October, and the same system of murder was recommenced. Besides the infamous Trestailon, there was another notorious murderer of the name of Quatre-tailon. Trestailon had been sent away from that part of the country, but punished he had never been. In fact, not one of the persons concerned

in these numerous atrocities had been brought to punishment; they still roamed about at large, though well known to most of the inhabitants of Nismes. He had to notice another proclamation of the Prefect, in which he spoke of an indignation, too natural not to be excusable, having burst on the heads of the disaffected; but, illegal as it was, he adds, it was not stained by plunder, and popular indignation had not been disgraced by robbery. The Honourable Gentleman then proceeded to advert to the opening of the Protestant churches at Nismes, on the 12th of November, when General Lagarde was severely wounded. Many of the congregation were besides wounded and maltreated. On the 1st of September, 1815, another proclamation was issued, which still used the language of persuasion to murderers. He made no doubt that the Noble Lord was much better acquainted than himself with all these facts; but the House would take into its consideration the extreme difficulty of procuring authentic information. There had been no difficulty, indeed, in publishing any thing against the Protestants; the conductors of the journals were permitted, nay, they were even courted, to publish statements against those persons; but the police would not suffer a single paragraph to be inserted with regard to their sufferings. He was himself present in the Chamber of Deputies, when a discussion took place on the personal liberty of the subject; and because, one of the Representatives, Monsieur d'Argenson, stated, that there had been persecutions in the south of France, a great part of the assembly rose in a most tumultuous manner, and in the coarsest terms insisted that he should be called to order. He (Sir Samuel Romilly) then saw a gentleman in his place who was present in the French Chamber on that occasion, and he appealed to that Honorable Member to corroborate this statement. The President yielded to the cry of the House, and Monsieur d'Angenon was called to order. It was notorious, however, that only six days before he made that speech, the blood of the Protestants was flowing down the streets of Nismes, and it was only a fortnight before that the King's General was wounded; and yet he was called to order for stating that there had been a persecution in the south. [Hear, hear!] When

General Lagarde was wounded at Nismes, the King published a proclamation on the subject; and —

Sir GERARD NOEL rose to call the honourable and learned gentleman to order. It seemed to him, that the House would act very unwisely, if they should allow the Honourable and Learned Gentleman to proceed with these details. He had been admitted into the Chamber of Deputies by courtesy, as an English gentleman on his travels; and he had no right to make use of what he then heard for the purpose of grounding an inquiry in the English House of Commons. It would be a great breach of confidence in the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, [a laugh,] and was derogatory to the high character and dignity of the House. [Repeated laughter and loud calls to Sir Samuel Romilly to proceed.]

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY said, he could easily remove all embarrassment from the mind of the Honourable Baronet, with respect to being guilty of any breach of confidence, as he was only stating what the French government itself had permitted to be published in all the newspapers on the following day. [Hear, hear!] He repeated, that there was no hesitation whatever on the part of that government in publishing every thing against the Protestants. The four deputies of the department of La Gard published in the *Quotidienne* a sort of protest against the King's proclamation, and declared that the tumult was excited only by a few old women. On the 12th of November the prefect issued a proclamation, and, in the name of the department, promised a reward of 3,000 francs to any person who should make known the name of the individual who had shot the General, and bring him before him. This man, however, had not been prosecuted or punished; nay, he had not been seized, though his name was well known to be Boisset. The proclamation of the King said, that an atrocious crime had been committed; but what followed? It called upon the magistrates to disarm all the Protestants; and why? Because, as the prefect stated, a tumult had been excited by a few old women! On the 19th of December, the mayor published a proclamation, stating, that the Protestant churches should be re-opened on the following Thursday, and an assurance was given to the people

that the Protestants should have churches built out of the city. Of the two churches of the Protestants at Nismes, one had been bought by themselves, and the other was given to them by the government; but, instead of these, they were to be permitted to build two new ones beyond the walls of the town at their own expense. Now, he would ask, what had this to do with politics? What had this to do with Bonaparte? The House would see that all this was purely religious. On the 9th of January the King published another proclamation, stating, in the first place, "that his orders had met with that respect and submission which he had a right to expect." But what was the nature of this respect and submission?—only that the Protestants had been disarmed. It then declared, "that the temple of the Protestants was open, and that they enjoyed all the protection of the law;" and it concluded with "his Majesty's thanks to his good people of the city of Nismes." This must be considered as a kind of general amnesty; and the fact really was, that not a single individual had been prosecuted or punished. The present condition of the Protestants certainly was so far in a state of security, that since the month of December no murder or cruelty had been committed; but he had been informed by a gentleman who had recently arrived from the city of Nismes, and on whose veracity he could place the utmost reliance, that the Protestants were continually driven away from the public walks. Whenever they ventured to appear in such places, they were jostled by the very persons who had murdered their wives, their husbands, brothers, sisters, and dearest relations. The prisons were now filled with Protestants who had been apprehended on the charge of sedition. In the several departments of France there were not less than 19,000 Protestants in custody upon this pretence. Some were imprisoned for five years, some for ten years, and others for longer periods, on the charge of having sung improper songs. [Hear, hear!] It seemed a most extraordinary thing, that crimes so atrocious as those which he had mentioned should be suffered to pass unpunished, and that such trifling offences as singing a few songs, should be visited in this terrible manner. It was a strange feature of the administra-

tion of justice in any country; but that on which he most relied was, that no person had been yet brought to trial. He did not intend to move that there should be any immediate address to the crown on this subject; but he contended, that the Protestants had suffered, not for seditious conduct, but only on the suspicion of entertaining particular opinions. All that he meant to ask for was, that an humble address should be presented to the Prince Regent, that he would be graciously pleased to lay before the House copies or extracts of all correspondence between his Majesty's government and the government of France, relative to the Protestants in the south of France. He made this motion in no spirit of hostility against ministers, but to give them an opportunity of making a statement more in detail than had yet been done. He could give a long list of names of persons who had been murdered at Nismes, but he did not consider it necessary in this stage of the business. Because they were Protestants, they were said to be Bonapartists; and the Catholics, who had been suffered to persecute them, were called Bourbonists. The Noble Lord would have an opportunity of correcting this error, if it were one; and he should be glad to hear that government had used all the means in its power to put a stop to these crimes. In concluding his remarks, he might advert to what had been done by our ancestors on similar occasions: and if precedents were necessary, he need only recall to the recollection of the house what he had recently done for the negroes of Africa. But surely the Protestants of the south of France had equal claims upon our generosity and benevolence, and we ought not to suffer them to be persecuted, imprisoned, and murdered, without some remonstrance to the government which was bound to protect them. At the very moment when these dreadful scenes were acting in Languedoc, Paris was in possession of three Protestant armies, and the King could not look out of the windows of his palace without seeing the cannon that was planted before it. He did not state this for the purpose of bringing a charge against his Majesty; but if he neglected to send assistance to his Protestant subjects, it was the duty of those who commanded the foreign armies to protect and defend them. The French govern-

ment did nothing but give words and make professions; but it was still in our power to interpose all good offices in this case. Tumults had recently arisen in various parts of France; and if disorders should again break out, who could tell what might be the situation of the unhappy inhabitants of Nismes? He trusted that the House would consider what a heavy responsibility was then upon them, and that, as they would answer to God and their consciences, they would not refuse protection when it was in their power to afford it. [Hear, hear.]

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that the House must have listened with great pain to the speech of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, as they must certainly lament to hear that persecutions for religious opinions were still practised in any part of Europe. He did not mean to make any invidious reflection, but he must take leave to say, that the Hon. and Learned Gentleman had drawn a most exaggerated and unfairly coloured picture. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman had placed him in a most embarrassing and painful situation. He had addressed himself to the House as to a tribunal that had jurisdiction to inquire into all the circumstances; but if they had even the means of arriving at the truth, they had not the means of applying a remedy to the evils. He must enter his protest against the false policy of interfering with the internal situation of the affairs of other countries, more especially with respect to religious opinions. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman had dwelt with great pains upon the centuries that were gone by, as if he wished to rouse all those bad passions which, he should hope, had been long buried in oblivion. He had also adverted to the impression made on the public mind by the conduct of certain individuals; and had stated, that a sort of countenance was given to their exertions by his Majesty's ministers. If he imagined, however, that government was disposed to encourage those persons, he was certainly incorrect; for they were satisfied, that, notwithstanding the benevolent motives by which those bodies might have been actuated, they had done more harm than good to the cause in which they interposed. He knew that it was not possible to discourage the efforts of individuals, but he was confident that

his Majesty's government would have lost sight of their duty if they had encouraged them. It was a question of prudence to look at the cases of former interference, and every man who viewed them with an impartial eye, would consider what the spirit of toleration was working in favour of religion. There was a time, indeed, when religion was made a pretence for imposing a system of government, and then the Protestant powers were obliged to stand together: but we were now placed in a situation in which we might suffer christianity to effect its own work. He did not say that one government could not communicate on this subject with another; but he did say, that if one government at this day would suffer a foreign state to interfere with it because it administered its laws according to its own conception, that government would be degraded in the eyes of all the world. But suppose we should be rash enough to interfere with another state on this account: if we were not listened to, what would become of our dignity? Was the Hon. and Learned Gentleman prepared to state, that he wished an appeal to arms? [Hear, hear!] He was the more astonished at the Hon. and Learned Gentleman's proposal, when he found he had not laid the ground for it in the general situation of the Protestants: on the contrary, he had told the House that his was not a charge of religious persecution; he had told them that the evil was local—that it was confined to the department of the Gard—that the Protestants derived their liberty from that man who owed the loss of his life and crown to his benevolence: had he been more vigorous, the world would have been spared those scenes of calamity that had since overwhelmed the whole of the civilized globe. He had commented on the acts of the French government and the proclamation of the king himself. It would be invidious for him (Lord C.) to enter into critical disquisitions on that proclamation, but he was persuaded that the king felt the most sincere desire to put down the hostile feeling against the Protestants: he had not only tolerated but indulged them, and their miseries were only the result of a local feud, such as we had but too often seen in parts of this empire, and which all the force of government could not put down at once. Was he (Lord C.) to tell

the House, that in the country to which he belonged, a feud, a dispute, which appeared religious, but which was totally unconnected with religion, would often disturb a province for years? In the county of Armagh sects had for two years been waging war with each other, and the whole power of the arm of the law was found insufficient to repress them. Did the House forget the present state of things in Ireland, and would they have us advise a foreign country to interfere in the cause of the Catholics of this country? (Hear.) He was sure that such an interference would not be endured. Whilst there was but one common feeling—that of deep grief on the unhappy calamities in France, and an anxious desire to see them terminated; whilst the Hon. and Learned Gentleman himself admitted that no outrages had been committed since December, and now, after such a lapse of time, he came to harrow up the feelings of the House with the recital of calamities we could not redress, he (Lord C.) had hoped that he would lay the question at peace, instead of colouring the proceedings on one side as highly as he might, if he had pleased, those of the other—instead of inflaming the passions of two sects who were tearing each other to pieces. This was an act of disrespect to the French people, and not an act of benevolence, whatever might be the motives of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman. He (Lord C.) could not consistently with his public duty acquiesce in producing to the House all the correspondence that had passed on this subject. If ever there was a question on which parliament and every good man should be silent, it was this. He did not mean to deny that communications had passed which had convinced his Majesty's ministers, that though the French government was in the exercise of a power so recent that it could hardly be productive of any great and immediate results, yet that his most Christian Majesty had been most serious in his efforts to repress all persecution. He agreed with the Hon. and

Learned Gentleman, that the situation of the Protestants of France had for a long time been a source of pain to every liberal mind; but the emancipation of the Protestants commenced early in the revolution; it had been followed up; and they enjoyed a degree of freedom they had never known before. Without imputing blame to the sect, without denying that they were a most enlightened people, he should contend, that having acquired an extent of power, and that from Buonaparte, they felt interested in the continuance of his power: their conduct showed that they felt this, and had led to a jealousy which was the cause of the present disturbances. If he were to believe the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, and the various publications on the subject, he must imagine that the Catholics had not suffered or been provoked at all, and that this was a gratuitous persecution of the Protestants. Indeed, the Hon. and Learned Gentleman had touched so slightly on the wrongs or provocations of the other side, that though he admitted a few individuals had been sacrificed, yet it would appear from his statement, that in general they had no cause for complaint. He (Lord C.) did not mean to give official information to the House, but he would read a passage from a letter which he believed to be written in a fair and impartial spirit. It contained the opinions of an individual whose sentiments he wished to receive, because he went out with a mind pure and unbiassed. This letter would bring one point on which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman had touched slightly—the provocations and wrongs of the Catholics—into open view. "Both parties are to a certain degree right;" that was, the Protestants were mixed up with Buonaparte, and imputed to the Catholics jealousy and political dislike; while the Catholics, who adhered to the Bourbons, were afraid of the designs of the Protestants.

*(To be continued.)*

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

## LETTER XV.

*Risings in England.—The Reverend Sir Bate's victory over the insurgents at Ely.—The Edinburgh School Project.—The Highland Society and Gaelic Tongue.—Emigration to America, the grand resource.*

Bolton, 5th June, 1816.

In Letter XIII, dated 18th May, I gave you some account of the risings of the people, in several parts of *England*. So that, you see, the effects of the war are *come home* to us, at last; but, I imagine, that the acts which I have recorded, in the Letter referred to, are but *beginnings*. They are mere risings of distressed working people; but, as contemplated in connection with their *causes*, they are of great importance as instances to serve the wise politician as a guide. For this reason I shall record them in the daily detail of them, which is handed out to the public by the means of the press.

There are afloat all sorts of *projects*. The *Tythes* have been slightly assaulted; but, in so nonsensical a way, that the assault is hardly worth notice. Indeed, it is impossible to touch them directly, without a total abandonment of all idea of supporting a dominant Church. Yet, indirectly, late acts of parliament have set a *precedent*, according to which the whole property of the Church may be taken to the public use. These acts have, in fact, taken away from the incumbents, or possessors of livings, part of the produce of them, and have made a distribution of it amongst *curates*. Now, the living of a parson, or vicar, is his *freehold* in law. It would be regarded as a total breaking up of all property, if an act were passed to compel me, for instance, to give a fixed portion of the rent of my land to my bailiff, and to compel me to

have a bailiff, and also to prevent me from turning him off. Here, therefore, is a distinction, and a very important distinction too, *established by law*, between the ownership of Church property and that of lay property. *Advowsons*, or the ownership of livings, and the right of filling them up, are *real property*. They are *bought and sold* openly and legally. The late Duke of Norfolk had a great many, and he bought them as he would have bought any other estates in land. But, a *precedent* has now been settled, according to which livings are no longer to be considered as *private property*; but, as a species of property of which the parliament, without any violation of right, can dispose of in any manner that it pleases. Nevertheless, there are so many of the livings, which are the property of those who fill the seats in parliament, and so large a part of the Clergy are either the relations or dependants of the same persons, that you need never expect to see any thing effectual done about the *Tythes*, until the whole system draws towards a state of great peril.

By Mr. CURWEN, the same person who has broached the *Tythe* project, another of much greater magnitude has been *seriously* brought forward. I mean a project to *abolish pauperism*! I told you, in a Note to page 426 of this Volume, that "this Mr. Curwen was a *curious sort of a man*." Pray look again at that note, and you will be prepared for what I shall hereafter have to relate to you as to this pauper-project. During the Debate for a Committee to sit upon this latter project (which Committee is *actually sitting*!), it was asserted, and, on all hands assented to, that, *unless pauperism could be checked, this country must sink*; and, I have no scruple to assert, that pauperism will *not be checked*, but, on the contrary, will go on increasing at a greater rate than ever, unless the taxes be brought down from 70 to 40 millions a-year; and, of course, *unless a great deduction be made from the dividends in the funds*.



Aye, here I am, then, brought back to the old point. At the end of *ten years*, during which time I have been called by all manner of vile names for proposing a reduction of the dividends, I have, at last, *heard it proposed in the House of Commons!* Not, indeed, by the Ministers, nor in a *formal* manner; but, I have heard one member boldly declare this to be *the only remedy* for the distresses of the country. This subject is, however, too large to be entered upon here; and, therefore, for the present, I will return to my promised detail of the *risings*, which the distresses have produced. You will see, that the risings have been in *several counties*; and you will particularly note the part, which has been acted by the *Yeomanry Cavalry*, and by the celebrated "*Reverend Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*," whom I did myself the honour to introduce to you in so ceremonious a manner, in No. 3 of this volume, relating to you the whole history of his public life, and a curious and instructive history I am sure you will say it was. What do the Cossacks say to this *famous Priest?*

May 20.—"The Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, of Brandon, near Bury, arrived in town yesterday, at the Secretary of State's Office, express, with an account of the alarming state of the county, and to request the assistance of Government to restore tranquillity. The public have been for some time apprised of various outrages, committed in that county, in the breaking of threshing machines, and the destruction of barns, corn-stacks, &c. by fire, suspected to be wilful and malicious, the agents in which are presumed to be agricultural labourers, discontented because employment and advance of wages did not immediately follow the recent rise in the price of corn. These outrages were, however, only secret and isolated cases. It was not until the end of the week the discontent of the lower orders broke out into open and general disturbance.

"A reduction in the price of bread and meat was the avowed object of the rioters. They had fixed a *maximum* for the price of both. They insisted that the lowest price of wheat must be half a-crown a bushel, and that of prime joints of beef four-pence per

"pound. Mr. Willet, a butcher, at Brandon, was a marked object of their ill-will, in which Mr. Willet, the banker, was, from the similarity of his name, in danger of sharing. This circumstance, and a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace, induced him to take an active part, and exert all his influence to preserve the public peace. On Friday he remonstrated with them on the dangerous consequences of their proceedings, and promised that their demands should be complied with for a fortnight, which would afford time for the consideration of their grievances, and of the means of redress. The malcontents appeared satisfied with this assurance, gave Mr. Willet three cheers, and parted, after expressing a wish to chair him, which he declined. The tranquillity thus restored was, however, of short duration.

"The disturbance broke out again on Saturday, with increased violence, and the malcontents shewed themselves in considerable force. Their whole number amounted to about 1500, divided in several parties, marching in several directions, for the purpose of attacking the houses of those persons who were obnoxious to them. At Brandon they destroyed several houses, including Mr. Willet's, the butcher; that they completely levelled to the ground. Another party of them proceeded to the village of Halesworth, it is supposed, for a like purpose; and the Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, saw on their way to London, about ten o'clock on Saturday night, a fire near Ely, which they apprehended was the mischievous work of another party of the rioters. They were armed with long heavy sticks, the ends of which, to the extent of several inches, were studded with short iron spikes, sharp at the sides and points. Their flag was inscribed, "*Bread or Blood!*" and they threatened to march to London. The Sheriff of Suffolk and Mr. Willet having laid this representation before the Secretary of State, received from him a promise of every possible protection, and with this assurance they left town last night on their return home. It appears, from the following extract from a *Norwich Paper*, that a similar spirit has displayed itself in that City:—

"Late on Thursday evening a mischievous and riotous disposition manifested itself here amongst some of the lowest class (chiefly youths), who, about nine o'clock, assembled in the market-place, and first began to throw fire-balls about, which seemed to have been prepared for the purpose. They afterwards broke the *Hall windows*, and those of several respectable individuals, and then proceeded to the new mills, breaking all the city lamps in their way. The people at the silk-manufactory being at work, they attacked the windows; and on the lights being extinguished, some of the more audacious broke into the new mills (the windows of which they had first broken), and took thereout a quantity of flour, some of which they threw into the river, and some they carried away in the sacks. On their return from the mills they broke the lamps and windows of several Gentlemen's houses in St. Andrew's, Bank-street, Tombland, Magdalen-street, and other places, and proceeded to Dr. Alderson's house, who on coming out to remonstrate with them on their highly improper conduct, *was knocked down*. In consequence of these outrages the Mayor and Magistrates immediately assembled at the Hall, where they continued until a late hour, and the constables and several respectable persons, with staves and torches, proceeded to the mills, but the mob had dispersed. A picquet of the *West Norfolk Militia* was stationed before the Hall, and a party of the *first Royal Dragoons*, commanded by Capt. Phipps, and headed by a Magistrate, went down to Trowse Mills, where it had been reported a party had proceeded, but that happily was not the case; they then returned, and patrolled the streets till morning. Every precaution will be taken to prevent a repetition of such violations of the public peace.

"A public notice has just been issued by the Magistrates, that on a repetition of such tumults, the Riot Act will be immediately read, when all persons offending will be liable to the penalty of death. On any appearance of riot, the respectable inhabitants are required immediately to assemble at the Hall, in the Market-place."

May 23.—"In consequence of a cargo

"of potatoes being about to be shipped at the quay of *Bideford*, a great number of people collected, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, to prevent the exportation taking place. The police of the town apprehended three of the ring-leaders, and confined them in the town prison. Immediately on the event being known, an immense number of shipwrights and others beat off the police, *broke down the prison doors*, and released the prisoners. An express was then sent off to the *North Devon Yeomanry*, who promptly assembled; the mob was immediately dispersed. The cavalry remained under arms, and *patrolled the town during the night*. On Saturday morning several of the rioters were apprehended, and four of them sent off to Exeter, under an escort of the *North Devon Yeomanry Cavalry*. They are now in the County prison. On information being given that a great number of disorderly people were collecting at Appledore and Clew-houses, the Cavalry proceeded to the latter, in order to secure about 30 or 40, who were arming themselves with various weapons. Immediately on the troops appearing, the offenders went on board a ship, which was surrounded with the tide, lowering down the boats, and went off to the Braunton side of the water, and made their escape. We are happy to say no lives have been lost. *Too much praise cannot be bestowed* on the *North Devon Yeomanry*, for their behaviour in quelling the mob in its infancy. On Saturday night every thing was perfectly tranquil. Soon after which 40 of the *Enniskillen Dragoons* arrived and relieved the Yeomanry, who had been on duty during two nights.

"On Saturday night last some person or persons opened a sliding casement, and entered the workshop of JOHN BEXON (commonly called Serjeant Bexon), fram-work-knitter, in the Rushes-street, Loughborough, and smashed to pieces the internal part of what is called a thirty plain gauge frame, the property of Mr. NORTON of that town, fram-smith. There were in the same shop at the time, a frame belonging to Messrs. Paget and Sons, and two belonging to Messrs. Middleton and Hall, but not the least mischief was done to any of them. Why this injury has been

“done to Mr. NORTON seems a little mysterious, for he had nothing at all to do with the manner in which the frame was worked, as to the price, nature of the work, &c.; he was merely the owner of the frame, and is withal a person of quiet and inoffensive habits. And on Monday last, the shop of Thomas Marriott, framework-knitter, of Thorpe-acre, near Loughborough, was entered in a similar manner, through the window, and a thirty-two plain gauge frame, belonging to Mr. William White, of Loughborough, *in a great degree demolished and carried away.* In this instance, as well as the former, there were three other frames in the shop, one belonging to Mr. Marriott, another to his son-in-law, and the third to Mr. WALLIS, but they escaped being injured.—*Nottingham Paper.*”

May 23.—“We have great pleasure in communicating the termination of the disturbances at Brandon, in Suffolk. The inhabitants on Monday *guaranteed the price of flour at 2s. 6d. per stone, with an advance of wages to 2s. per head for a fortnight, and unless the millers reduce their prices by that time, the officers of the parish will purchase their grain at the cheapest rate, and furnish the poor with provisions at prime cost.* The rioters were perfectly satisfied, and tranquillity was completely restored.

May 24 and 25, Downham, (Norfolk.)

“On Monday last, a great number of persons of the labouring class (owing to the late advance in corn and the lowness of wages) assembled at the village of Southrey, in Norfolk, and immediately proceeded for Downham, between which places (about seven miles distance) they forced the labourers from their houses and work to join them, and every person they met was compelled to return with them. When arrived at the latter place, the number amounted to nearly 1500; they immediately commenced their scene of action by entering the shops of the millers and bakers; and taking away flour, bread, &c. At Mr. W. Baldwin’s mill, a great many sacks of wheat meal were thrown into the yard and spoiled. They then proceeded to the publicans, and demanded ale, which was brought in pails into the street; the rioters

“forced many of the inhabitants to drink with them. They then went to the Crown Inn, and drove the Magistrates (who were holding their weekly sitting) from the room into the street, and who with great difficulty succeeded in escaping. Afterwards they proceeded to the butchers, whose shops they cleared; during which time the tradesmen in general were in a state of dreadful anxiety, expecting the rioters would make an attack upon their premises; but they were prevented by the appearance of the *Upwell troop of cavalry, when the Magistrates, escorted by the troop, read the Riot Act, and the greatest possible confusion ensued. Several Gentlemen narrowly escaped with life, from brick-bats, stones, clubs, &c. that now flow in every direction.* With the aid of special constables, however, 10 men and four women were taken, and put into confinement, and the rest gradually dispersed. No lives were lost.

“Captain Lee (who commanded the troops) ordered the men to use the back of their swords, thereby preventing the carnage that must have otherwise ensued.

“The following morning, Tuesday, brought greater terror to the inhabitants than the preceding day, as it was generally reported that the rioters were preparing to attack the town with redoubled vigour; the Magistrates directed the inhabitants to arm themselves with whatever could be procured, and in a short time the town wore a very formidable appearance: the inhabitants, with the cavalry, then proceeded to meet the rioters, who armed themselves with guns, pitchforks, clubs, and other weapons, ready for a general attack, when an agreement was made by the Gentlemen to allow them an advance of wages, and to release those persons already taken, which induced them to return peaceably to their homes.

“The greatest praise is due to every individual of the troop for their exertions in the above cause.

“Last night, alarming advice was received at Lord Sidmouth’s Office, of a desperate insurrection having broken out in the Isle of Ely: that an immense body of armed Fen-men had attacked the house of the *Rev. Mr. Vachel, a Magistrate, resident at Littleport,*



"which they destroyed, after despoiling it of its most valuable property having brutally turned Mrs. Vachel and her daughters out of the house, to seek an asylum at twelve o'clock, on Wednesday night"

"The Cambridge Paper, received this morning, says- 'We are concerned to state, that there was an alarming riot at Ely yesterday, the particulars of which had not reached our Office when this Paper was put to Press.'"

*Chelmsford, May 23.*

"On Monday morning an express arrived here, from the War-Office, directing the march of the 47th regiment, from the barracks of this town to Colchester, for which place they proceeded the following morning.

"On Tuesday last two squadrons of the First Dragoon Guards marched into this town from Hounslow, on their route to Colchester.

"An honest, industrious, poor man's hovel was set on fire on Friday night last at Clare; but by the prompt exertions of the inhabitants, the villains were disappointed in their aim, and the fire got under without doing much damage."

"On the 22d instant, James Mays, the younger, of Stoke, near Clare, Suffolk, was brought before the Rev. B. B. Syer, of Ketton, Suffolk, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, charged with having threatened to set fire to a barn belonging to General Elwes, and having given surety for the peace as the law requires, was discharged. In consequence of the arrest of this offender, some of the misguided populace assembled, and proceeded to break up a thrashing machine in the neighbourhood, but the General having, with a very laudable promptitude, procured the attendance of some military force, at the very crisis of the riot, the ringleaders were committed for the trial and punishment subsequent on such illegal proceedings.

"On Sunday and Monday last, detachments of the 1st Royal Dragoons marched into Bury from Ipswich, part of whom will remain till further orders, and the others proceeded on their route to Brandon, where we understand some symptoms of disorder have manifested

"themselves, but the accounts given in several papers are greatly exaggerated."

*Scotland.*

"At Rutherglen May Fair, on Friday, there was some rioting, and fifteen young men from Glasgow were apprehended, thirteen of whom were, on the following day, convicted, fined, and imprisoned till the fines were paid."

*Cambridge, May 24.*

"Great alarm has been excited here by the appearance of numerous knots of strange countrymen, coming in with large sticks, for two or three days past. Our Mayor, Colonel Mortlock, apprehensive that this might have been preparatory to an intended entry of the Fen rioters, convened the Magistracy in the Town Hall this afternoon, who swore in three hundred of the principal inhabitants as special constables. The Vice Chancellor, and Heads of Houses, also assembled, and resolved to put arms into the hands of the Students of their respective Colleges, if found necessary."

"Sunday, Eleven o'Clock, a. m.—Our alarm has considerably subsided, from intelligence just brought in from Ely, stating, that the main body of the Insurgents were attacked on Friday morning (after the Riot Act had been read without effect) and completely routed. Sir Henry B. Dudley and the Rev. H. Law, two Magistrates of the Island, arriving with Captain Wortham's troop of yeomanry early on Friday morning, and learning that the rioters had determined to set fire to Littleport that night, and the town of Ely on the night following, called out the small detachment of the 1st Dragoons, consisting of eighteen men, commanded by Captain Methuen, and sending twenty-four of the disbanded Militia, who were armed from the country depot by Lieut. Woolert, pushed on to Littleport, where, taking the Insurgents by surprise, their defeat was speedy and complete. The savage rioters soon began to fire upon the Magistrates and the troops, from barricaded houses near the river, when the latter were ordered to fire into them. The conflict, though short, was sharp. The Insurgents soon began to fly from every part of the town over the Fens, and were pursued in every direction: only two of the rioters were killed (one of them a chief)

“and a few wounded—104 were taken  
 “prisoners, and more are hourly bring-  
 “ing in; fortunately the soldiery had  
 “only two or three slightly wounded.  
 “The inhabitants of the county now  
 “began to stir in their own defence, and  
 “accompanied parties of the military to  
 “scour the district, and in consequence  
 “great quantities of wild fowl swivels,  
 “and other guns, pikes, &c. have been  
 “brought in. The Magistrates speak in  
 “high commendation of the steady con-  
 “duct of the three officers and soldiery  
 “on this service. Major General Sir  
 “John Byng, K. C. B. appointed to the  
 “command of this disturbed county,  
 “arrived a few hours after the affair:  
 “and a reinforcement, consisting of three  
 “troops of the 1st Royal Dragoons,  
 “three companies of the 69th regiment,  
 “and two pieces of flying artillery, were  
 “hourly expected at Ely, by forced  
 “marches.

“A considerable inclination to riot has  
 “manifested itself for several days at  
 “Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, and had  
 “increased so much on Tuesday last, that  
 “it was judged prudent to call out the  
 “Huntingdon volunteer cavalry, who  
 “proceeded to Warboys immediately:  
 “but as their assistance did not appear  
 “absolutely necessary, they were desired  
 “to return to Huntingdon, where they  
 “remained under arms during the whole  
 “of Tuesday night, and tranquillity  
 “having been restored at Ramsey, the  
 “corps were dismissed on Wednesday  
 “evening.”

“Extract of a letter from *Freshing-*  
 “*field, Essex*, May 24:—“That spirit of  
 “insurrection which has broke out in  
 “Suffolk, has appeared in our parish. I  
 “have just returned from the place where  
 “the rioters have assembled to the  
 “amount of 200, armed with implements  
 “of agriculture as their weapons. Last  
 “night they destroyed Mr. John Smith’s  
 “threshing machine; this morning they  
 “visited Mr. Robert Smith’s farm, at  
 “Byton hall, and destroyed a plough on  
 “a new construction that did not please  
 “them. They then came to Bardfield,  
 “to destroy Mr. Messent’s machine,  
 “and were coming here to do the same;  
 “but the people of Bardfield surrounded  
 “the barn, and prevented their attacking  
 “it, while many of us tried to persuade  
 “them to go home again; and I am

“happy to say they have dispersed for the  
 “present; but we dread the night, lest  
 “they should proceed to further mis-  
 “chief.”

“Accounts received on Saturday from  
 “Manchester, state that some thousands  
 “of the lower orders of the people were  
 “assembling about twenty miles distant  
 “from Manchester. The intelligence was  
 “received in that town by express, from  
 “a Magistrate residing in the vicinity of  
 “the tumultuous assemblage. Advices of  
 “these new movements were immediately  
 “forwarded to Government. Saturday  
 “a considerable body of cavalry, with  
 “several pieces of artillery, passed through  
 “Tottenham, on their way to assist in  
 “quelling the disturbances.”

*Ely, Wednesday Morning.*

“Several of the riotous prisoners who  
 “had fled, have been brought in in the  
 “course of the last two days; three or  
 “four of them are delegates who had  
 “been active to raise the different parts  
 “of the Island, to join the Littleport  
 “body. Lord Francis Osborne, who  
 “has acted as Vice Lieutenant for Cam-  
 “bridgeshire, in the absence of the Earl  
 “of Hardwicke, joined the bench of Ma-  
 “gistrate, yesterday. The examinations  
 “are continuing. The following persons  
 “have been fully committed, as numbers  
 “of others will be, to be tried before a  
 “Special Commission, expected soon to  
 “issue, viz.—John Dennis, Thomas Smith,  
 “—Joseph *alias* Little Easy, —Jes-  
 “sop, —Cheville, Robert Crab, —  
 “Jefferson, Robert Salmon, W. Bennis,  
 “jun. James Cambell, Richard Rutter,  
 “&c. &c. Seventy more persons remain  
 “in custody, charged with capital offences,  
 “and about 24 have been liberated on  
 “their recognisance, who appeared to  
 “have been pressed into this desperate  
 “service. The Magistrates, finding that  
 “they could now dispense with further  
 “military assistance, directed that the 1st  
 “Regiment of Dragoon Guards, under  
 “Col. Acam, should fall back to Cam-  
 “bridge, and that the Artillery should  
 “proceed to Newmarket. The long swi-  
 “vel pieces, wild fowl guns, and other  
 “arms, about 60 in number, which the  
 “rioters used, are now placing on the  
 “wall of the Military Depot. The de-  
 “tachment of the Royal Dragoons, and  
 “the Staff party of the Militia, have just  
 “been drawn up, and addressed by Sir

"*Henry Bate Dudley*, who informed them that he had great satisfaction in being enabled to convey to them the approbation of the Commander in Chief of the temperate an exemplary conduct which they manifested at Littleport, on Friday last, in aid of the Civil Authorities of the country, for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty's subjects."

"May 26. (*Durham*).—Serious disturbances had broken out amongst the pitmen and other workmen connected with the collieries upon the Wear. Several hundreds of them went off work, upon the ostensible ground of their present wages being inadequate to their support, while the price of bread corn continues so very much higher than it has been. But through the prompt and vigorous exertions of the Magistrates, aided by *two troops of cavalry* from *Newcastle*, they have been induced to return to their work. Eight of the ringleaders were taken into custody on Saturday, and committed to *Durham gaol*. No disposition of joining them was at any time evinced by the pitmen upon the Tyne.

"The report which prevailed, of a riot having taken place at *Wisbech Market*, on Saturday last, is unfounded. Some apprehensions of disturbances were entertained; but, by the prudent precautions of the Magistrates, who appointed a considerable number of special constables, and called in the aid of some neighbouring volunteer yeomanry cavalry, the peace of the town was preserved."

Thus have I given you a specimen of what is going on in *England*, as I, some time back, gave you a specimen of what was going on in *Ireland*. Happy America! Happy country, where misery collects no mobs! Happy Republicans, who stand in no need of Yeomanry Cavalry, Dragoon Guards, or Parson Bates, to keep you in order! Happy people, tho' your Government did arise out of a "successful Democratic Rebellion," as our vile prints called it, when they expected to see you reduced to our state.

You cannot have failed to remark, that, upon all occasions, *troops* of some sort or other were the sole reliance. The Sheriff of Suffolk, instead of calling forth the power of the county, of which he is the chief peace officer, and where *all* are bound

to obey him in order to preserve the peace: instead of using his own great and complete authority, *flees out of the county*, and tells his tale to the *Secretary of State!* From *Devonshire* to *Scotland*, you see, that discontents prevail, and that risings have taken place, and, every where you see *troops* called out. It is not a little curious, too, to perceive, that the most active of the Magistrates are *Parsons*, with the *Rev. Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*, at their head, Certainly a very worthy head. A more fit head could not have been chosen. I expect to see him Archbishop of Canterbury yet; or, at least, I should expect it, if the Right Reverend personage, who so worthily fills that Chair, were not much younger than the *Revd. Sir Bate*.

The truth is \* \* \* \* \*

In the meanwhile, however, it becomes you to bid your Cossacks to look well at *what is going on here*. It becomes you to ask them whether they would wish to see their country in the same state; and to ask them, whether they think, that their processions and thanksgivings were not rather premature. It is *now*, too, that the partizans of enormous public Debts ought to be questioned as to the wisdom of imitating our example in this respect. We now see and feel the consequences of the war and its debt. The Special Commission in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk will soon exhibit some of these consequences in a striking point of view.

The fact is singular enough, that, at one and the same time, the House of Bourbon and the House of Brunswick are issuing *Proclamations* for the suppression of *disturbances*. The immediate causes of those disturbances are different in the two countries; but the *primary* cause is the same. The *war*; the war, which placed the Bourbons again on the throne of France. This is the cause of the insurrections in France, and of the risings in England, which latter are, by our newspapers, called insurrections too. The war has put down liberty on the Continent; it has prevented Reform in England; but, it has created a million and a half of paupers in England, and it has thrown property into such confusion and caused such general distress and suffering, that the system is, by its own measures, shaken to the very foundation. There are as many

projects and opinions, as to what *ought to be done*, as there are leaves upon a full grown birch tree ; the opinions as to what *will take place*, are also various ; but, all men of all parties, be their wishes what they may, agree, that a *great change of some sort* must soon arrive. So far from having produced lasting tranquillity, the war has put tranquillity wholly out of the question as far as this country is concerned. It is impossible to collect the means of *paying the interest of the cost of the war* and of keeping up a force such as we are told the state of the country requires, without producing *general misery*. This misery necessarily produces violence ; and thus as the war, which was, by its success, to give us uninterrupted tranquillity, given us lasting disorder.

Some weeks back, I observed, that it was impossible for things long to go on quietly as they were then going on. I said, that millions of people could not starve ; that it was impossible for things to go on till the highways were strewed with dead bodies ; that all the people could not become paupers ; that things *must change* as necessarily as putrid matter returns again to animation. It appears, that, in many places, the farmers, tradesmen, and others, have assuaged the multitude by *agreeing to raise the wages of labour*. In some places a sort of suspension of hostilities has been thus effected. But, at *Ely* (a place which I and my family shall always remember !) the fight seems to have been quite a regular thing. The "conflict was *sharp*"; the enemy fired at the Magistrates and Troops, the latter returned the fire ; the insurgents soon began to fly in every direction, with loss in *killed, wounded, and prisoners*, the latter a *hundred and four* in number, with more "hourly bringing in," while, on the side of the Magistrates, the loss was only two or three *slightly wounded*. Parties of Troops were, when last heard of, "*scouring the district*," and had "*brought in*" great quantities of wild-fowl, swivels, guns, pikes, &c. and more troops and "*two pieces of flying artillery*" were hastening to the scenes of action. After the battle, the Revd. Sir Bate, we are told, *thanked the Troops*, in the name of the *Commander in Chief* ! Why, this is really an *achievement*. The victory of Sir Bate seems to have been nearly as wonderful as that of your brave and enlightened General Jack-

son over our Generals Packenham and Gibbs, at New Orleans. The enemy at *Ely* fled to the Fens ; in your case, he fled to the sea. A *monument* has been voted to record the fame of General Packenham. And, surely Sir Bate will have some mark of honour conferred on him.

It may be proper to call the offending persons "*insurgents, savages, villasins, monsters, &c.*" as the Courier news-paper does. But, then, there are great numbers of *Englishmen*, who are insurgents, savages, villains and monsters. There is no getting out of this dilemma. The fact is, they are people in *want*. They are people who have *nothing to lose*, except their lives ; and of these they think little, seeing that they have so little enjoyment of them. *Naturally* they are no more savages, villains and monsters than your country people and other working people are. There are never any mobs about *prices* in your country. The market people are never attacked there. A woman, a girl, a boy, or any weak old man, sets off in the evening, and travels *all night*, with a cart or on horse back, with meat, butter, eggs, &c. from all parts of the country, to arrive at Philadelphia market at break of day. Thousands of persons do this in the course of every year ; and I never heard of any one being robbed on the way. Now, I will venture to say, that if a woman, so laden, was to attempt in like manner, to travel to any town in England, during the night, she would never arrive safe at the end of thirty miles ; and, that, if she had as many lives as a cat, she would lose them before she would, by night (and her route being previously well known) carry her money home.

Am I to allow, think you, that it is in the *nature* of Englishmen to rob and murder ? If I were base, or foolish, enough to commit this act of injustice, I should be confuted in a minute by any one who chose to remind me, that your country was chiefly settled by Englishmen ; that, as your *names* prove, the far greater part of you are of English descent ; and that no very trifling part of your people were actually borne in England. What, then, can be the cause of a difference so disgraceful to us ? I am sure, that none of our Priests, regular or irregular, will allow, that you have better religion than we have. Indeed you cannot, seeing that we have religion of *all* the sorts that ever

were heard of in the world. The cause *must*, therefore, be the difference in the government; and, I defy any Cossack, though he should have sworn to do all in his power to exterminate freedom, to show that the difference in this part of the character of the two nations is to be ascribed to any other cause.

To plunder a market cart would, in America, hardly pay. It would hardly yield enough to compensate the robber for his loss of time, leaving the risk of punishment wholly out of the question. Besides, what is he to do with the plunder? He cannot eat it while it is wholesome, and he has already plenty of food in his house. It is *want*; it is *sheer hunger*; this is what fills a country with robbers, and also with murderers, seeing that murder is frequently necessary to the perfecting of robbery. When pressing want has led the way, then, indeed, the robber proceeds to the gratification of imaginary wants. When once hunger has given him an introduction, his mind becomes familiar with crimes.

Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to create want in a great part of a people must have a tendency to create crimes, especially those of robbery and murder. The present riots have clearly arisen out of want; out of the want of food, which will make even dumb animals break down, or leap over, fences. *Give us food!* is the cry. "*Bread or Blood*" was, it seems, the Motto on the flags in Suffolk; and, if Messrs. BROUGHAM, MACINTOSH, and HORNER and their "School Committee" were to call all their brethren of the Edinburgh Bar to their assistance, they would not, I believe, be able to compose a phrase so completely to the purpose. It is not "*Books or Blood*." Here is no out-cry for books. 'Tis *food* they want; and I know from my own observation, and have a hundred times stated the fact, that, even before this terrible distress came upon us, the labouring people had not *half a sufficiency* of food.

*Why*, it is so; *why* the poor creatures thus suffer, I have, many times over, fully explained; and, judge you, then, what sense there is in supposing, that the evils of the country, that the weight of the poor-rates, and the thievishness of the poor, are to be removed by teaching the poor children to *write* and *read*! It would be, to the full, as reasonable to ex-

pect, that the miseries and cries, now prevalent, would be removed by that other famous Edinburgh scheme of making a total revolution in our *weights and measures*. I wish these Northern Gentlemen, instead of spending their time in contrivances for *enlightening the English*, would apply a little of it in endeavouring to prevail upon their own country to pay something like its share of the taxes. I wish they would so manage things, that, before they come to teach us "*industrious habits*," their own country should cease to burden us with the expence of making its highways and canals. Before they come to teach the English "*steady habits*," I wish they would teach their own country to pay its own *Sheriffs of counties*, as we pay ours (or, rather ours want *no pay*,) and not throw the burden upon us *luxury people*. To hold up Scotland as an object of *our imitation* is to be impudent to a degree worthy of blows. What instances of *liberality* have ever been seen there? Look at the *tax book* and the *office and pension list*; and you will soon see, that Scotland devours in *places and pensions*, including *offices*, *more than she pays* in taxes. Only think of the impudence of affecting to consider us as in need of the *example of Scotch industry and sobriety*, while they actually come to us to build their bridges, and to make their roads and canals! And *for what*! What is the pretence? Why, in order to *give employment to the Scotch poor to prevent them from emigrating to America*! What an injustice is this to England! What a folly, to be sure, altogether; but, above all, what impudence it is in these Edinburgh empirics to affect to regard the English as a people behind them in science and morals! Nevertheless these forward pretenders, who thrust their noses every where, do get on with their projects, in general, far enough, at least, to fill their own pockets pretty well. A state of things is come now, however, in which their impudence will avail them little. They may work on with their School-Project; but, unless they can keep up the amount of the taxes, their school-project will be of no more use than the barbarous *kelts* of their countrymen were at the Battle of Alexandria, where they pretended to take, and claimed the honour of taking, a standard, which was afterwards *proved* to have been taken by a *Frenchman*, in our service.



You, in America, will say, "what is all this to us." It is a good deal to you, if you wish to be informed truly as to what is going on here. Have you any conception of any foolery, any impudence (for I do not know which to call it) equal to that of a Society, formed in London, the avowed object of which is to *preserve the Gaelic Language and the manners of the Highlanders?* They have chosen the Prince Regent one of their members, and have actually addressed him in person, *in that barbarous dialect!* God preserve us! I hope they are not going to compel us all to talk the Scottish tongue and to wear kelts! The Prince is to be their President; and, thus, he is to become the patron of Schools wherein to teach the *Gaelic Tongue*, or, rather *braying*. Who, but such people as these, would have thought of teaching that, which all men of sense are glad to see nearly out of use? What would you think of a project for teaching the English the orthography of Chaucer, or the brogue of Lancashire?

The truth appears to be, that there is a desire to prevent the old *Clanship* and feudal slavery from being worn away. It is pretended, that the Highlands produce "a *warlike* race, useful to the nation." But, it is a notion contradicted by experience as well as by reason, that men in savage life make the best soldiers. Savages may suit the purposes of a government, whose mode of warfare is savage; but, the lazy, filthy savage is far from being *so good a soldier* as the man, who has been reared up in civilized society.

But, \* \* \* \* \*  
And, you may be assured, that this is the *real* cause, why this Highland trick is played off.

It is curious to observe the *ferment*, in which the world is. Alexander is proclaiming at Petersburg in support of the *Christian Religion*; just as if that were *not safe*. Our Regent is proclaiming about the risings in England. In France Louis is proclaiming against plots and conspiracies. They have begun again to murder the Protestants in the South of France, just at the time that Alexander is proclaiming. In Barbadoes the Negroes are burning plantations. At *Honiton* in Devonshire, the people have just begun to burn bakers' shops, as the newspapers of yesterday tell me. Ireland is in a state,

for the greater part, of *permanent proclamation*. And, 300 Swiss and 400 Wurtembergers are at Amsterdam, ready to set sail for the United States of America, notwithstanding Parson Bates's newspaper, some time ago, expressed its *sweet satisfaction*, that our war against the United States had *cost them 14 millions!* This is the *end* of all their measures. They may do what they please, or what they *can*. America is open at last, unless she can be *cajoled* (for she is not to be *forced*) into a state of slavery, the cause of freedom must yet triumph. *Seven hundred people*, who wish to avoid the oppressions of Europe, all ready to embark at once! Only let the thing go on thus for a few years, and despotism will easily be set at defiance.

There are several correspondents, upon the subject of *emigration*, who shall receive an answer in my next Number.

WM. COBBETT.

#### PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

(*Lord Castlereagh's Speech continued from p. 704.*)

The Protestants had risen to power since the revolution, and had secured to themselves the majority of public offices. (A laugh). This power they enjoyed under Bonaparte, while the return of the Bourbons gave the Catholics hopes of supplanting them, which from their numbers, loyalty, and patriotism, they considered themselves justly entitled to do. The Noble Lord then proceeded to read many more passages, among which the most striking were, "that previously to the return of Bonaparte several songs had been sung, insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, and exciting rancour and animosity. The Duke of Angouleme, who was then in the country, hastened to meet Bonaparte at Lyons, but he was stopped by the treachery of General Mallet; his followers then dispersed, and fell victims to the fury of the Protestants or the adherents of Bonaparte." (Mark the synonyme, said Sir Samuel Romilly, the Protestants, or the adherents of Bonaparte,) "During the four following months the Protestants committed great excesses on the royalists; at this period commenced the re-action, and the excesses were retaliated after the news of

the battle of Waterloo: the disturbances at Nismes were carried to a perilous extent, but those who committed them were of the lowest class of Catholics; the richer Protestants suffered in their property and houses. However, the crimes were greatly exaggerated, and many accounts in the English newspapers were entirely forged. The number of lives lost in the department were under 1,000, and at Nismes under 200. The House must see that the King had no authority, no army, here. There were details in the management of government, of which no man sitting here tranquilly in parliament could form a judgment. "A considerable number of houses was plundered and burnt; and though there was little doubt that encouragement was given to these crimes, yet many of the magistrates were disposed to resist: but they were provided with no military force. Matters stood thus, when on the arrival of Prince Stahremberg in August, measures were taken, by which a general distrust was excited among the Protestants; they were 120,000 in number, and it was in vain to expect tranquillity at once. The officer best qualified to restore peace was General Lagarde." This did not argue illiberality in the government to choose a Protestant for the command of the province, and, therefore it did look a little as if the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was seeking for a case, when he attributed to a general want of toleration measures taken for one troubled district. "General Lagarde's assassination was considered a public calamity; the Protestants had lost a friend who alone could give a free opinion to the Duke of Angouleme. The neighbouring departments, and the Protestants in them, with the exception of Cevennes, were in a state of tranquillity; and, after every inquiry, it appeared that the disturbances at Nismes were a local and partial feud." This then was the error of the societies in this country; they took the matter up as a general disturbance, and sent out their papers to places in perfect tranquillity; they further sent a respectable clergyman to the disturbed district, he published a pamphlet, which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman repeated, and this was the way in which it was attempted to harrow up the feelings of the House. "In the neighbouring districts there was no distur-

bance; in Montpelier there was no interruption of the communication between the two persuasions; intermarriages were celebrated between them, and the Protestant public functionaries continued in office. In Lyons there was no interruption of peace, and there was one minister of the reformed church so admired that many Catholics attended to hear him." Did this savour of general intolerance, or did it warrant the interference of the city of London? "It could not be wondered at, that in the department of the Gard the King should not choose to place authority in those hands which had so lately been raised against him. There was not a conscientious Protestant who expected more liberality than had been exercised towards them: his Majesty was surely justifiable in refusing to place power in the hands of the Protestants at the present crisis, but it would be proper for him to adopt mild and conciliatory measures." If this was the case, our interference was more likely to produce evil than good. "The disturbances were quite local, and had been greatly exaggerated." The Learned Gentleman would not recommend prosecuting one side, without also attacking the other [Loud cries from the opposition;] he had admitted that no outrages had occurred since December, and he now wished to revive the disputes; but by making ourselves a party we should only increase the evil. "There was no hope of tranquillity without a change of ministry." But with this parliament could not interfere. "A late communication from Nismes complained of severity towards the Protestants, and assigned as a reason the letter received from the Protestant Society in London." [Hear, hear, hear.] "They caused a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness among the Protestants themselves." It was impossible that foreign interference could produce any effect but the contrary of what was wished; the present had been productive of injury by exciting false hopes on the one side, and jealousy on the other; and the best informed Protestants, though they respected the motive, dreaded the consequences of such interference. The house would see that there was no ground to charge the French with systematic persecution and intolerance; that the disturbances were completely local, and the

departments on the very borders of it were tranquil and unaffected: he had reason to hope, therefore, that this serious mischief would soon find an end. He did not deny that the mischief was serious, but it was not by blowing a trumpet, and telling a tale, to make people believe that we were returned to the bigotry of the 9th century—it was not by highly colouring the violences of one party that we could put an end to these religious struggles. It was on these grounds—on a persuasion that the French government had but one feeling and one interest (for who would be benefitted, or what rational object could be gained, by fomenting these disturbances?)—that he thought any proposal impolitic which would lead parliament to interfere, on the notion that we stood in a relation with respect to France which justified our demanding some concessions. He denied that we stood in any such relation; we were obliged to keep a military force there, because we were persuaded that the government of Louis XVIII. was the most likely to ensure peace. We were pledged to support him against any revolutionary spirit that remained, but we had not given a pledge that we should interfere or administer the internal jurisprudence of France—we were the protectors of our own rights, not of the government of France. He hoped, and was indeed satisfied that the Honourable Gentleman could have no design to cast obloquy on the members of that government; but he knew that there were others who promoted such designs: there were spirits abroad who were anxious to overturn the power of Louis XVIII. and the peace which had placed their prospects at an immediate distance. He warned the country against the proposals that had been made: there was no prospect of happiness but in peace, and no peace but in the present government of France. He acquitted the Hon. and Learned Gentleman of any bad intentions, but his speech would certainly be attended with bad consequences, containing, as it did, such exaggerated statements, dressed up with all the eloquence of which the subject was capable. His Lordship would not give his consent to a motion so injurious. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. BROUGHAM complained that the tone and manner of the Noble Lord were not at all justified by any thing that had

fallen from his Hon. and Learned Friend (Sir S. Romilly). He begged leave to put in a distinct disclaimer to the objects and principles imputed by the Noble Lord—first, as to the hostility of the supporters of the motion to the family of Bourbon; next, as to their wish to disturb the peace of Europe by destroying the tranquillity of France; and thirdly, as to their intention of enforcing a direct and offensive interference with the internal regulations of the French government—an interference alien to the plainest principles of policy, and upon a subject that could be touched only with a most cautious and delicate hand. For the information of the Noble Lord, who appeared to be most singularly ignorant upon this subject, he begged to state, that it was possible to moot a question of this kind, to ask for accounts of the state of our persecuted Protestant brethren, and what steps had been taken for their relief and protection, without danger of exposing the country to the calamity of a new war. (The whole scope of the proposition was to obtain information, that, if deemed necessary by parliament, steps might be taken; and although the Noble Lord might refuse his assent, a very important object had been accomplished, for in the course of his speech the Noble Lord had given most ample and valuable information, which more than confirmed the statement made of the horrible atrocities of which the deluded Catholics had been guilty in the department of La Gard. While the Noble Lord, with such exultation among his friends, was reading the statement, which he had produced to the House, every man, not blinded by admiration of the stupendous abilities of his Lordship, must have seen that it completely proved the case in favour of the motion: the Noble Lord was partially aware of the fact, and had interlarded his document with such observations as he thought calculated to remove the unfavourable impression. So far from showing that the assertions of the honourable mover had been exaggerated, it proved directly the contrary. The House had heard with astonishment, that no less than 1,000 murders had been committed,—a number far exceeding the calculation of other men. The Noble Lord had next endeavoured to alarm the House by referring to a period not long past, when religious con-

troversy had produced unhappy consequences in the county of Armagh; but did he mean to say, that even during the rebellion of 1793 and 1799 the outrages had equalled those of La Gard? (Lord Castlereagh said across the table that he did not refer to the date mentioned.) If the Noble Lord did not allude to the rebellion, his argument was the weaker; for if not during the period of rebellion, where could be found any thing like a parallel to the horrors of La Gard. Within the space of three months a thousand murders had been committed: where could similar atrocities be found in the history almost of any country? What had fallen from the Noble Lord regarding the ten thousand men who had oppressed a part of France by their adherence to Bonaparte did not at all apply, because at that period hostilities had not ceased. The motion did not require that this country should draw the sword in favour of the Protestants: other means of redress were in our hands which might be used without any breach of amity. It was the duty of England to use them peacefully, and delicately, in proportion to the importance and delicacy of the subject. It was the duty of government to make such representations to the authorities in France, as became the situation of that country, and the attitude we were entitled to assume. A renewal of hostilities would not necessarily be the consequence: on the contrary, in former times, when we had felt called upon to interpose in favour of those who were unjustly suffering, our sympathy had been frequently rewarded by the accomplishment of the desired object. The Noble Lord had frequently reverted to a favourite topic—the injury done to the cause of the Protestants by the humane interference of their brethren in this country; and the example of those benevolent persons was held up as a warning to the house. “Though your ancestors have frequently interposed with effect, you must not think of endeavouring to rescue these unhappy people from destruction,” said the Noble Lord; and what was the reason assigned? “I admit (added his Lordship) that their persecutors inflict upon them inhuman cruelties; that they are tortured—that they are murdered; that in three months 1,000 murders for conscience-sake have been perpetrated, and not one offender executed

or even brought to trial: but you must not interfere, because the generous sympathy of the people of England will only draw down upon the Protestants of France new calamities.” [Hear.] Such was the argument of the Noble Lord: and he (Mr. Brougham) had heard it with more regret, because it was not the last time it would be employed. The subject of the Slave Trade, was shortly to be brought before the House,—another attempt would be made to ameliorate the condition of those with whom we had, in common, neither manners, language, religion, nor complexion: but, what would be the answer of the Noble Lord to such a proposition? He had given a foretaste of it to-night. “Do not interfere (he would say)—do not endeavour to promote the happiness of the slaves; it is true they are now whipped with scourges, but if you interpose they will be flogged with scorpions.” Such an argument would not impose upon the understanding of Parliament. The Noble Lord had stated, that he was no friend to peace who diminished the stability of the present government of France: it was true that conflicting opinions had been entertained as to the propriety of our interference in the establishment of the Bourbons, but both parties might now join sincerely in the prayer that that family might not be disturbed. That it should continue on the throne of France, presenting a firm front to its enemies, and a benevolent countenance to its friends, must be the nearest and dearest wish of every man who rejoiced in the happiness of France, and in the tranquillity of Europe; but he was at a loss to imagine how this government was prevented from remonstrating on the subject of the Protestants at a time when we had an army in France, and a General with powers little less than sovereign. He trusted that the present discussion would operate as a spur to those who had authority in our neighbour kingdom; at least it would show, that there were a few persons in Great Britain who felt the ancient sympathy of their forefathers, and who felt equal piety for the persecuted, and indignation at the authors of their calamities.

Lord BINNING maintained that Protestants and Bonapartists were in truth synonymous; and that interference was most of all to be avoided at a time when

we had an imposing force in France, because then it would be most likely to give umbrage.

Mr. W. SMITH supported the motion.

Sir Samuel ROMILLY, in reply, said, that it was not his intention to divide the house upon the question. He had never known more flagrant injustice done to an individual than he had experienced in the course of this debate. Never having himself intentionally given offence, he was at a loss to account for the marked and designed injustice done him by the Noble Lord. [Order, order, from Lord Castlereagh.] He had no wish to give personal offence to the Noble Lord, but he thought he had not been fairly treated. Principles and motives had been attributed to him which he had never entertained, both with regard to the government of France, and to the dangerous interference which he was supposed to require. The kind of interference which he recommended was one merely of amicable suggestion and good offices; and it was admitted on the other side, that ministers had already interfered to a certain extent. The Noble Lord had accused him of exaggeration; but he was extremely happy that the report to which the Noble Lord had alluded as authority bore ample testimony to the truth of all his statements. The Noble Lord must know that he abstained from mentioning many circumstances of horror, which, if it had been his wish to inflame the feelings or imagination of the house, he might have derived from the same source of information. He was not conscious of any intention to heighten the colour of those descriptions, because the mention of them was abhorrent to his nature, or because he could not express himself with the same coolness as others in touching upon such subjects. [Hear, hear.] In consequence, however, of what had fallen from the other side, he must remind the Noble Lord, that whilst the town of Nismes was in the possession of the Bonapartists, not a single murder had been committed. The latter party never directed their hostility against religion as a distinctive characteristic of political inclination. The persecution carried on by the emissaries, partisans of the present government of France, had been aimed against the Protestants as such. He certainly thought the proclamation of the government, describing these outrages as

excusable acts of vengeance, entirely without justification. He was quite sure that the present discussion would be attended with happy effects, and that it would serve to exhibit to the world that there was at least one place in which the enormities of such monsters as he had described, however they might be countenanced or rewarded elsewhere, were sure to be stamped with the infamy which belonged to them. Was it because it was only in the department of the Gard, containing a population of 160,000 persons, where these disorders prevailed, that they were to be regarded as unworthy of notice? As the Noble Lord had thought proper to refer to the period of 1780, he would also remind him that although a religious mob then domineered, they did not commit a single murder; but that, on the other hand, government acted with an extraordinary severity. Much blood was shed both in the streets and on the scaffold, and it was not the fault of government that Lord George Gordon was not brought to a public execution. He had certainly as good a right to comment on the proclamation of Louis as on a proclamation of his own king. He felt great respect for the personal character of Louis; but he considered that he, as well as our own Prince-Regent, had the misfortune to be dependent on others. After hearing the whole case made out by the Noble Lord, he had no doubt that, under all its circumstances, the letter of the Duke of Wellington was wholly unjustifiable on the facts. He would not divide the house, but he felt satisfied that the result of this discussion would be beneficial.

After a few words of explanation from Lord BINNING and Lord CASTLEREAGH, the question was put and negatived.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

(May 31, 1816.)

Mr. J. P. GRANT moved the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the finance resolutions. He regretted that this important subject had not fallen into abler hands; but he felt that he should have neglected his duty, had he not called the attention of the House to it. There was no man but must be aware that the country was in a state of unparalleled financial difficulty. Not

only did the expenditure of this year exceed the revenue, but there was no immediate prospect of its being otherwise in future years. If, therefore, his motion should tend to convince the House of the imperative necessity of adopting a scale of economy in the national expenditure, a great object would be attained. Despondency as to our finances was not his feeling, because a great nation like this could always call forth adequate resources; but it would be requisite that every man should lend his best efforts to prevent financial derangement. It had always appeared to him extraordinary that ministers should not have appealed to the House in this critical emergency; and that, instead of submitting the finances of the country to a Committee of the House, they had preferred resorting to temporary expedients. He was aware that any thing like perfect accuracy could not be expected from him; indeed, any person, not possessing the facilities of official information, must find it difficult to arrive at a correct statement. To be detected in a slight inaccuracy would give him no sort of pain; but if it could be shown that he was materially wrong in his calculation of the expenditure and revenue of the United Kingdom, he should feel the greatest satisfaction, because every person must rejoice to find that our situation was not so alarming as it was conceived to be. He had endeavoured to render his statement as concise as possible; he had not given the total produce of the taxes, nor taken the total expenditure; all he had done was, to state from the votes of the House, and the estimates laid upon the table, the expenditure of this year; and, on the other hand, he had taken the revenue of the year exclusive of the consolidated fund. He had not taken Ireland separately, but had stated the expenditure of the United Kingdom. With these observations, he should proceed to detail the facts which were included in the resolutions which he was about to propose. The first part of the resolutions went to show the sums that had been voted for the army, navy, ordnance, sinking fund, and the interest on Exchequer bills now outstanding. The first resolution stated, that there had been voted for the service of the navy, during the present year, the sum of 10,114,345*l.* 1*l.* 7*d.* The second resolution stated, that, exclusive of the ex-

pense of the army serving in France, to be defrayed out of the contributions stipulated in the treaty of peace, and of the regiments in the East Indies, which were to be maintained by the East India Company, there had been voted for the service of the army during the present year the sum of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* The third resolution stated, that in this sum the expence of the commissariat in Ireland was included, but the commissariat in England amounted to the sum of 405,240*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* The fourth resolution was that, exclusive of the expence of the barrack department in Ireland, which formed a part of the above sum of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* voted for the army, an estimate had been presented of the expence of the barrack department during the present year, which amounted to the sum of 178,626*l.* The fifth resolution stated that the extraordinary expences of the army for the present year might be estimated at 1,500,000*l.* The sixth resolution stated, that the said several sums of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*, 405,240*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, 178,626*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* forming the total expence of the army for the present year, amounted to 10,587,972*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* The 7th resolution stated, that including the sum of 67,205*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* for the service of Great Britain in 1814; and of 16,851*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the service of Great Britain in 1815; and of 19,384*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* for services in Ireland in 1815; but exclusive of the ordnance military corps in France, there had been voted for the charge of the office of ordnance during the present year, the sum of 1,696,185*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* The eighth resolution stated, that the miscellaneous services of the present year might be estimated at the sum of 2,000,000*l.* The ninth resolution stated, that there had been rated for the interest and sinking fund on exchequer bills outstanding, during the present year, the sum of 2,260,000*l.* The tenth resolution stated, there had been voted for discharging certain annuities, granted by two acts of the 37th and 42d years of his present Majesty, the sum of 174,681*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The eleventh resolution stated, there had been voted, for paying off debentures issued in pursuance of two acts of the 53d year of his present Majesty, and the interest due thereon, the sum of 807,085*l.* The twelfth resolution stated, that there was payable to the Bank of England, upon exchequer

bills outstanding and falling due during the present year, the sum of 1,500,000*l.* The thirteenth resolution stated, that there must be provided, during the present year, to discharge the debt due to the East India Company, the sum of 245,491*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The fourteenth resolution stated, that the said several sums forming, so far as the same could at present be ascertained, the expenditure to be defrayed by Great Britain during the present year, exclusive of the charges on the consolidated fund, but including the proportion of the said expenditure payable under the treaty of union by Ireland, amount to the sum of 30,085,761*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* The fifteenth resolution stated, that in the year ending 5th of January, 1816, the sums actually applied to defray the charges on account of the national debt of Ireland, including interest on exchequer bills, amounted to 6,369,170*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*; whilst the net revenue paid into the exchequer of Ireland during the same year, was only 5,752,861*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*, leaving a deficiency of the revenue to defray the charges of the national debt, amounting to 616,308*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* in Irish currency. The sixteenth resolution stated, that, as the revenue of Ireland appeared to be thus incapable of defraying even the charges on account of its national debt, a further sum must be provided to defray the expense of the civil list, and other permanent charges, which, in the year ending 5th January, 1816, amounted to 500,915*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency. The seventeenth resolution stated, that, under these circumstances, no part of the proportion payable under the treaty of union by Ireland, towards the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, could be calculated as receivable from the revenues of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, the deficiency of the said revenues to defray the charges on the national debt, and the expenses of the civil list, and other permanent charges of that country, must be in future otherwise provided for: which deficiency on the said accounts amounted, in the year ending the 5th January, 1816, to 1,117,224*l.* 7*s.* Irish currency, or 1,031,284*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* British. The eighteenth resolution stated, that on the 5th of January last, the sum due by Ireland to Great Bri-

tain, as the balance arising from the payments made by each country respectively, on account of the joint charges of the United Kingdom, amounted in British currency to the sum of 2,942,280*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*; and that on the same day there remained in the Exchequer of Ireland an unappropriated balance, amounting in Irish currency to the sum of 1,448,086*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* making in British currency 1,336,695*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*; which last sum being deducted from the said sum of 2,942,280*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* there remained a further sum to be provided on account of Ireland, in the present year, amounting in British currency to 1,605,585*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The nineteenth resolution stated, that, supposing the deficiency of the revenue of Ireland in the present year to be the same as in the last, the said sum of 1,031,284*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* together with the said sum of 1,605,585*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and the said sum of 30,085,761*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* would form the whole expense of the United Kingdom during the present year, so far as the same could be at present ascertained, exclusive of the charges on the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and of the charges supposed to be provided for by the revenue of Ireland amounting in all to the sum of 32,722,630*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* This, then, being the actual amount to be provided for the whole service of the United Kingdom, he would next come to the ways and means for defraying this expenditure. The monies received or receivable within the year had been calculated at 16,584,976*l.*; which, being deducted from the sum of 32,722,630*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*, the total expenditure made a difference of 16,137,654*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* The Right Hon. gentleman had forgotten the transport service; but he had since found a sum to answer it, which balanced that account. A further sum of 500,000*l.* had been required for the new coinage, which, being taken from the sum of 2,520,340*l.* arising out of the Irish budget, there would remain a farther sum of 2,020,340*l.* to be provided for; and this being deducted from the 16,137,654*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* left a balance of 14,117,314*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* to be provided for.

(To be Continued.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*On the subject of Emigration to America.  
—Arrival of Literary Ambassadors at  
New York.*

I can easily excuse, at a moment like the present, the applications that are made to me for information upon this subject. More than 2,000 passports, the papers tell us, have been granted within one month, to persons emigrating to the Continent of Europe; and, we learn, through the same channels, "that many men, who have obtained certificates from the Justices of the Peace to go to America, have left their wives and children for the parish to keep." This America cannot be the real America; the flourishing, the happy America, where a strong, able, sober labourer may, if he choose, live well and save 30 pounds sterling a year. Because, to go to this America, a man need: no certificate from any body, as the law now stands. I am not aware, that I can, at present, give any information in particular relative to emigration. I will never advise any person to emigrate; but, I will, from time to time, give the best information I possess as to the state of America; and I promise myself that this information will soon become very regular and perfectly accurate; for, I have the very great pleasure of informing my readers, that my Ambassadors arrived at the beautiful City of New York on the 10th of May, after a very tempestuous voyage. On the 11th they write to me a hasty letter, in which, however, they state, that New York surpasses their most sanguine expectations, though those expectations had been raised very high. They say, that ten thousand persons have arrived at that one city, from Europe, since the peace; and that the last year's importation of merchandize in that port alone has amounted to fifty-

three millions of Dollars. But, these parts of their letter are far less interesting to me than another part, which informs me of a recent triumph of the principles of real freedom over all their foolish and wicked opponents. An Albany paper, which the Ambassadors have enclosed, in their dispatch, No. 1, shews me, that, for the House of Assembly of the great and opulent State of New York, 88 members out of 126, have been just chosen by the sworn enemies of what has been impudently called "*legitimacy*." But, a paragraph from a New York paper, which is a Cossack, apparently, and devoted to the English *Factory* there, has pleased me more than any thing else. This paper is called "the New York Evening Post;" the date is 10th May; and the paragraph is in the following words:—"We perceive, by the ship-news of the day, that the agent which Cobbett so condescendingly promised to send to New York early in the present spring, has actually arrived this forenoon. But he has reached his destination the day after the fair; owing to the very long passage the ship has had; no less than 75 days. Had he come a fortnight sooner, and commenced his operations, he might have laid claim to the honour of the victory which democracy has lately achieved."—Thus I have the best possible proof, that the cause of freedom triumphs in that country. Yes, the recent events in Europe have opened the eyes of those persons in America, who were not quite blind; and these events will not be tardy in driving from public hearing any man, in that country, who shall still remain base enough to attempt to support the principles of despotism. "*The day after the fair!*" Oh, no, Sir! My Ambassadors were not dispatched, I can assure you, on any transient errand. They are not sent for any special purpose. They are not ministers extraordinary, whose business it is to qualify for a good thumping pension for the rest of their lives. They are to be



*resident Ambassadors* at the great court of freedom in America, and are to be the regular channel of communication between that court and the free minds at Botley. Oh, no, Sir! Mine are none of those sneaking missionaries, those perversing professors of friendship, those spies under the garb of affection, those satanic interlopers, who, while they smile on and wheedle you, are plotting, in their malignant hearts, how they shall transform your Paradise into a place resembling the Hells that they have left behind them. Oh, no, Sir! My Ambassadors were not sent for the purpose of aiding in the decision of one election. Such an object, if I were vain enough to suppose myself capable of effecting it, would be of too temporary a nature. My object is to keep up a literary intercourse with your country. By the means of that intercourse I mean to make known to you and to the people of England, truths the most important, and truths, which, without an intercourse of this very description, can never be made known. The origin of this mission I have explained. The motives have been as truly stated to the public as to my own pillow. I have disguised no step that I have taken, and no single step will I disguise, or attempt to disguise.

It appears to me, and long has appeared to me, that the cause of freedom could in no possible way be so effectually assisted, and that of despotism so effectually assailed, as by making the people of America and of England well acquainted with all that passes and has passed in the two countries respectively, and by spreading, throughout the world, by means of the American press, facts which otherwise must remain long, and, perhaps, for ever, unknown.—I have before described the manner, in which the two nations, the two peoples, have been kept in a state of ignorance with regard to each other. The newspapers, and other Periodical Publications, going from England, have been, and must continue to be, the grossest deceivers upon earth. Nine-tenths of them are devoted to corruption; the other tenth are held in awe. No truth, no useful political truth, can possibly go through such a channel.—From America excellent matter might always have been received; but, the channel was not open. The persons corresponding with each other in the two

countries were such as were by no means likely to feel any interest, much less any zeal, in the promulgation of useful political truths. Hence no periodical publications reached us (except by mere accident) but such as represented the American people in the odious light of friends of despotism on the one side, and as bloody-minded savages on the other.—I have before shewn how all my endeavours to obtain a regular supply of true information have been defeated, and, even during the last week of May, two parcels, kindly sent me by Mr. Mitchell of the National Advocate of New York, have been lost to me, in consequence of their having been sent to the Post-Office by the Captain of the ship Triton, from which office they came to me, charged with postage to the amount of thirteen pounds sterling!—Now, I ask, not any lover of truth; not any friend of fair-play; but, I ask any hypocritical Cossack, of either country, whether it be not laudable to endeavour to surmount such obstacles to free-discussion; such unnatural, such odious bars between the minds of men? I have not only endeavoured to surmount them; I have surmounted them. And, if the hopes and expectations of a mind naturally sanguine do not deceive me upon a point where a parent is most likely to be too sanguine, the success of the enterprise is placed even beyond the powers of disease and of death itself. Experience has taught me not to be so stupidly conceited as to suppose, that I, or my sons, are able to be directly the worker, or workers, of the great good that I contemplate. But, as those humble creatures, the Silk-worm and the sheep, supply the means of cloathing and decorating so large a part of man and woman kind; so may our materials, by passing through abler hands, largely contribute towards the dissemination of useful political knowledge; towards the storing of the minds of the rising generation with interesting facts and sound deductions; towards keeping alive the flame of real liberty at a time when the most enormous and atrocious efforts are making to extinguish every spark of the sacred fire in every human breast.

WM. CORBETT.



TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

LETTER XVI.

*A reduction of the interest of the National Debt talked of in the House of Commons.*

Botley, 7th June, 1816.

The great subject, the *touching of the interest of the National Debt*, has, at last, been clearly stated in the Parliament. I observed, several months ago, that the matter would begin to be *talked of* this session; and, that, in all human probability, the *next session* would see something *done*. It is a subject of infinite importance, not only to us, but to the *whole world*; for, into what part, what nook or corner, of the world, does not this government thrust its hand? And, therefore, as you may be well assured, the fate of this government, or, rather, this present System of sway, depends entirely upon the fate of the funds; that is to say, upon the capacity of the government to get from the nation at large the means of paying the interest of the Debt which the government has contracted; as you may be well assured that this is the case, you will want nothing more to convince you, that the subject now before us is the most interesting that can be imagined to the liberties and happiness of mankind. All the kings and emperors of Europe; the Bourbons and their Royalists; the Pope; the Dominicans; the Jesuits; the Holy Office; the Cossack Priesthood of America. All have a deep interest in this question. In short \* \* \* \*; and, therefore, I shall not scruple to go into it in the fullest manner that my limits and time will allow.

In the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, a Mr. JOHN PETER GRANT, who is a Scotch Lawyer, I believe (for I have never heard of him till this winter), because I see, that he is a Member of the *Kelt Society*, and because they call him, "the *learned Gentleman*," brought forward a series of *Resolutions* on the state of the *Finances*. It has been a custom, for many years, for some man, who belongs to what is called "*the Opposition*," the nature and end of which I have so clearly

described to you, to bring forward a set of formal propositions, describing the state of the finances; and, of course, with a view to produce an impression unfavourable to the Ministry and their management. As a counterpart to such propositions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being has always produced a set of propositions of an opposite tendency, which, he *always* having a majority of votes, have been passed by the House after the rejection of those of the Opposition man. This Office of Annual Resolution Proposer was filled for many years, by Mr. Sheridan; it then fell to Mr. Tierney; next it was taken up by a Mr. George Johnson, whom I have not heard of for some years. He went out of public life like the snuff of a Rush-light. I should, really, be glad to know what became of him. He worked so hard at this Resolution grinding, that in hot weather, he used actually, as I was informed, to strip to his shirt while engaged in it. Whether such intense application of the mind proved injurious to his intellectual or corporeal faculties, and thereby operated at once as a check to the pursuit in him and a discouragement to it in others, I know not; but, since his time, no one has undertaken the sublime task until a sufficiency of talent, courage, and patriotism were found in the person of Mr. J. P. Grant above-mentioned.

As I am not aware, that it would be possible for you to gather one single jot of useful information from a perusal of the Speech and the resolutions of Mr. Grant; as I am quite convinced, that every attentive reader of the Register must understand the real state of our financial resources and operations a great deal better than, from that speech and those Resolutions, Mr. J. P. Grant appears to me to understand them, I will not impose on you the fruitless task of reading either one or the other.

But, that which was said, upon this occasion by Mr. SMITH, one of the Members for the City of Norwich, is of great importance, especially when we view it in conjunction with what was said *in reply* by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with what it has called forth from the hired prints of this country. I will first give you the report of the words of Mr. Smith, which is as follows:

"Mr. W. SMITH rose to second the

“motion, and said that though great accuracy of detail had been brought forward by the Honourable Mover, yet this was not necessary on his view of the question. He did not attach any blame to his Majesty’s Ministers: the difficulties in which they had been placed were an excuse for many errors; but he recollected that he had seconded the repeal of the Income Tax, not because he thought the money was not wanted, but because the measure itself was so unconstitutional that he thought it incumbent on Parliament to redeem the pledge that had been given by the Minister, and repeal the Tax. It might be said, that his Honourable Friend had erred in some trifling particulars; but with that he had nothing to do—those sums were so small that they made no impression on the total deficit. Making all allowances for any errors or overstatements in the Resolutions of his Honourable and Learned Friend, the gloomy conclusion could not be got rid of, that in the next year there would be a great deficiency in the Finances. Whether the deficiency was 10 or 20 millions, it was still appalling, and he was convinced that it could only be provided for by the remedy which he had formerly hinted at. He wished his persuasion of that necessity might have proceeded from ignorance or despair, but he confessed that he did not contemplate the remedy he had alluded to, with that dismay with which others beheld it. If difficulties were looked in the face, it could not be disguised that, sooner or later some reduction must be made in the dividends; and though some Gentlemen had looked to such a measure with the most fearful and gloomy apprehensions of the consequences, he did not think that the effect would be so dangerous as was imagined.”

Now, it is no more than justice to myself to state, that I, several months ago, said, in the Register, that this matter would be begun to be talked of during this very session of parliament; that, from the moment the peace was first talked of, I warned the country against hoping to see the taxes reduced, unless loans were made in time of peace, or, unless a reduction were made in the Dividends on the Debt, or unless the System of Rule were

totally changed. To keep up this System I knew that a large peace establishment would be necessary. Every day of the Session has brought some new proof of the correctness of these opinions. Many hints have been thrown out about a reduction of the Dividends; but, at last, the hints have been changed into plain expressions. We will now see (for this is very important) what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in answer to this remark of Mr. Smith. We shall find him reproaching the proposition; but, we shall not find him showing, that the thing proposed can be avoided without re-imposing the odious task on Income.

“The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER admitted that the Hon. and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Grant) had done himself credit by the clearness of his statement, and the abilities he had displayed; but it was impossible that he could concur in his Resolutions, which added but one to the strings of gloomy prognostications which had regularly been submitted to Parliament at the close of the Session, and which had never been acted to by the House. The country, from year to year, had surmounted its difficulties, in spite of these predictions, and had finally triumphed in its great contest, and he trusted that experience would show that the Honourable and Learned Gentleman’s Resolutions were at least as groundless as those of any of his predecessors. The present difficulties of the country were great, but compared with those of former years not very alarming. We had long contended for existence—now the only question was whether we could dispense with burthens which the country had before borne and from which it had been relieved. He trusted that the country would not need to recur to those burthens, but, at any rate, the country would not be reduced to the extraordinary remedy hinted at by the Honourable Seconder (Mr. Smith.) This remedy, which the Honourable Member had mentioned less distinctly than became the proposer of such a measure, was nothing less than a national bankruptcy. The Honourable Member had on a former occasion spoken of the same proposal more distinctly, under the name of a reduction of the interest of the National Debt. It could not be necessary to say, that to a pro-

"position so devoid of justice and wisdom  
 "the House would never accede. The  
 "country would lose more in credit and  
 "resources of every kind, than it could  
 "in any manner gain by such an enormous  
 "breach of faith. (Hear, hear hear!)"  
 "Whatever burthens were imposed on the  
 "stockholders, in common with other  
 "classes of the King's subjects, they  
 "would cheerfully bear, as they had  
 "cheerfully borne the tax on their pro-  
 "perty when plausible reasons might have  
 "been urged against it. On this extra-  
 "ordinary proposal it was unnecessary to  
 "say more."

As to the "gloomy predictions" having  
 hitherto proved "groundless," if the fact  
 were such, that would be no reason to  
 believe, that such predictions will now  
 prove groundless. The affairs of a nation,  
 as they are a long while in moving, so are  
 they slow in falling into utter confusion.  
 "It is the last feather," as PAINE says,  
 "which breaks the horse's back." Besides,  
 what is ruin? If, twenty-five years ago,  
 we had been told that the nation would  
 be ruined, we might have asked the pro-  
 phet: "what do you call ruin?" And,  
 if he had said: "why, the whole of the  
 "real property of the country will be  
 "taxed to the full amount of the rent;  
 "the farmer will pay to the government  
 "more than he will pay to the landlord;  
 "the poor-rates will amount to eight mil-  
 "lions of pounds sterling a year; every  
 "fifth man will become a pauper or a  
 "beggar; it will be necessary to keep up  
 "in time of peace a regular army of 150  
 "thousand men; soldiers will be openly  
 "avowed to be employed, in a conside-  
 "rable part of the kingdom, to collect  
 "the taxes and make the people pay their  
 "tythes; misery will, at last, prevail to  
 "such a degree, that the occupiers of the  
 "land will decamp, leaving whole pa-  
 "rishes in a wild state, and the poor to  
 "seek food how they can; the rich will  
 "flee to the Continent of Europe in order  
 "to avoid paying such heavy taxes; it  
 "will be proposed in parliament to pass a  
 "law to compel them to remain at home;  
 "thousands upon thousands of the hardy  
 "and enterprising will go to America to  
 "better their lot; the jails will be filled  
 "with Debtors, lately persons of great  
 "respectability and of competence."

If this had been the answer of a pro-  
 phesying politician twenty-five years ago,

should we not have said: "aye! this  
 would, indeed, be ruin; but this never  
 will take place?" Would not this have  
 been our reply? Well, then, is not ruin  
*actually arrived?* The Chancellor of the  
 Exchequer, in order to obtain any degree  
 of weight to his argument, should have  
 shown, that the country was ever before  
 in such a state. On the contrary, he ac-  
 knowledges, and well he may, that the  
*difficulties* of the country are great,  
 though, he says, "not very alarming."  
 And, then he rides off upon the observa-  
 tion, that we "have been contending for  
 our existence." This I deny. I deny that  
 the war was either necessary or just. I  
 say, that we have been contending for the  
 restoration of the Bourbons and no for  
 any interest of England. We will, there-  
 fore, throw this interloping observation  
 aside, and stick to the matter in dispute.

The Chancellor plainly enough indi-  
 cates his opinion, that the thing cannot go  
 on without the Income Tax. "The *only*  
 question," he says, "is, whether we can  
 dispense" with that Tax or not. And, in  
 spite of his "*trusting*" that we *can*, Mr.  
 Ponsonby very justly concluded, that the  
 intention was to re-impose that terrible  
 impost; in answer to which conclusion no  
 observation was made. It is clear as day-  
 light, that it will be impossible to pay the  
 interest of the Debt and to keep up even  
 one half of the piece establishment with-  
 out the *Income Tax*, or, without *large*  
*loans*. The latter would, in a few years,  
 blow up the whole system; the former  
 would hasten greatly the exchange of real  
 property from hand to hand. The present  
 owners of estates must lose them; and  
 that, too, in a very few years; and, be-  
 fore this can take place, a serious strug-  
 gle of some sort must and will take place.

The Chancellor, poor man, appears to  
 have been, quite *shocked* at the proposition  
 of Mr. Smith. He spoke of a reduction of  
 the dividends, as being "nothing less than  
 "a *National Bankruptcy*; as something  
 "so devoid of justice that the House  
 "would never accede to it, as an *enor-*  
 "*mous breach of faith.*" And, indeed,  
 Mr. J. P. Grant appears to have concurred  
 in these views of the proposition. But,  
 then, we may very reasonably ask Mr. J.  
 P. Grant, why he did not point out some  
 other remedy for that defalcation, which  
 he said would *certainly* take place. As  
 to the *breach of faith*, we will observe on

it presently, when we have heard what the *Courier* of the next day said on the subject. And here, you will please to observe, that you are not to look upon the article, I am about to quote, as the production of the proprietor, or editor, of the *Courier*; but as the production of \* \* \* \* \*; and, therefore, worthy of great attention. Observe how they menace the Land-owners. The conflict of interests, which I have before described to you so fully, is here actually beginning to break out.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his strong, unqualified, and final dissent from the opinions advanced by Mr. W. Smith, which were understood to be in favour of *diminishing the interest* on the National Debt. Mr. W. Smith has suggested this remedy for our embarrassments on former occasions. There is not much of ingenuity or originality in the suggestion, though there is much of *boldness and of mischief*. Reduce the interest! Why not reduce the principal also! Of what value would be the principal without the interest? There is no engagement to repay the principal; the only engagement is to pay the interest. The property, therefore, consists in the interest, and *not in the principal*. And why, exclusively, rob those individuals of their property, who have been the most forward to assist the country in the hour of distress; who have, with the most ready confidence, placed their faith in Parliament? By what tenure do they hold their property? By the *law of the land*, solemnly enacted by the three branches of the Legislature. By what tenure do the *Landholders hold their property*? By law also; not indeed by statute law, but by common law, by usage. How came the Duke of Bedford, for instance, by his great landed estates? His ancestor having travelled on the Continent—a lively, pleasant man, became the companion of a foreign Prince, wrecked on the Dorsetshire coast where Mr. RUSSELL lived. The Prince recommended him to HENRY VIII. who, liking his company, gave him a large share of the plundered Church Lands. Why should such a property be more respected than that which has been acquired by the merchant, the manufacturer, the soldier, the sailor, the arti-

san; and which, on the faith of Parliament, has been advanced to Government? Should the gifts of a capricious tyrant be more respected than property which has been *hardly earned* and placed under the protection of the *three branches of the Legislature*? In principle we may perhaps agree with Mr. SMITH. Let the funded and landed and other property equally contribute to the reduction of the national debt. Let a part of the land go to this purpose as well as a part of the funds. The Property Tax fell on all alike, and so should the burthen of attaining the object Mr. SMITH has in view, which is undoubtedly a most desirable one. The Landholders, who constitute nine tenths of the Parliament, have decreed that the landed estates of Bankers are liable to their debts. The Parliament is the debtor of the *Fundholder*, and will it renounce its own principle of justice for its own particular advantage? Will it borrow money to ease its own property and then refuse to pay? This would be swindling. A County Member lately complained in Parliament, that commodities being now cheap, a Stockholder could buy double the quantity he lately could do, while Landholders' incomes were diminishing. But what is the truth? The war reduced the power of purchase by the Stockholder to one half, while that of the Landholder was more than doubled; and now that prices are beginning to return a little towards their former state, the Landholder cries out because the monstrous inequality does not continue in his favour! He has been wallowing in wealth while the income of the Stockholder has every year been deprived of more and more of its efficiency; and now he complains that this injustice does not continue! But we are not inclined to believe the resources of the country unequal to its necessities. At the end of the American war the same disproportion existed. Our difficulties are undoubtedly great, and must be met with rigid economy; but our dangers are at present only speculative. We must experience a few years of peace to ascertain our real situation. Our resources grew with the war; they expanded, adapted themselves with elasticity to every occasion. How gloomy were the

"predictions when the great commercial failures took place in 1793, and how have they been belied? Is not peace more friendly to national wealth than war? The change from the one state to the other may shock and alarm, but experience in the past should inspire confidence in the future. Of this we are certain, that a *Bankruptcy, such as Mr. Smith hints at, would produce a revolution.* Those most attached to *Church and State, as now existing, would be ruined; depreciation of commodities, want of employment, riots, insurrections, confusion, would ensue.* The only doubt would be, whether the troubles would end in the establishment of a *Military Government; or of a Republic, ruled by Dissenters.* — The *friends of the present system would disappear.*"

John Bull will look upon this article as the offspring of the brain of that meritorious person, Mr. Stuart, who from being a journeyman taylor, has mounted from the shop-board to a chariot by the means of the Courier, and which Mr. Stuart never did, I have heard, write a paragraph in his life. But you know whence the article really comes; and, in that knowledge, you possess, with regard to this very important subject, a great advantage. It is a subject, upon which the Opposition papers are *wholly silent.* To the *factions* it is like a hot poker. They dare not touch it yet. It must be first exposed a little to the air to get cool. Mr. Smith is of no faction. He wants neither place nor pension. He has, therefore, spoken out.

Let us, now, examine this article, and see what it is made of. It is very true, that the suggestion is *not novel*, if we include what has been said out of Parliament; for, I suggested the necessity of such a measure *more than ten years ago*; and, if it had been adopted at that time, with the qualifications that I proposed, the present difficulties and scenes of distress would never have existed. It is true, on the other hand, that, in all human probability, the Bourbons would not have been restored; the Pope would still have been a wanderer; the Dominicans and Jesuits might have still been waiters at inns; the Protestants of France might have still lived in safety; the Public Buildings at Washington might have not furnished a

subject for "the most brilliant dash of the whole war," as the Morning Chronicle called it; and we might have had no Waterloo Monument. But, I am quite sure, that the real peace and happiness of the country might, at that time, have been restored, without any serious and lasting injury to any description of persons. So far, however, was I from being heard with attention, that the newspapers of both parties fell upon me as if I were a monster in human shape. I was accused of being a swindler, a robber, a murderer; as if the Debt had been *due from me only!* Mr. SHERIDAN (wise patriot!) accused me *in parliament*; and gave hints to the Attorney-General, which were by no means unintelligible, that it would be proper to lay his hands upon a man who was endeavouring to *ruin the credit of the country!* Whether Mr. Sheridan be yet alive I have no means of knowing; but, if he be, and in a state to observe what is passing at this time, I hope he will have the justice to feel a little shame for his conduct of that day.

Though not *novel*, the writer says, that Mr. Smith's proposal is "*bold and mischievous.*" This is precisely the old cant. Bold! what, then, does it require any very great degree of boldness to propose a measure in parliament? To entitle the act to the merit of boldness, there must exist some *danger*; and, is it pretended, that Mr. Smith exposed himself to danger upon this occasion? I can remember, indeed, when Mr. Rosson's words were *taken down*, upon his saying that the Bank notes were little better than assignats, the Speaker declaring, that any Honourable Member was *disorderly*, who should say any thing to the prejudice of the credit of the country. Poor Mr. Rosson ate his words with all imaginable dispatch; and seemed to think himself very well off so to get out of the affair. But, that time is past. Mr. Smith may now not only suggest, but may propose, this measure without any degree of danger.

As to the *mischievousness* of the proposition, or, rather, suggestion, what was ever suggested, which tended to expose the System, and which was not called *mischievous*? Either Mr. Smith has reason on his side, or he has not. If he has not, it is easy to expose the fallacy of

his suggestion; if he has, his suggestion ought to be attended to, and is likely to do good. But, this is the sort of charge under which a bad cause always endeavours to shelter itself. No one is impudent enough to deny the benefit that must, as to all public matters, arise from *free discussion*. No one, not even the most interested priest, will deny this, as to matters of religion. But, when the pinch comes; when either the minister or the priest sees his system, or his measures, in danger from this free discussion; he then resorts to the charge of *mischievousness*, which he boldly brings against his opponent, whom he loads with all kinds of abuse and the imputation of every bad motive; and then, wrapping himself up in dignified silence, calls upon the Attorney General to *do his office*; and, when once this gentleman sets to work, he soon teaches your man of free discussion what is the real meaning of those words. This was literally the conduct of BURKE towards PAINE. The latter, having no support of any sort but that of his talents, sent forth *fifty thousand* copies of an answer to a book of the former, which, even with a government to push it about, had not reached, and never did reach a *sale of ten thousand*. Finding himself defeated and exposed, and unable to reply, BURKE actually, in his place in parliament, called on the Attorney General to make the reply! The call was speedily answered; the prosecution was carried on with success; Paine had his choice between Newgate and flight; his work was suppressed; fifty men, perhaps, first and last, were punished for promulgating the work; but, after all, Paine's work is sought after with avidity, at almost any price, while that of Burke may be got from any bulk or stall in London at a price little higher than that of waste-paper. So much for *free discussion* in England! So much for the term "*mischievousness*."

Happily for Mr. SMITH, he stands in no fear of an answer in the form of an ex-officio information. He has a place to speak from which protects him from all the danger, contained in the hints of the Courier. He dares speak out, he has spoken out, and others will, at no distant day, follow his example.

The cavil, which this writer makes about the *principal* amounts to nothing.

To be sure Mr. Smith means, that a part of the *property* of the fund-holder must be taken away; that is to say, that the nation cannot pay the whole amount of the Debt. He has not *said*, however, nor has any body else, that I know of, that the land-owners are not to lose *part of their property also*. The question with me is not, whether the land-owners are to lose part of their property as well as the fund-holders; but whether taxes sufficient to pay the fund-holders can be raised. This writer says, that the *law* is the guardian of property, and especially of funded property. Why the law is, or was, the guardian of many things. The *law* guaranteed the right of the people to elect even their Sheriffs; the *law* guaranteed to the people the right of taxing themselves; the *law* even now forbids any place of profit or trust, civil or military, or any pension to be bestowed upon any person, not a *natural born* subject of the king of this kingdom. Yet, how stands the *practice*, compared with the law in these cases? The *law* says, that no foreigner, *though naturalized by act of parliament* (as the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg has been), shall hold any place of profit or trust, civil or military. The *law* says that the people shall have the benefit of the *Act of Habeas Corpus*; and, if this law can be suspended, for seven years together, by another law, why may not the law about the funds? The *law* forbade Pitt to lend the public money to Boyd and Benfield to enable them to make good an instalment on a loan; but, when Pitt was discovered to have done this, another law was passed to screen him from punishment. And, if this can be done; if law can be rendered flexible in such matters as these, why not in the case before us. To come closer to the point; the *law* compelled the Bank Company to pay their bills in gold and silver on demand. They *refused* to do this; and a law was passed to screen them from punishment for the refusal. The *law* compelled tenants to pay their landlords in gold or silver; but another law, *after the contract*, was made to authorize them to pay in Bank Notes. The *law* compelled tenants to pay the whole of their stipulated rents to their landlords; but another law was passed to compel the tenants to withhold a part of the rent and to pay it over to the govern-

ment's taxing people. The law made certain lands unalienable; but another law authorized the temporary possessors to sell them, under the name of *redeeming the land tax*; and thus were entailed estates taken, in part, absolutely and for ever from the heirs.

So that, to talk about the law is, perhaps, the very foolishlest thing which this writer could have done. The common law, he says, guarantees to men the possession of their lands; but, it did not guarantee the heirs of those, who sold part of their entailed estates under the Land Tax Redemption Bill. The law guaranteed the due execution of the will of Lady Mildmay's father respecting an estate in Essex; but, Pitt and the Parliament found another law to set that will, in part at least, aside. Why, if such things as these can be done, what a cavil is it to set up the law in opposition to the proposal of Mr. Smith?

But, this writer says, that, if the fund-holders lose a part, so ought the land-owners; and that an estate in the funds is held by as good a *tenure as the Duke of Bedford's estate*. I very much like to hear this sort of language; because it tends to bring the parties, at once, to issue. And, I like it, too, on another account: it shews what sort of a conflict we shall, at last, come to. "Let part of the land go to this purpose as well as part of the funds." That is to say, let part of the estates be sold and given to the fund-holders. To this I have no sort of objection, upon the principle of the Courier, namely, that "the Parliament is the Debtor of the Fund-holder." They have borrowed the money; and they ought to pay it back. The case of the Bankers, as cited here is complete. Their lands are made liable for their debts. And why not the lands of the Members of Both Houses of Parliament? This writer asks, "will the Parliament renounce its own principle for its own peculiar advantage? Will it borrow money to ease its own property, and then refuse to pay? This would be swindling."

Answer him, Giles Jolterhead, Esq.! Answer him, I say; for *I will not*. But, to you, in America, I must address a few remarks upon this very interesting part of the subject. The plain unvarnished

case, stated by an unshackled pen, is, then as follows: \*\*\*\*\*

But the impudence of this writer in menancing the country with a "*military government*" in case of a non payment of the interest, is quite astounding. Pray, Mr. hireling, what is a "*military government*." But, I will not beggar my indignation by half or a quarter expression of it. I will express it, where I dare express it in my own language, and agreeably to my real sentiments. I agree with this hireling, however, that the non-payment of the interest of the Debt would make strange havoc amongst the friends of the system. Those who have contracted the Debt are very much puzzled. They would fain, perhaps, throw the burthen from them. They hear the menacing language of the Fund-holders; and, really, though I choose not to detail what I think will take place, I am convinced, that the innocent people, who have deposited their money in the funds, will not, at last, be suffered to be robbed of their property. A very considerable part of the fund-holders have sold their estates and lent the money to "*the Parliament*," as the Courier calls it. They have been, by the weight of taxes, compelled first to mortgage, and then to sell, their estates; and, instead of land-owners, to become mere *state annuitants*. Surely their property ought to be regarded as sacred as that of those who have kept their lands and who have borrowed the money for which their neighbours sold their estates? However, this is a matter, in which the friends of Reform have no concern; no, not the least in the world. The borrowers and the lenders must settle the question between them, just as the Clergy and the Yeomanry Cavalry must the question about Tythes. I am for taking no very active part with either. The best way will be to stand aside, look on, and amuse one's self with the wrangling of parties, all of whom have so long united against us.

In the meanwhile the effects of this dreadful Debt are felt most severely. The number of paupers is hourly increasing. The emigrations to the Continent and to America are such as they never before were from England. The news-papers tell us of many, who leave their wives and children a burthen upon the parish. A paragraph has appeared, in all the Lon-



don papers, stating this fact; but, as I have before observed, it cannot be true, that "certificates" have been obtained for the purpose of enabling the parties to go to the *United States*. To Canada, perhaps. But people do not want to go to that country; and, as to Nova Scotia, there is no bread, or scarcely any, produced in that country.

WM. COBBETT.

## AMERICAN PACKET.

### No. IV.

MY DEAR JOHN BULL,

I subjoin two very interesting letters on the subject of *American Manufactures*. The first is from a Mr. AUSTIN of Boston, and the second is the answer of Mr. Jefferson, late President of the *United States*. The latter also contains Mr. Jefferson's view of the *state of things in Europe*. You will here see, what he thinks of these European proceedings.

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN AUSTIN, ESQ. TO THE HON. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Boston, December 9, 1815.

SIR,—Since the return of General —, from his visit to Monticello, I am highly gratified in hearing that you enjoy your health, and that you are so happily situated in your domestic retirement.

During the convulsions in Europe, and the events which have taken place in our country, a person of your accurate observation must have experienced the most anxious solicitude for the result of these important controversies. As to France, we are all disappointed in the termination of a revolution, which promised a relief from the tyranny of establishments, which have been inconsiderately advocated in the federal papers as "legitimate." But the "ways of Heaven are dark and intricate," and we are obliged to submit to the decrees of Providence, however contrary to what we may think are productive to the general happiness of mankind. As France has fallen by an alliance of foreign despots, America must expect to rise by a Union of Freemen, acting in their constitutional capacity. The destiny of France should be a lesson of admonition to the *United States*.

It must afford you the highest consolation to find, that the honor and the glory of our republic have been promoted by the very means which our enemies had predicted would be ruinous and destructive. Nothing but the interposition of Providence could have produced so much good, from what was considered by some as productive of so much evil. The *United States* were forced into a controversy in defence of their marine rights, which if they had failed in vindicating, would have checked, if not terminated, their future prospects as an independent nation. At the beginning of the conflict, the prospect was gloomy and perilous. Repeated disasters appalled the timid in the prosecution, while the disaffected were daily attempting to counteract our national efforts, by systematic combinations, and illegitimate conventions.—Amidst these complicated difficulties, we have succeeded in our "Appeal to Heaven," and every real American must feel a pride in contemplating, that the energies of an Administration, beset with such a phalanx of opposition, have triumphed, not only over a foreign enemy, but have baffled the wily projects of a more dangerous body of internal foes.—I would not wish to be censorious, but the fact is too evident to be denied. Not that we consider every nominal federalist was thus inimical, but the artful proceedings of certain leaders urged many honest men to adopt those resolutions which have produced numberless serious events. We can easily distinguish between the enticers and the enticed.

As the present state of our country demands some extraordinary efforts in Congress to bring forward the Agricultural and Manufacturing interests of the *United States*, I am induced to mention a plea, often used by the friends of England, that the work-shops of Europe are recommended by you, as the most proper to furnish articles of Manufacture to the citizens of the *United States*, by which they infer that it is your opinion, the Manufactures of this country are not proper objects for Congressional pursuits.—They frequently enlarge on this idea as corresponding with your sentiments, and endeavour to weaken our exertions in this particular, by quoting you as the advocate of foreign manufactures, to the exclusion

of domestic. Not that these persons have any friendly motive towards you, but they think it will answer their purposes, if such sentiments can be promulgated with an appearance of respect to your opinion. I am sensible that many of these persons mean to misrepresent your real intentions, being convinced that the latitude they take with your remarks on manufactures, is far beyond what you contemplated at the period they were written. The purity of your mind could not lead you to anticipate the perfidy of foreign nations, which has since taken place.—If you had, it is impossible that you would have discouraged the manufactures of a nation, whose fields have since been abundantly covered with merino sheep, flax and cotton, or depended on looms at 3000 miles distance, to furnish the citizens with clothing, when their internal resources were adequate to produce such necessities by their domestic industry. You will pardon my remarks, and excuse my freedom in writing you on this subject.—But it would be an essential service at this crisis, when the subject of manufactures will come so powerfully before Congress, by petitions from various establishments, if you would condescend to express more minutely, your idea of the “work-shops of Europe,” in the supply of such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves. An explanation from you on this subject would greatly contribute to the advancement of those manufactures, which have risen during the late war to a respectable state of maturity and improvement. Domestic manufacture is the object contemplated; instead of establishments under the sole controul of capitalists, our children may be educated under the inspection of their parents, while the habits of industry may be duly inculcated.

If the general idea should prevail that you prefer foreign work-shops to domestic, the high character you sustain among the friends of our country, may lead them to a discouragement of that enterprize which is viewed by many as an essential object of our national independence. I should not have taken the freedom of suggesting my ideas, but being convinced of your patriotism, and devotedness to the good of your country, have urged me to make the foregoing observations; your candour will excuse me if they are wrong.

I shall be happy in receiving an answer

to this letter, for in the present state of political controversy and intrigue, the real republicans must rely on our “long-tryed patriots,” (among whom you stand pre-eminent) to guide and direct in the future pursuits of the government. Though retired from public life, yet your private counsel is essential, and we must solicit your aid to help the administration to substantiate by wise measures in peace, what we have obtained in war. The patriot is always called on duty, while the exigencies of his country need his advice, and his exertions are required to carry his principles into operation.—We are limited but to a few years, to discharge our trusts as citizens, and we must become more active as the period shortens. The real patriot never sacrificed principles to policy—Washington, Adams, Hancock, Madison, and yourself rose superior to such a degradation. The old patriots, if not employed in conducting the ship, yet they are viewed as Beacons, by which helmsmen may steer to the haven of safety.

I remain, Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect, and cordial wishes for your happiness, your undeviating friend,  
BENJAMIN AUSTIN.

HON. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ANSWER.

Monticello, Jan. 9. 1816.

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge with pleasure your letter of the 9th Dec. last.

Your opinions on the events which have taken place in France, are entirely just, so far as these events are yet developed. But we have reason to suppose, that they have not reached their ultimate termination. There is still an awful void between the present, and what is to be, the last chapter of that history; and I fear it is to be filled with abominations as frightful, as those which have already disgraced it.—That nation is too high-minded, has too much innate force, intelligence and elasticity, to remain quiet under its present compression. Sampson will arise in his strength, and probably will ere long burst asunder the cords and the webs of the Philistines. But what are to be the scenes of havoc and horror, and how widely they may spread between the brethren of one family, our ignorance of the interior feuds, and antipathies of the country, places beyond our ken. Whatever may

be the convulsions, we cannot but indulge the pleasing hope, they will end in the permanent establishment of a representative government; a government in which the will of the people will be an effective ingredient. This important element has taken root in the European mind, and will have its growth. Their rulers, sensible of this, are already offering this modification of their governments, under the plausible pretence, that it is a voluntary concession on their part. Had Bonaparte used his legitimate power honestly for the establishment and support of a free government, France would now have been in prosperity and rest, and her example operating for the benefit of mankind; every nation in Europe would eventually have founded a government over which the will of the people would have had a powerful control. His improper conduct, however, has checked the salutary progress of principle; but the object is fixed in the eye of nations, and they will press to its accomplishment, and to the general amelioration of the condition of man. What a germ have the Freemen of the United States planted, and how faithfully should they cherish the parent tree at home.—Chagrine and mortification are the punishments our enemies receive.

You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependance on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candour. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed! We were then in peace—our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A commerce which offered the raw materials in exchange for the same material, after receiving the last touch of industry, was worthy the attention of all nations. It was expected, that those especially to whom manufacturing industry was important, would cherish the friendship of such customers by every favour, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this prospect the question seemed legitimate, whether, with such an immensity of unimproved land, courting the hand of husbandry, the industry of agriculture, or that of manufactures, would add most to the national wealth? And the doubt on the utility of American manufactures was entertained on this consideration

chiefly, that to the labour of the husbandman a vast addition is made by the spontaneous energies of the earth on which it is employed. For one grain of wheat committed to the earth, she renders 20, 30, and even 50 fold—Whereas the labour of the manufacturer falls in most instances vastly below this profit. Pounds of flax in his hands, yield but penny-weights of lace.—This exchange too, laborious as it might seem, what a field did it promise for the occupation of the ocean—what a nursery for that class of citizens who were to exercise and maintain our equal rights on that element! This was the state of things in 1785, when the Notes on Virginia were first published; when the ocean being open to all nations, and their common rights in it acknowledged and exercised under regulations sanctioned by the assent and usage of all, it was thought that the doubt might claim some consideration. But who in 1785, could foresee the rapid depravity which was to render the close of that century a disgrace to the history of civilized society? Who could have imagined that the two most distinguished in the rank of nations, for science and civilization, would have suddenly descended from that honourable eminence, and setting at defiance all those moral laws established by the Author of Nature between nation and nation, as between man and man, would cover earth and sea with robberies and piracies, merely because strong enough to do it with temporal impunity, and that under this disbandment of nations from social order, we should have been despoiled of a thousand ships, and have thousands of our citizens reduced to Algerine slavery?—And all this has taken place. The British interdicted to our vessels all harbours of the globe, without having first proceeded to some one of hers, there they paid a tribute proportioned to the cargo, and obtained her licence to proceed to the port of destination. The French declared them to be lawful prizes if they had touched at the port, or been visited by a ship of the enemy's nation. Thus were we completely excluded from the ocean. Compare this state of things with that of 1785, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstances of that day, can be fairly applied to those of the present. We have experienced what we did not then believe, that there exists both profligacy and power

enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations—That to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. The former question is suppressed, or rather assumes a new form. The grand inquiry now is, shall we make our own comforts, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He therefore who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that nation, or be clothed in skins, and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say, I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort—and if those who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly wielded it. If it shall be proposed to go beyond our own supply, the question of 1785 will then recur, viz. Will our surplus labour be then more beneficially employed in the culture of the earth, or in the fabrications of art? We have time yet for consideration, before that question will press upon us; and the maxim to be applied will depend on the circumstances which shall then exist.—For in so complicated a science as political economy, no one axiom can be laid down as wise and expedient for all times and circumstances. Inattention to this is what has called for this explanation to answer the cavils of the uncandid, who use my former opinion only as a stalking-horse to keep us in eternal vassalage to a foreign and unfriendly nation.

I salute you with assurances of great respect and esteem.

TH. JEFFERSON.

BENJAMIN AUSTIN, ESQ.

### HARTFORD CONVENTION.

The enemies of freedom should be known. Their detested names should be posted up all over the world.—I have, in the American Packet, No. 1, given an

account of the treacherous Cossacks, who met at Hartford. The people in that place keep the anniversary of the Meeting, and the following article will show you their manner of doing such things. Would to God that the like were done all over the world!

### FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE "HARTFORD CONVENTION."

The fifteenth of December, (says the American Mercury) is an epoch in the history of America which can never be passed over by republicans, without mingled emotions of regret and exultation.—Of regret, that we have among us "men—free-born men—men born, nursed, and brought up by our fire-sides—Americans—American citizens," who are so depraved, so wicked, as to aim a dagger at the vitals of their already bleeding country, and to attempt to subvert the liberties of the people. Of exultation, that the grand designs of these hellish conspirators have been frustrated with infamy, and that the Union has triumphed over their mischievous machinations.

Impressed with these sentiments, the Republicans of Hartford, on Friday last, (being the day of the first meeting of the Convention) displayed the flag of the Union at half mast, during the early part of the day, as expressive of their sorrow for the depravity of those, who, one year since, were plotting in our city, in conjunction with Britain, the destruction of the liberties of the Republic. In the afternoon the flag was raised to mast head, as emblematical of the complete discomfiture of their designs, and the triumph of the Constitution. In the rueful countenance of federalists, it was plain to discover the mortification and chagrin they experienced. They say, let us bury in oblivion's dark bastille all bitter recollection. But so long as New-England is cursed with federal rulers; 'till she emerges from the darkness which for years has enveloped her; 'till Republicanism reigns triumphant throughout New England, (which we trust in God is close at hand) it becomes the imperious duty of Republicans, to hold up her rulers to the contempt of the people; to expose their wicked and nefarious designs. It is this alone which is to work the political redemption of New-England. It is this which is to open the eyes of the people.

What! shall a faction who, in the time of darkness and danger, sided with the enemies of their country; who, when the ——— of Britain were pouring upon our shores, and threatened a war of extermination; when his incendiary torch had laid in ashes our capital, and the fate of our flourishing country hung in awful suspense; when all around was dark and gloomy, and the smile upon the face passed off like the sunbeam upon the ocean, which the next indelation of the wave-effaces, raised their rebellious standard, and carried, with the whole strength of party, the touch of "diunion and civil war;" who threatened to dissolve the national compact; to annul the Constitution of the States; to abolish the laws of Congress, and strove to throw the funds and every fiscal resource into confusion; shall these men be so fostered among us, and their accursed designs abridged in darkness? No: We must never forget them—we must never cease to expose their baseness. Had the measures they were pursuing succeeded, we should have seen town arrayed in arms against town; neighbour against neighbour; father against son, and son against father. We should have seen our proud edifice of liberty tottering to its base, and heaven and earth, with one united voice, weeping over premeditated fate.—Cold, indeed, and unfeeling must be that mind, and insensible that heart, which can, without emotion, reflect on conduct so eminently depraved—so shockingly atrocious—But, thank God, their designs upon the Republic have been frustrated, and our country restored to prosperity and happiness. James Madison, whom they sought to depose, still sways its destinies. He, like the bright luminary of day, which the clouds of calumny can but transiently obscure, pursues his exalted course unshaken and serene. Under the steady wisdom of this illustrious individual, the government has acquired that stability, consistency and splendour, which will long adorn—for ever adorn the envied name of America.—Let us then be vigilant and watchful for the preservation of these blessings. Let us bear in mind that we have men among us who have aimed a blow at our liberties. Although they have been foiled in their first attempt, still they will be active. Their plans are as multiform as human ingenuity can devise. Their great

object, the ultimate end of all their exertions, is to tear down from its base the Grecian edifice of Republicanism, and to erect in its room the Gothic castle of Royalty. Let us then, admonish you to beware of such men; for they are "horrible as the touch of the Basilisk"—shun them!—fly them!! In their looks is deceit, in their hearts is murder!

We think it a duty we owe our country, to publish, annually, the names of those who composed the "Hartford Convention"—that they may never be forgotten.

The following are the names—viz.

GEORGE CABOT,  
NATHAN DANE,  
WILLIAM PRESCOTT,  
HARRISON G. OTIS,  
TIMOTHY BIGELOW,  
JOSHUA THOMAS,  
SAMUEL S. WILDE,  
JOSEPH LYMAN,  
STE'N LONGFELLOW, jr.  
DANIEL WALDO,  
HODIJAH BALIES,  
GEORGE BLISS,  
CHAUN. GOODRICH, (deceased)  
JAMES HILLHOUSE,  
JOHN TREADWELL,  
ZEPHANIAH SWIFT,  
NATHANIEL SMITH,  
CALVIN GODDARD,  
ROGER M. SHERMAN,  
DANIEL LYMAN,  
SAMUEL WARD,  
EDWARD MANTON,  
BENJAMIN HAZARD,  
BENJAMIN WEST,  
MILLS OLCOTT,  
WILLIAM HALL, jr.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

(Mr. J. P. Grant's Speech continued from p. 786.)

The total amount of the loans for this year was 14,807,692*l.*; so that there was no very material difference in the two statements. This was the view of matters for this year, and the Right Honourable Gentleman appeared to think that he could get through it very satisfactorily; but the House ought to consider where we should stand when this year was over, and the present resources should cease to

operate. In another resolution he had stated the following charges for services performed in former years, which could not recur in any future year:

Ordnance service, 1814.....	£67,205	9	10
Ditto.....1815.....	16,851	15	4
Ditto in Ireland..1815.....	19,364	12	3
Payment of debentures, under the act of the 43d of the King....	807,085	0	0
Debt to the East India Company	945,491	14	4
Ditto to the Bank of England..	1,500,000	0	0
Balance due by Ireland.....	1,603,586	2	6
Making in all.....	£4,961,603	11	3

which could not be properly said to belong to the expenditure of the present year. After the army estimates had been laid before the House, subsequent estimates were presented which showed that the reductions proposed to be made from the charge of the staff of the army in 1816 would amount to the sum of 40,287*l.* 12*s.* but that in future years the same would amount to 81,597*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* making in future years a further saving in the expense of the army of 41,309*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* By the estimate of reductions proposed to be made from the charge of the ordnance department, it appeared that these reductions in 1816 amounted to 175,959*l.* 10*s.* making in future years a farther saving in the expense of the ordnance of 42,652*l.* 5*s.* Now, if these several sums of 4,961,603*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* 41,309*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* and 42,652*l.* 5*s.* making together 5,045,375*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* be taken from the sum of 32,722,630*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* the remainder might be properly considered as the expenditure of the year 1816, and as the annual expenditure, if the establishments were not reduced, likely to be in future incurred (with the exception of savings from the falling in of pensions, half-pay, and other incidental expenses) amounting to the sum of 27,677,055*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

Mr. W. M. SMITH rose to speak to order. He considered this one of the most interesting subjects that could come before the House, but it demanded a peculiar degree of attention, and unless that attention were given to it by the Gentlemen on the opposite side, very little good could be expected to result.

Mr. J. P. GRANT was only sorry that he had undertaken a duty which required talents such as he saw at no great distance from him (Mr. Tierney) to render this subject perfectly clear and interesting.

He was anxious that the country should know the amount of the annual expenditure, which was about 27,677,000*l.* If from this expenditure were deducted the actual revenue of the present year, taking away the extraordinary resources, let the House see where the revenue stood. Of the ways and means of the present year, the sum of 5,663,755*l.* arose from grants of the year 1815; to which being added various other items, which could not be properly considered as the revenue of the present year, there would remain 9,800,000*l.* as the ways and means of the present and future years. The result, therefore, of these calculations was, that we had only 9,800,000*l.* of disposable revenue to meet an expenditure of 27,677,000*l.* taking Great Britain and Ireland together. The last resolution stated the difference, which, according to the present establishment, made the deficiency amount to 17,877,000*l.* with the exception of some trifling errors he might have unavoidably fallen into. It did appear to him to be the imperative duty of every member who had formed these views of the subject to state his sentiments to the House. It was not for him to propose a remedy, though he might have formed one opinion on that branch of the subject; the information requisite for such a proposal rested with ministers alone; they must have contemplated the present situation of affairs for many years; and all the successful circumstances of the war had thrown large sums into their hands, to aid them in such an endeavour. But when the war was entered into last year, he (Mr. G.) stated the dangerous situation of the finances, and the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite could not have gone to bed a single night without its coming home to his thoughts. He (Mr. G.) did not expect much from the Noble Lord (Castlereagh)—he was too much occupied in the government of France to attend to that of England; but from the Chancellor of the Exchequer he did expect something like an explanation. The Right Hon. Gentleman had made it a matter of boast that 3,000,000*l.* had been paid off; but that was out of the sinking fund, and he had forgotten the 5,000,000*l.* surplus of last year; so that, instead of having paid off the debt, the Right Hon. Gentlemen knew, when he proposed the present establishment, that

that establishment exceeded by many millions the highest revenue of a period of war, when the income-tax was in full force. The expenditure of the present year amounted to 29,499,000*l.*; the charge on the consolidated fund to 43,300,000*l.*; and the revenue amounted to 66,000,000*l.* and some odd thousand pounds; so that the expenditure for this year exceeded the revenue of a year of war by seven millions. His Majesty's ministers never thought of making any reductions till the income tax was refused: and what were the savings that they had effected?—rather curious than important: they amounted to a small sum on the staff of the army, and to a small sum in the ordnance department: out of such an expenditure as he had stated, they amounted to 177,000*l.*: this was the reduction on our army, navy, and ordnance expenditure of 23,000,000*l.* If compared with the whole expenditure, it was trifling indeed; but if compared with the amount of the particular branches from which it had been deducted, it was rather more considerable. But the House might be aware that his Majesty's ministers could not save unless compelled to do so, and that they could save if they were compelled. He (Mr. G.) thought savings might be made, but he was at a loss to conceive how, under the estimate that had been given in. If only a million could be reduced out of the estimated expenditure, it would be nothing towards what was required. It had been held out that no reduction could be made in the colonies, and according to the ministerial statements, so far from any hopes in Ireland, we ought, on their calculation, to set down 28,000 men as necessary; then the number of men in this kingdom could not be lessened when there were so many in the neighbouring states. From all this he did not conclude that great savings could not be made, but that they could not be made with such views as ministers entertained. He wished to know what statement they would make, and what pledge they would give for the

large savings they had promised. He had now done with the expenditure, and should come to the consideration of the revenue; he would ask if there was any rational expectation of an increase of revenue such as to meet the exigencies of the case? The revenue indeed was sinking and falling. If gentlemen looked to the papers before the House, they would find a surplus stated of 485,665*l.* (no great increase on a revenue of 66,000,000*l.*) But comparing the excise and customs of the three last quarters with the returns of the three quarters preceding, there certainly was a considerable diminution, and the 485,665*l.* increase upon the whole revenue, was accounted for by the rise in the item of stamps. The prospect was most cheerless, and he saw no hopes of any increase. What was the plan the Right Hon. Gentleman had proposed? To borrow of the Bank?—even that resource must soon be exhausted, and under what circumstances did he borrow? He would have us believe in the probability of a resumption of cash payments; but if they were not resumed now, it would be found necessary to continue the restrictions for ever, and then the Right Hon. Gentleman could only look on to a further issue, and a further depreciation of the currency, to relieve us from our present burdens: if he had any plan it must be this: but he (Mr. G.) was convinced the Right Hon. Gentlemen had no plan at all; he was only going on from day to day, as occurrences turned up, and trusting to his stars for extrication. If he (Mr. G.) could only obtain a pledge that the Right Hon. Gentleman had any plan by which he could extricate us from our present difficulties, he should feel at least better satisfied than he did at present.

On the resolution being put “that there has been voted for the service of the navy during the present year 10,114,345*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*”—

*(To be continued.)*

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

## LETTER XVII.

*Emigration from England.—Base idea  
of the Leeches.*

—  
Bulley, 22d June, 1816.

The subject of *Emigration* is becoming, every day, more and more important. There is now really an *alarm* felt on this account. It is not the *miserable* only that are in motion. I hear of most respectable and most valuable men, who are *selling off* in order to go to America. Indeed, I *know* the fact. But, lest your Cossacks should think, that I exaggerate, I will quote our London papers upon this subject; and, when I have so done, I will add some particulars, which have come within my own knowledge:—  
“Sometime ago,” says the Morning Chronicle, “it was a favourite sentiment among the race of Contractors at the Pitt Club, ‘*May they who do not like the country leave it.*’ This was applauded as a most patriotic toast. It appears that the success of the Pitt principles has brought the country to that unfortunate condition, that even those who love it are forced to quit it. *Never, in the memory of man, was there any thing known like the emigration now taking place.* The door of the French Minister, nay, the street in which he lives, is crowded with persons applying for passports. Thou-

sands have been issued— and those not to needy persons, but to families of large fortunes—to landed proprietors—to fund-holders—to manufacturers and artisans of eminence—and to men at the head of establishments, who are seriously contemplating the removal of their arts and their machines, to places less burthened by taxation. The extent of this evil will speedily be felt, in diminished consumption—in the number of persons thrown out of employ—and in the deficit of the Revenue. The river Thames presents a most dreary aspect. There are not fifty foreign sail to be seen in it; and the London Docks, which used to require fifteen hundred hands, do not now employ five hundred. With an acknowledged deficiency of 17,000,000*l.* per annum, we hear of these emigrations that will not cost the nation less than ten or twelve millions per annum; and the sum spent by Englishmen abroad will act as a subsidy to our neighbours, and will be felt as such in the balance of trade, thereby raising the exchange against us. It is little consolation to us to know that the persons thus emigrating from motives of economy, *will be deceived*—that they will find the expences greater than they think of—and that they might practise retrenchment much *more certainly at home.* All this affords but little consolation to the tradesmen who will lose their custom—to the housekeepers who will be burthened with increased poor-rates, to support the unfortunate dependents who will be deprived of bread—and to the Government that will suffer a lamentable *falling off in the taxes.* And surely

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"It is a circumstance to which Parliament ought, before they separate, to turn their most serious attention. We are on the brink of a precipice; and nothing but a strong and decisive measure of national retrenchment, will save us from a calamity which it is frightful to contemplate. This is no time for the filling up of useless places with the sons of Dukes; who, either as principals or as collaterals, have been the dupes of gamblers and of money lenders. There must be an end not merely of corruption but of extravagance. And as we find from daily experience, that the Volunteer Yeomanry, at 4l. per head per annum, are as effectual in keeping the peace of the country as the Dragoon Guards, at 150l. per head per annum, we must reduce our army, unless it is actually thought that a national bankruptcy would not be a national evil."

This writer, you will observe, wishes to save himself with his shop-keeping readers by observing, that emigrants to the Continent will be disappointed. He knows better. He knows that they will avoid paying their share of our enormous taxes, which take away more, perhaps, than three-fourths of every man's income, who has no profitable trade or calling to carry on. The persons, who migrate thus, know very well what they are at; and, unless some rigorous measure of prevention be adopted, their numbers will continue to increase.

But, the serious part of the business is, the emigrations from England to America! This is what will strike a forked sting into the heart of the System. It is very true, as the Morning Chronicle now observes, and as I observed in my Fifth letter to you, dated on the 23d March; it is very true that the Pitt Gang have, for years past, given as a toast, the expression of their wish; that those who did not like the country should leave it. These insouciant men; who, by country,

meant corruption and taxation, have lived to see their pretended wish fulfilled. The attempt to strangle the power of America in the cradle has had a wonderful effect in exalting her character. It has given rise to discussions about that country, and out of discussions come knowledge. It has been in vain, that the hired part of the press has laboured to give a check to this emigration. People have seen, that the facts which I have stated cannot be contradicted. The whole nation knows, that a day-labouring man, in America, can, if he will, earn the price of half a bushel of flour in a day; and, there are now very few persons, who do not know, that it is taxes, which make paupers. To men, who have worked hard all their lives, and have just obtained what they deemed sufficient to set their children forward in the world, the change of the times has given a serious shock. They see clearly, that the burdens of taxation never can be lightened, unless the funding system be blown up, and, of the consequences of that they are afraid. To lose their all through the taxes or through popular tumult seems to such persons the sole alternative, if they remain in England; and, therefore, they turn their thoughts towards America, the Continent of Europe being suited to none but lazy slaves.

A few days ago, four men, the eldest of whom was not, he said, twenty-one, came to me to offer their services to go to America. They came out of a village at about five miles distance, called North-Stoneham, and said, they had been told, that I wanted labourers to go to America, upon condition of having three years' service as the repayment of passage money out. These terms they were anxious to agree to, and they appeared to be exceedingly mortified, when they learnt, that I was no "American Planter," as they had imagined; that I had the honour to have been born almost under the shade



of the same trees with themselves; and that I did not want any body to go out to America. Thousands upon thousands of this description of persons seek occasions to get across the Atlantic. I wonder for my part how the *enticement* has spread in the manner that it has! How the knowledge of the milk and honey has got into obscure villages. The Register is not, to be sure, less read than it was before Sir Vicary Gibbs made his grand assault upon it; but, very few villages know any thing of the Register. Yet, the glad tidings have not been circulated through any other printing channel.

Be the channel of information what it may, it is certain, that there never was any thing more talked of and thought of than emigration to America now is. The dismal part of the story, however, is, that many hundreds of families of property, of great respectability, distinguished for their industry and knowledge of business as *farmers*, are selling off and preparing to depart. The *hive* is all in commotion. The *Bees* seem resolved no longer to support the *Drones* and the *Wasps*. The former, unable to resist the demands and the stings of the latter, appear determined to quit the hive, to seek new scenes for their industry and a safe place of deposit for their honey; and those, who have insolently bid the discontented leave the country, stand a pretty fair chance of *working for themselves*, or being starved. However, we shall have all the Knights and the Parsons and Vicars and Curates, and all the Gentlemen in Red and in Blue with swords and helmets, and all the Place-men, Pensioners, Contractors, and Taxgatherers and Paupers. We shall have all these left behind; and a very respectable population will they form. The worst of it is, that there will be so few of us left to work for them; they will be compelled, I am afraid, to labour

themselves. \* \* \* \* \*

The reader will hardly believe me; but, *since the last paragraph was written*, a young man, whom I never heard talk about going to America, has called upon me, and actually taken his leave of me on his departure for that country. I asked him what had decided him all at once. He answered, that he was resolved to spend no more of his life in working for the Roses, the Huskissons, the Cannings, the Longs and the *double Lady Louisas*; that the Giffords and Greens and D'Ivernois and Mallet-du-Pans should no longer sit astride upon his shoulders. I told him, that it was not very polite to *name* a lady upon such an occasion; and, that, as to Gifford, the Quarterly Reviewer, I had him astride upon *my* shoulders. He found out others; said he should have no such people to support in America; and according, not half an hour ago, I shook hands with him, and wished him a good voyage!

Many men have recently returned from America to fetch their relations. A labouring man came to Portsmouth, a few days ago, from the United States, for the purpose, not of taking out his wife and children (for they went with him), but his *father and mother*! This man has come and found Portsmouth and Gosport in the depth of misery. There is not employment for a fourth part of the labourers. In such a state of things men will want only the means of getting to America to induce them to quit England. The man here mentioned was not of the description of, those, who, as the Morning Chronicle stated, the other day, went off and barely left their wives and children to be maintained by the parish. This man had got his wife and children with him; but, he could not enjoy the good fortune he had met with, until his father and

B b 2

mother were there to enjoy it too. Indeed, I do not *believe* the story of the Morning Chronicle in the way it is intended to be believed. *Some men may*, and, I dare say, do leave their families behind in distress. How is a *labourer* to avoid this? His family is *always* in distress. He *never has any money*. How is he to pay for his *own passage*, much less for that of four or five persons? He must, therefore, either remain and be eaten up by the leprosy or some other disorder engendered by poor living; he must remain and see a swarm of ragged and filthy creatures rise up about him; or, he must set off and earn some money to pay for a passage for his wife and children. And, what does he do more than the *Soldier* is encouraged to do, and really receives a *bounty* out of the taxes for doing? The soldier is set free from all his engagements with master, parish, children, and even wife (as far as cohabiting and maintenance go); and, if it be said, without a laugh, that the hero is inspired with a zeal for his country, I have only to answer, that he, in that case, would need *no bounty money* to induce him to enter the service.

In short, every man has a right to endeavour to mend his lot, and especially in a case where the people have been so insultingly told to leave the country, if they did not *like it*; that is to say, if they did not like to work to earn money for the Roses and Cannings and the double Lady Louisas. Verily this insolence seems to be upon the eve of receiving its appropriate reward. It is not the loss of a *man* that England experiences in the emigration of an Englishman to America: it is the loss of a *picked man*, a man of health, strength, sound constitution, able to work in his vocation, full of confidence in himself, and also with some enterprize and personal courage. This man is worth, on an average, *four* of

those that he leaves behind him. And that is not all; the loss of *four* men is not all; it is the loss of *eight* in point of relative force, seeing that the four are transferred to America, whom the friends of the System of Corruption regard and describe as their "*natural enemy*," and of whom they are every day endeavouring, but in vain, to make us *afraid*. Faith! they will never again make us believe, that the power of America is dangerous to US! It is surprising how much the eyes of the people have been opened upon that subject within these six or seven months. Those eyes are now directed across the Atlantic, seeing that there is the last hope of the oppressed and the miserable.

Having mentioned the *double Lady Louisas*, I will tell the story of one of them. \* \* \* \* \*

Yes, my *old English friends* in America, you who used to join with me in saying, that all who were discontented here, were rebels, you must now with me, upon experience, change your tone, and allow, that a man may love his country very well indeed, without liking to work to earn money to pay the amount of the sinecures of William Gifford and that of Lady Louisa's pensions. At any rate, my good friends, *you* can blame nobody for leaving these things to be paid by others, seeing that you yourselves have so left them. If, indeed, you are willing to *contribute* towards the support of the gentry, who eat taxes in England, and will actually send over your share of the expence according to your several capacities; if you are willing to send us over about *fifteen shillings in the pound on your rents for your share of poor-rates*; if you, when you rent a house for *a hundred dollars*, will send us over *seventy-five* dollars towards keeping our poor; if you will only do this to begin

with; if you will only share with us in this one head of taxation, we will then allow you to find fault with us for being *discontented*. But, while you take care to keep on the right side of the water, and will contribute nothing towards our burdens, and yet reproach us with a want of love of country, because we complain of those burdens, we shall, to speak in the mildest terms, think your conduct very inconsistent and very unjust.

At any rate, you will, I am sure, be ashamed to pretend to censure your countrymen for seeking to better their lot in America, seeing that you yourselves did the same, and that, too, at a time, when England was a paradise, compared to what it is now. The sinews of the country are really passing away from it. It is impossible to prevent this. There is great talk of *laws* to put a stop to it. But laws will come too late. Men will go as long as the *sea is open*. To keep them here, in the present and approaching state of the country, there must be a wall built all round the coast, as high as the tops of the loftiest oaks. To put a stop to emigration, the way is to *reduce the taxes*, so that those who labour will have enough left to enable them to live comfortably. Nothing but this will do. Nothing but this can do; and, in one way or another, this must and will be done at no very distant day. This country, can never, I hope, dwindle down into a state of *insignificance*.

The hired part of the press is making great efforts to put a stop to emigration. Of these efforts the following, in the *COURIER*, of the other day, is a specimen: "Every thing is very dull in America. "So great is the *stagnation of trade* that "but very few of the merchant vessels "are employed. *Our countrymen* who "have *emigrated*, are in a most deplorable state: upwards of 1000 of them

"have applied to the British Consul at "New York to be sent home with passports as distressed British subjects." No authority for this assertion is named; and, therefore, I set it down as false. I mean as far as relates to the *emigrants*, for as to the *stagnation of commerce*, that I was prepared to hear of, and prepared my readers to hear of, in January last, upon authority of a letter received from a very intelligent gentleman in Philadelphia. The country is glutted with *English goods*; a great part of which must sell for less than the manufacturer's price. The ruin of many importers must follow. Hence a stagnation of trade. Besides, the *mercantile* people in America will of necessity feel the effect of the shock here. Want of money here produces, in some degree, want of money there, because a great part of the importers of goods there depend upon *long credit* in England. Besides, generally speaking, the ruin in this country and in France, though it must ultimately benefit America, lessens her commerce for the present, as the sinking of either of these countries in the sea, would lessen that commerce in a greater degree. But, here is the difference between our situation and that of America: we have an *everlasting debt* to pay the interest of: she has a debt to be sure; but, the *whole of principal* of that debt is not nearly equal to *one year's interest of ours*!

The paper-money in that country has received a *blow*. That is another cause, and, I suspect, the greatest of all the causes, of a *stagnation of commerce*. But, as taxation is so very light, this cause will soon be got over, having left a salutary lesson behind it. It may possibly be true, that many emigrants are in "a most deplorable state;" for all manner of wretched people have crowded to America. *Clerks, Slight-of-hand Gen-try*, of various denominations. People in

search of eating without working. These I have always cautioned against going to America. Factors, speculators of all sorts. These may be in "a most deplorable state;" and I am very glad of it. They will now be compelled to work. But, I will pledge my life, that no handicraft man, manufacturer, working tradesman of any sort, or labourer, ever applied to any body to send him to England, during the last ten years.

Far be it from me, however, to contemplate *with pleasure* this abandonment of England by her natural born sons. On the contrary, I view it with great pain and shame and mortification; and, again I say, that England will again be fit for a free and industrious man to live in. In the meanwhile, I hope, that those who remain will lose no opportunity of expressing their indignation against those, who have made this unhappy country what it at present is. Above all things I hope, that the people will never be so base as to affect despair as an apology for yielding up their country without a struggle.

The dismal situation of the country, the weight of taxes, the decline of trade and agriculture, the amount of the debt, the immense army, the myriads of paupers, the complete despair of any alteration for the better, the impossibility of longer disguising or palliating the truth, as to these matters; all these have reduced the friends of the system to great difficulty. They will not, however, allow, that this sad state is to be ascribed to the war and the system of taxation. They cannot deny the existence of the calamity; but, they deny that the calamity has arisen out of *the system*, of which system you have had a pretty full description.

Pressed however, to say, *whence* the calamity has arisen, they say, that nations, like individuals, have their *rise* and their *decline*; that the Roman Empire rose to

an astonishing height, and, at last crumbled to nothing; that England is not exempted from this *common lot*; that her *turn* seems approaching, and that that of America will come by and by. This is the language of the cool, sleek, tame cheaters, who only care about dying fat in a feather bed. The *hungry* friends of the system, those who are upon the lookout for prey, or who have *begun* to bite, talk in a very different strain; but, the fashion with the cool and fat friends of the system is, to attribute the present calamities of the country to a sort of *natural decline*; so that *they* would be looked upon as *not doing the country any harm* by living in laziness upon the fruits of the labour of others. It is not *they*, who have hurt the country. The country is in a fever; terribly convulsed; every symptom of approaching weakness, if not of dissolution. But, it is no fault of these good people! Their being continually sucking its blood and gnawing its flesh does it no harm. Its ailment is a natural decline: in short, it is *old age*, which, sooner or later, brings every thing in the world to an end!

I am not aware of any notion that man can adopt more *base*, or more *mischievous* than this; and yet it is "*all the fashion*." We do, indeed, see, that all animals and vegetables, rise, decline, and fall: that is to say, all the *individuals* of the several species of animals and vegetables. But, the species themselves never decline and fall without great mismanagement, or, some extraordinary convulsion in nature. We see that the race of men in England increases rather than otherwise. Why, then, should the *country* (by which are meant the nation and its power and resources) decline with the *number of its years*?

It is a base thought, and one which none but a base mind can endure, that our country, the spot where we first drew

breath, where our tongues were first heard, where our little feet and hands first felt their power, where we first thought, where love first warmed our hearts, where our parents lie buried, and from the name and fame of which, be they good or be they evil, we never can detach ourselves; it is a mark of inherent baseness to *be able to entertain the thought*, that our country, that all which is embraced by that name, is upon the *decline*, and is doomed to *perish*! Where, except among knavish priests and public plunderers, is the man, who could endure the thought (much less state the fact coolly) that his *own reputation* is on the decline and will be wholly gone in a few years? And yet, if a man were to *endeavour* to get rid of his connection with his country, the folly of such attempt is equal to its baseness. The thing is impossible, when the country, like ours, is of great and mighty consequence in the world. The native of an obscure Canton, or of some petty principality, known to the world only through the means of map-makers, and the rulers of which are about upon a level with their Majesties of Clubs and of Spades; the native of such an insignificant spot may pass through life without any anxiety about *country*. That which is not known to the world can lose no reputation. But, the native of a country so renowned as England; of a country so famous for all that most strongly attracts the admiration of men; of a country whose genius and power have, for ages, been such as to make her views and intentions an object of solicitude with every nation, and with every enlightened individual, in the world; of a country famed for her laws, famed in arts and in arms, famed for the struggles which, age after age, her sons have held with tyranny in every form it has assumed, and, beyond even all these, famed for having given birth to and reared up to manhood those

men of matchless wisdom and virtue, who, by carrying her unadulterated principles across the Atlantic, have there turned, as it were by magic, a trackless wilderness into a civilized, flourishing Empire, equal in population to England herself, and fast becoming her rival in every thing of which nations are proud: the native of such a country cannot *mean* if he would. His very name of *Englishman* is a challenge to criticism. People will not stop to hear what *party* he is of. Being an Englishman is enough; and, if his country sink in reputation, he, in some degree, sinks too, in spite of all the salvos that he may endeavour to invent.

Therefore, besides the excessive baseness of talking coolly about the *natural decline* of the country, the folly is extreme in any man who has any sense of shame, or who has one spark of courage left in his bosom.

But, the *mischievousness* of this doctrine is fully equal to its baseness. It is the doctrine of *predestination* applied to nations, and applied in its worst sense too. Only make up your mind to being damned, and, of course, you may do what you like in the way of robbery and murder, if you can contrive to set the gallows at defiance. And, only make up your mind, that you *are* to be a slave, and that your country *is* to become a den for slaves and poltroons; only make up your mind to this, and you will, neither in word or deed, attempt to oppose tyranny from within or conquest from without. The end of this degrading doctrine is to make men indifferent about the acts of the government: and, truly, if the country *be* to perish; if it be approaching towards a *natural* and *inevitable* termination of all its greatness and fame; if this be the case, it is not worth men's while to trouble themselves about what is done to the country, all that they have to do being to take as good care as they can of

themselves; and, by no means to run any unnecessary risks. Nay, seeing that the thing *is* to be broken up, there cannot be much harm in taking part in the pillage, as sailors do in the contents of chests on board a ship which is just going to pieces.

It is with a view of justifying this last-mentioned species of conduct that many persons resort to the doctrine of *natural decline*; as if they were to say: "it is no matter; if we do not suck out the blood of the Country, others will; seeing that it *is* to perish at such a time." I trust, however, that the day is not distant, when *the people* will convince these leeches, that the country is not *doomed* thus to perish; but, that it has enough of its ancient spirit left not only to rescue it from its present state of degradation, but to do *complete justice* to all its enemies, internal as well as external.

WM. COBBETT.

### INSURRECTIONS In France and England.

It is curious to observe the exact pace, which is kept by the two Governments, that of the Bourbons and ours, in putting down insurrections in their respective countries. A few days ago, we were told the troops at *Ely* had siezed the arms of the people, and, amongst the rest a great number of *fowling pieces*. To-day we are told, in the following words, of what is doing, and has been done at *Grenoble*.

An article from *Grenoble* of the 8th of June, says, "the situation of this department continues to be altogether satisfactory. The *disarming is every where finished without any difficulty*. The warlike arms have been taken out of the hands of the *inhabitants of Grenoble*, and the *return of the fowling pieces*

"commenced yesterday, according to the orders of the Mayor."

The Readers of the Register have seen enough of the employment of Troops as custom-house officers in Ireland; and now we are told, that the Duke of Wellington has agreed to employ the *allied troops* in the same way in *France*, upon condition of their receiving a per-centage on the amount of goods that they may sieze! Thus will profit and glory be made to unite in a manner never before thought of.

The *executions* at *Grenoble* have taken place sometime ago. The Bourbons are more *rapid* in their movements in matters of this sort than our government is. But they \* \* \* \* \*

To return to the march of Justice in England. I will insert the charge, which, it appears, the Judge, ABBOT, gave to the Grand Jury upon opening the Special Commission at Ely. But, before you come to the Judge's Charge, for God's sake read the *introduction*, and note the words, which you there find in *italicks* and CAPITALS. Look at those words! Look at them! But, it is impertinent thus to teaze you. I will reserve my comments to follow the charge.

"This day, at ten o'clock, the Hon. Mr. Justice ABBOTT, Mr. Justice BROUGH, and EDWARD CHRISTIAN, Esq. Chief Justice of the Isle of Ely, arrived in this town, preceded by a *cavalcade* consisting of the *principal inhabitants*, and immediately repaired to the Court house, where they opened a Special Commission for the trial of the persons charged with having riotously assembled, and committed various felonies at Littleport and Ely. The Commission having been read, the Judges proceeded to the Cathedral, where *divine service* was

“ performed, and a sermon preached by  
 “ THE REV. SIR H. B. DUDLEY.

“ the Court reassembled at one o'clock,  
 “ and the preliminary business being  
 “ concluded and the Grand Jury sworn,  
 “ Mr. Justice ABBOTT addressed them to  
 “ the following effect :

“ ‘ Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

“ ‘ You have been called together at  
 “ this unusual period, and with the pre-  
 “ sent solemnities, in consequence of  
 “ some very daring acts of outrage com-  
 “ mitted by various misguided individuals  
 “ in this town and its neighbourhood,  
 “ which must be still fresh in your re-  
 “ collection. In contemplating the na-  
 “ ture of these atrocities, it is impos-  
 “ sible to consider without commenda-  
 “ tion the conductors of those prompt and  
 “ efficacious measures by which, after it  
 “ had domineered for several days to-  
 “ gether, the spirit of tumult and devas-  
 “ tation was finally subdued. The na-  
 “ tural progress of triumphant insurrec-  
 “ tion is to increase in fury, and to grow  
 “ larger in its demands, until from rob-  
 “ bery it proceeds to the burning of  
 “ houses and the murder of their inhabi-  
 “ tants. Although no offences of this last  
 “ and highest kind will be laid before  
 “ you, yet it appears by the depositions  
 “ that some crimes of a very deep die  
 “ have been committed. Of some of  
 “ these, considering the situation of their  
 “ perpetrators, it may be difficult to  
 “ penetrate the motive ; and it may be,  
 “ as often happens in such cases, that it  
 “ was hardly known to the offenders them-  
 “ selves. The pretence for these lawless  
 “ disturbances seems to have been the  
 “ necessity of an advance in the wages of  
 “ husbandry ; but the circumstances of  
 “ some among the offenders do not cor-  
 “ respond with the supposition of such  
 “ an object. It had happened, that the

“ hardships necessarily incident to a state  
 “ of poverty, were aggravated by the  
 “ peculiarity of the seasons, and the tem-  
 “ per of mind which was thus produced  
 “ appears to have been inflamed by de-  
 “ signing persons into a settled hostility  
 “ against the higher orders of society.—  
 “ This spirit soon manifested itself in the  
 “ destruction of property, as if labour  
 “ could be encouraged, and wages raised,  
 “ by the ruin of those who are to employ  
 “ the one and to pay the other. In no  
 “ country in the world are there so many  
 “ institutions for the humane purpose of  
 “ administering to the wants and necessi-  
 “ ties of the poor—in no country does  
 “ both public and private bounty flow in so  
 “ many streams for the comfort and re-  
 “ lief of the distressed classes of the com-  
 “ munity. It is to be observed, too, that  
 “ the money which was taken from indi-  
 “ viduals on this melancholy occasion was  
 “ not applied to the support of the families  
 “ of the offenders, but was consumed in  
 “ riot and intoxication, by which the  
 “ blood was heated, the understanding  
 “ confused, and the spirit inflamed to acts  
 “ of further and more violent aggression  
 “ against the persons and property of  
 “ their neighbours. The number of per-  
 “ sons engaged in the commission of these  
 “ offences is so considerable that it has  
 “ been deemed necessary thus suddenly  
 “ to call you together, in order that the  
 “ innocent may be restored to liberty  
 “ without delay, the guilty brought to  
 “ punishment, and the peaceable inhabitant  
 “ convinced that the laws are effectual  
 “ for his protection and his vindication.  
 “ It is the first time that such a proceed-  
 “ ing has been deemed necessary in this  
 “ place, and I sincerely hope it may be  
 “ the last. I am not aware that the task  
 “ which you are now called upon to  
 “ execute, however painful, will be at-  
 “ tended with any extraordinary difficul-  
 “ ties. Judging from the depositions



" which lie before me, the capital felonies  
 " which will be presented to you resolve  
 " themselves into the three different crimes  
 " of burglary, robbery from the person,  
 " and stealing in a dwelling-house. It  
 " is fit, however, that I should here make  
 " one observation, which is, that there  
 " are many offences committed by large  
 " assemblies of men, in which the guilt  
 " is not confined to the individual whose  
 " hand executes the felonious act. *All*  
 " *those who are present* at its commission,  
 " who favour it with their approbation  
 " and concurrence, or who aid and en-  
 " courage by their voice or action, are  
 " involved in the same legal culpability.  
 " This is a principle dictated by reason,  
 " and established in law; for without the  
 " presence of others the actual perpetra-  
 " tor might not have been able to accom-  
 " plish the criminal purpose, or might  
 " have been deterred from attempting it  
 " by the exertions of the well-disposed.  
 " With regard to the particular crime of  
 " burglary, it may be proper for me to  
 " remark, that it consists in the breaking  
 " of a house at night with intent to com-  
 " mit some felony. What the nature of  
 " this felony may be is not material, nor  
 " is it necessary, in order to constitute  
 " burglary, that the felonious intention  
 " should have been carried into effect.  
 " The circumstances under which the  
 " breaking at night has been effected,  
 " must form the evidence of the intent  
 " with which it was done. All who then  
 " enter are equally guilty; and the same  
 " rule applies to those also who keep  
 " watch whilst others enter. Even if the  
 " entry should be made in consequence  
 " of the door being opened by the owner  
 " himself under the influence of artifice  
 " or threats, it is in contemplation of law  
 " a burglary; for the law will not suffer  
 " its wholesome restraints to be evaded  
 " by the shifts and contrivances of a  
 " felon. Under the subject of robbery

" from the person, it may be important  
 " for you to inquire, whether the money  
 " raised by a riotous assembly is to be  
 " considered, in the cases to which your  
 " attention will be drawn, as a voluntary  
 " contribution of the individuals from  
 " whom it was taken, or as extorted by  
 " violence, or under reasonable fear.  
 " In the consideration, however, of what  
 " amounts to this offence, it is not neces-  
 " sary to advert either to the time or the  
 " place of its commission. To steal in a  
 " dwelling-house has been made a capital  
 " felony by many statutes, but it is neces-  
 " sary that the larceny should be actually  
 " committed. Without troubling you,  
 " however, by reciting a series of legisla-  
 " tive enactments on this subject, I should  
 " advise you generally to return the bills  
 " as they are presented to you, and leave  
 " any difficulty of legal construction to  
 " that more accurate investigation which it  
 " will afterwards receive in this place. On  
 " the nature of ordinary riots and breach  
 " of the public peace, you can require  
 " no instruction from me: but on every  
 " occasion, as well as the present, the  
 " Court will be happy to afford you all  
 " the assistance in its power. With re-  
 " gard to the description of proof which  
 " will be laid before you, there is little  
 " to be remarked, further than that there  
 " is reason to believe it will in most cases  
 " be satisfactory—the evidence of eye-  
 " witnesses upon acts done in open day  
 " and without any disguise, in some in-  
 " stances by neighbour upon neighbour,  
 " so bold and daring was the violation of  
 " the public peace. If the evidence of  
 " accomplices in these transactions should

“be offered to you, you will receive it  
 “with caution, and give credit to it only  
 “when confirmed or supported by more  
 “unexceptionable testimony. I cannot  
 “conclude this address without exhorting  
 “you to proceed with a calm and tem-  
 “perate, *but with a firm and manly de-*  
 “*termination*—on the one hand, not to  
 “conclude, from your indignation at guilt,  
 “too hastily, against the prisoners; and  
 “on the other, that the serious nature of  
 “the charges shall not deter you from pre-  
 “senting them to the justice of your coun-  
 “try. It is of the highest importance to the  
 “peace and safety, not only of this isle,  
 “but of the surrounding country, that  
 “all who are present on this solemn en-  
 “quiry, and all who read the account of  
 “its proceedings (and there are few parts  
 “of the kingdom in which it will not be  
 “read) may be convinced by the *awful*  
 “*lesson which may here be taught*, that  
 “whatever wild or chimerical notions may  
 “prevail of the power of an armed multi-  
 “tude, *the law is too strong for its assail-*  
 “*ants*; and that, however triumphant  
 “or destructive their sway for a few  
 “days, those who defy the law will ulti-  
 “mately be compelled to submit either  
 “to its justice or its mercy.”

“The grand jury then retired, and the  
 “Court adjourned till to-morrow morn-  
 “ing at nine o’clock.”

“The calendar consists of *eighty-two per-*  
 “*sons, nine only of whom are out on bail*;  
 “all the rest are in prison. Their trials are  
 “not expected to last beyond Thursday.”  
 Now, \*\*\*\*\*

Thus you know the *truth* of what is

going on, though it is hidden from nearly  
 all the people of England.

We shall soon hear what the *end* of  
 these proceedings is, and, I dare say,  
 that the Cossacks of America will rejoice  
 at the event. I should not much wonder  
 if they were to think the matter worthy  
 of being celebrated by processions and  
 thanksgivings.

In spite, however, of the awful example,  
 about to be made at Ely, and the pains  
 which the London “*Loyal*” press has  
 taken to circulate the *Judge’s charge* all  
 over the country, in a *verbatim* form, the  
 very next day’s post after it was delivered;  
 in spite of such zealous efforts, efforts,  
 indeed, which appear almost *superna-*  
 “*tural*”; for, how was the *Loyal* publisher  
 in London to get, *word for word*, on  
 Tuesday morning, *very early*, a Judge’s  
 charge, delivered at Ely, on the Monday,  
 at earliest, after the Reverend Sir Henry  
 Bate Dudley Baronet’s Sermon on that  
 day? Ely is 67 miles from London.  
 The charge (*word for word*, mind!) must  
 have been sent off on the *Monday Even-*  
 “*ing*. The Judges arrived at 10 o’clock,  
 preceded by “a *cavalcade*” of which I  
 have given you a *true* account, and a very  
 pretty *cavalcade* it was, was it not? I  
 dare say, that it was very much admired  
 by the ladies. Well! The “*cavalcade*,”  
 be it what it might, proceeded first to the  
 Court House, where the “*Special Com-*  
 “*mission*” was opened. Well! Then the  
 Judges (and the “*cavalcade*,” I suppose)  
 went to the Cathedral. It must, surely,  
 have been *noon* by this time. Then  
 “*Divine Service* was performed,” and a

*Sermon* was preached by the Rev. Sir Bate. *Expeditious* as Sir Bate might be (and he is, indeed, though aged, a most active as well as valorous member of the true Church Militant) the "Divine Service" of a Cathedral; and that, too, upon so solemn an occasion, could not well be performed, together with the sermon, in less than *three hours*. Then there was re-opening of the court; the swearing in of the Grand Jury; and the delivery of the charge. All this must have brought on six or seven o'clock. How expeditious; how quick and how able, must the *reporter* of the charge have been! *Word for word!* What an able set of people follow these judges upon this great occasion! There can be not the smallest doubt, that the charge, &c. \* \* \* \* \*

However, be this as it may, the pains that are taken to *scour* through the country *this charge* shews that no little importance is attached to it. But, as I was going on to observe, in spite of the *bold language* that is used by the hired writers of the day, we see, all over the country, that the people of property are endeavouring, by *conciliation*, to keep the people quiet. I will here give two instances. *Leicester* and *Liverpool*.

LICESTER.—"A Meeting of gentlemen connected with the hosiery business, took place last evening, at the Exchange, for the purpose (as we understand) of ascertaining the number of persons out of employ in this town and its vicinity, and of considering the best means to be adopted for alleviating

*their present distresses*. A similar Meeting took place at Hinckley, a few days ago, when the *more opulent* part of the inhabitants agreed to *lend a certain sum of money for the purpose of buying materials, &c.* to be worked up by each person out of employ, limiting the quantity of work to the *number of each individual's family*; a Committee was appointed to take the management, and to dispose of the goods when manufactured, which, we understand, it was agreed *should not be sold under prime cost*. The Parish *guarantee the Subscribers against all loss*, and also the payment of interest upon the sums advanced."

I leave you to guess of the state of a country, where schemes like this are resorted to in order to keep *the peace* and to prevent the universal destruction of property. Do even your Cossacks suppose, that this state of things can *last long*? Not, at any rate, without the assistance of their prayers and thanksgivings and processions? Do they think, that the people who have been fed in this manner for *a month*, will not want to be fed in the same manner for *two months*? And, where, do they think, that this is to *end*?

LIVERPOOL.—"Our accounts from Liverpool this morning state, that the town has, during the last week, been thrown into a state of confusion and alarm by a hand-bill having been displayed against the walls, signed by some 30 or 40 individuals, announcing a determination on their parts to take

"no silver coinage except Bank tokens  
"and the genuine coin of the Mint."

"The Liverpool Paper of Monday  
"says—'What recompense can these  
"people offer to the numberless poor  
"creatures, who with their helpless babes  
"traversed the streets on Thursday even-  
"ing, crying in vain for that bread which  
"the silver, earned by their honest in-  
"dustry, could not purchase!!! Too  
"much praise cannot be given to our  
"worthy Mayor for the timely check  
"put to these illegal proceedings. The  
"Mayor's Address is as follows:—

"*Town-hall, Liverpool, 14th June, 1816.*

"A hand bill having been published, signed by  
"a considerable number of tradesmen, in which  
"it is stated, that 'Government had declared  
"their intention not to take the sheet and bases  
"shillings and sixpences now in circulation, in  
"exchange for the new coinage,' the Mayor  
"thinks proper to acquaint the public, that he  
"deemed it his duty to request the attendance  
"at the Town-hall, of the individuals who signed  
"such hand-bill. The documents produced at  
"the Meeting, and the result of the conversation  
"which then passed, fully warrant the Mayor in  
"declaring, that the statement contained in the  
"hand-bill appears to have been expressed in  
"too general terms, and not to have been suf-  
"ficiently explanatory of the meaning of the  
"parties, and that all shillings and sixpences, of  
"Mint coinage, may safely be received in pay-  
"ment, notwithstanding the impression thereon  
"may have been worn out.

"WM. BARTON, Mayor."

"Notwithstanding the above address,  
"confidence is far from being restored,  
"and many individuals still persist in re-  
"fusing all silver unless it bears the mark  
"of a head upon it. Unless some further

"steps are taken, we fear it will be yet at-  
"tended with the most ruinous conse-  
"quences to trade in general."

Thus, you see, the Bee-hive is all in a  
stir! The peace has brought no peace to  
England; and, as every wise man must  
see, no real peace can we have until this  
terrible load of taxes be reduced. A  
singular, and very mysterious affair has  
just happened in the neighbourhood of  
London. Several days ago, perhaps  
twelve, a review of the troops was, in the  
public papers said to be about to take  
place on a spot called Wimbledon Com-  
mon, about five miles from London.  
Spectators assembled; but there was no  
review. It is added, that a heath, at a  
little distance, was, by some accident, set  
on fire, and that "it was feared that this  
"might provoke the mob to set the wood  
"on fire; but the seasonable arrival of  
"the GUARDS restored tranquillity."  
This wood is a country seat of Liverpool's.  
Thus, you see, these Guards are things by  
no means kept for mere show. They are  
things of real utility.

Nevertheless, whenever the people have  
a fair opportunity of speaking their mind,  
they do it, and that, too, in a manner,  
which shews, that Mr. Jefferson is per-  
fectly right as to the feelings which ani-  
mate the people of Europe. Of the man-  
ner in which the people of England yet  
dare speak their minds, I will, in my next,  
give you a specimen, in a relation of the  
late proceedings in the County of Kent on  
a proposition to address the Royal Family  
on account of the late marriage.

WM. COBBETT.

# DEBATE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

(Continued from p. 768.)

Mr. W. SMITH rose to second the motion, and though great accuracy of detail had been brought forward by the Hon. Mover, yet this was not necessary on his view of the question. He did not attach any blame to his Majesty's ministers: the difficulties in which they had been placed were an excuse for many errors; but he recollected that he had seconded the repeal of the income-tax, not because he thought the money was not wanted, but because the measure itself was so unconstitutional that he thought it incumbent on parliament to redeem the pledge that had been given by the minister, and repeal the tax. It might be said, that his Hon. Friend had erred in some trifling particulars; but with that he had nothing to do—those sums were so small that they made no impression on the total deficit. Under any view of the question there was a deficit of 10,000,000*l.* and unless some very unexpected explanation were given, the gloomy conclusion to which his Hon. Friend came, would not be got rid of. He thought that, after all, if difficulties were looked in the face, it could not be disguised that sooner or later some reduction must be made in the dividends; and though some gentlemen had looked to such a measure with the most fearful and gloomy apprehensions of the consequences, he did not think that the effect would be so dangerous as was imagined.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER found it impossible to concur in the view which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Grant) had taken in the resolutions he had proposed: they seemed to him only to add one link to that long chain of sinister prognostications with which the House was admonished towards the close

of every session. In spite of all those prognostications we had hitherto triumphed over our difficulties, and he trusted that the present alarms would prove as groundless as the former. He had never disguised from himself the difficulties of our situation, but, compared with those which had been surmounted, they were not very alarming: we had long been contending for existence, and were now contending for a relief from our burdens; but he believed that the country would never be reduced to that extreme remedy which the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last had endeavoured to break to it. He was convinced the House would never listen to so unjust a proposal, under which the country would lose more by the wreck of credit and character than it could ever gain from such a breach of faith. The expenses of the present year had been met in a way that gave satisfaction, but the Hon. Mover had assumed that the expenses of future years would be equal to the present. Neither the Hon. Gentleman nor himself could say what would be the circumstances of a future year; but if the peace continued, a considerable reduction might be expected. It had been objected on former occasions that the expenses of the navy were too small as compared with those of the army, but it amounted to nearly as much for the present year, and he would ask whether a navy estimate of 10,000,000*l.* was likely to be approved of as a regular peace establishment? He had stated that there was a diminution of debt this year, and only 14,000,000*l.* had been borrowed for the whole United Kingdom. The sum repaid this year would exceed the sum borrowed by three millions. In future years he hoped for a greater increase of our income over the expenditure required for the public service. This was a consoling prospect after the war, and a state of things which had occurred

in the first year after the conclusion of no former peace. At the end of the American war our debt had increased for some years; and it was not till 1786, when Mr. Pitt established the sinking fund, that the income of the year could balance the payment of the interest of the national debt, and defray the charges of our establishments. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman, not satisfied with this state of things, required a pledge from ministers of economy, and the disclosure of plans for preventing the ruin he apprehended; but he gave very little reason for making such a pledge, by declaring that no pledge could either be properly given or confidently relied on. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would give no pledge, because ministers felt the obligation which their public duty had pressed so strongly, that no pledge could add to its force, or afford it national security for its fulfilment. It would be very imprudent to give any other pledge than an assurance, that whatever should appear most conducive to the public welfare, would be supported and carried into effect with all their zeal and ability. They would bind themselves to no particular course of conduct. The Hon. and learned Gentleman had allowed an increase of revenue to the amount of 500,000*l.* on comparing the produce of the taxes this year with their produce in a former year; but against this he stated the amount of the new taxes at 900,000*l.* and the increase of the property tax to the extent of 200,000*l.* making in all 1,100,000*l.* which, if deducted from the increased revenue of this year, instead of making it appear greater than the last, would show a falling off of 600,000*l.* He had, however, stated on a former occasion, that if new duties were imposed, others had fallen in and expired. It would be found that war duties of customs and excise to the amount of 870,000*l.* had been thus lost to the revenue, which

would do more than cover the excess of 600,000*l.* mentioned as a falling off. He would venture to affirm, that down to April last, so far from there being any decrease, there had been an augmentation. He could not say what would be the state of the country in future, though there was a probability that there might next year be a falling off in some branches of the revenue, from the distresses of the country, and some causes in operation, as failures in business, the results of which would not be seen till another year. On this prospective view he could venture to give no distinct or decided opinion—far less would he wish to pledge the opinion of parliament by entertaining the present resolutions. The Honourable and learned Gentleman showed something like injustice in wishing to bind ministers to economy and to a reduction of debt, while he took away their resources for meeting demands for the service of the country. The Hon. and learned Gentleman should rely on the wisdom of parliament, and the firmness with which the country would support what was necessary to carry it through its difficulties; but he would not pledge the legislature to any particular course, and would therefore feel it consistent with his duty to move the previous question on the resolutions that had been read.

Mr. PONSOMBY thought the House was obliged to the Hon. and learned Mover for the accurate and able statements of our financial situation which he had laid before it. Their accuracy was proved by the silent acquiescence of the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, who had disputed none of the accounts. He only disputed the conclusions which had been drawn from them; and those conclusions he (Mr. P.) was afraid would be found as incontrovertible as the figures on which they were founded. It was a fact that could not be denied, that we could not

meet the expenditure of next year without a great deficiency of ways and means. Whether that deficiency amounted to eighteen millions, or only thirteen, or only ten, was a matter of little consequence, since any of these sums would be allowed to be enormous and alarming. For this evil the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, had a remedy. That remedy he did not explain, but as he had detected the remedy of his Hon. Friend (Mr. W. Smith), so he (Mr. P.) could, he thought, divine his. The remedy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the property-tax. He had charged his Hon. Friend (Mr. Smith) with despondency, but he would rather have the despondency of his Hon. Friend than the joy of the Right Hon. Gentleman. [A laugh.] He never despaired of the state of the country; but as our wealth constituted one of the chief elements of our power and grandeur, if we wished to maintain our position among the nations, we should husband our resources, and practise economy. He thought his Hon. and learned Friend's resolutions should be carried, or that he should take the sense of the House upon them.

Mr. TIERNEY expressed his satisfaction at the able and accurate statement pre-

sented in the speech of his Hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Grant), and he congratulated the country and the house on the talents and information he had displayed. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) entered into various statements to support the calculations that he had formerly made, and those this night brought forward. He would recommend a committee next session to take into consideration the financial situation of the country. At present we knew nothing but what the Chancellor of the Exchequer chose to communicate. At the end of the American war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, we were in a worse situation with regard to finance than at the end of this; but it should be recollected that at that time we had Mr. Pitt for finance minister, and now we had the Right Hon. Gentleman. [A laugh.]

Mr. COURTENAY denied the revenue had fallen off, if we took a retrospect of four years instead of one.

Mr. TIERNEY explained.

Mr. GRANT shortly replied.

The question was then put successively on Mr. Grant's resolutions, which were negatived without a division by the previous question.

TO

## THE MEN OF KENT,

*On their late rejection of Addresses of Congratulation to the Royal Family, on the subject of the Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales.*

The victory obtained for the nation by the defeat of the projected Peace Property Tax has been looked upon, by some persons, as being very great; but, supposing it to have been all that was expected, it was not for the nation, a victory a thousandth part so important as that, which, to your honour, and to the shame and confusion of the friends of corruption, was obtained at Maidstone on the 17th of this present month of June. The victory over the Income Tax was, in great part, the work of the selfishness, and, indeed, the injustice of those, who had been amongst the foremost to begin, and to prosecute, that war, which had occasioned the enormous debt, which demands enormous taxes to pay the interest of it, and an enormous standing army to cause those taxes to be collected. In those who urged on that war, and who caused the money to be borrowed for the purpose of carrying it on, it was unjust, it was base as well as unjust, to shake off from their own shoulders any portion of that load which they had thus contracted. Therefore, the victory obtained in the case of the Income Tax, was of very questionable merit, when considered in conjunction with the motives which led to it; but, the victory gained by you at Maidstone is unequivocally honourable to the persons by whom it was obtained, and there is no doubt in my mind, that it will lead to great national benefit.

The account of that memorable day's proceedings reached me first through the channel of a hiring daily London paper, called the *Courier*. This account has since arrived at Botley in the *Kentish Chronicle*, and also in the *Maidstone Gazette*, by the proprietors of all which

papers, you, who so manfully rejected the proposed Addresses, and who therein gave a proof of your good sense and your true English feeling, are abused in a most insolent manner, being called by these hiring scribes by all sorts of names, descriptive of worthless and brutal men.

It is my intention to show, during the present Address, that this abuse is wholly unjustifiable; that your conduct was marked by public spirit and sound sense; and, that, the charge of being guilty of low and despicable conduct belongs, in no sense, to you, but in every sense, to your adversaries.

Before, however, I enter upon the examination of the matters, presented to me in the account before mentioned, and on the audacious commentaries of the mercenary writers to whom I have referred, the great interest of the subject appears to me to demand a brief statement of the circumstances which had occurred, previous to the day of your meeting, and relative to the subject of that meeting. Because, unless those circumstances are taken into view, neither your views nor the views of your adversaries, neither your merits nor their demerits, can be fully understood, especially by persons in other countries; for, my honest Fellow-Countrymen, your conduct on the 17th of June at Maidstone; the decision which you, on that day, made, was the decision of every Englishman of sense who really loves his country, who exults in her true glory, and who mourns over her shame; and, be you assured, that there are very few nations in the civilized world, who do not still look with deep interest in order to discover what are the real sentiments, upon topics like the present, of the real people of England.

Notorious, therefore, as the circumstances are to us, in this Island, it appears to me necessary to state, that, about six weeks ago, the Princess Charlotte of Wales was married to a German, called the Prince of Saxe Cobourg; that the Parliament have passed laws to give, at the expence of the people, to this new-married

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couple, in the first place, 60,000 pounds for what the Minister called an *out-fit*. Then 60,000 pounds a-year as an income to live upon. Besides this, it had been intimated, that about 60,000 pounds more would be wanted in order to purchase an estate, as a place of residence in the country, which intimation is now actually proceeding upon by the Parliament, and the estate is reported to have been actually purchased, and is to be paid for, it is said, out of the sale of *Crown Lands*, as they are called, but which *Crown Lands* are really the people's lands, as no lawyer, who has any reputation to lose, will, I am sure, dare to deny. Besides this, the husband, in case of the Princess's death, is to have 50,000 pounds a-year, paid to him by the people of England, for the remainder of his life! In addition, it has been stated to us, that this German Prince has been appointed a Field Marshal in the English army. I do not know whether he is to have any pay on this account, but this is a circumstance which is by no means to be overlooked. An Act of Parliament has been passed to *naturalize* this Prince, or, as it is called, to make him a *denizen*.

Bearing these circumstances and transactions in mind, we must also bear in mind, that, at the very time when the Parliament were passing the Acts to compel the nation to pay the aforesaid sums, they were day after day and week after week, sitting in deliberation on what they themselves called, "*the distresses of the country*." And, my worthy Fellow Countrymen, do we not well know, do we not all feel that our country then was, and that it still is, in a state of undescribable distress? Have not Members of Parliament given an account of whole Parishes deserted by those who formerly employed the poor and who paid the poor-rates? Have not others given an account of the distressed and miserable people, not being able to obtain relief from the Parish, wandering about like *Banditti*, seeking the means of satisfying their hunger; have not other Members described the country as being deserted by the rich, who were seeking, by flight to foreign countries, to get rid of their share of the burthen of the National Debt, and that of supporting the army, the Royal Family, and that of maintaining the poor? And have not other Members described the

honest, the laborious, the virtuous, part of the community to be in such a state as for some of them to have requested of a Member of Parliament to get them sent to *Botany Bay*, as the means of *bettering their lot*? Nay, do not the "*Special Commission*," and the dreadful preparations consequent thereon, now going on in the town of *Ely*; do not these proclaim, with awful voice, the deplorable and desperate state to which this nation, this industrious, laborious, persevering and provident people have been reduced?

It is not I, my Fellow Countrymen; it is not you, brave men of Kent, from whose lips this description of our country has proceeded; no: it has come from the lips of the Members of Parliament themselves; aye, from the lips of the Members of that very House, the two contending parties in which most cordially joined in voting the immense sums above mentioned, and in which House the most decided approbation of these grants of this distressed nation's money, was heard from the lips of that very Mr. Brougham, who, in conjunction with Mr. Wilberforce, has been taking such infinite pains to better the condition of the natives of Africa who labour in the West-India plantations, and whose life, though it be not what I wish it to be, is a life of ease and of plenty compared to the present life of an English labourer; and, what ought to be still more dear to man than ease and plenty, it is a life of *freedom*, too, compared to that of the present life of an Englishman, if that doctrine be sound, which has, with regard to you, been now promulgated by the abject slaves of power, through the hireling press. For, as we shall by and by see, these men have the impudence to assert that it is only the Nobility, the Clergy, the Gentlemen, the Freeholders, and people in Office, who have any right at all, upon any occasion to express an opinion, upon any public matter, and that all the rest of the nation, which rest of the nation consists, I believe, of more than ninety-nine out of every hundred men; that all this rest of the nation, that ninety-nine out of every hundred Englishmen, are to be considered as nothing more than mere dumb animals; than mere beasts of burden or of draft, or, at best, than mere slaves; while (shall not the insolent words be crammed down their throats!) men of



Title, Parsons, Placemen, Pensioners, and even Foreigners, ought to have the deciding on whatever shall concern our characters, our means of living, our personal liberty, and our lives! Yes, my Friends of Kent, let us hope, at any rate, that we shall not all be put under ground like dogs, before we have seen the men who make use of language like this, brought to a due sense of the baseness and the infamy of their conduct. In spite of all that we see around us; in spite of the miseries of all sorts, into which we are plunged, let us hope that England, so long famed for the industry, the mutual confidence, the love of liberty, the hatred of oppression of her sons, and renowned more than for any thing else, for the struggles which those sons have, at various times, made in defence of human rights; let us hope, that, in spite of the dismal gloom that hangs over us, England is not doomed to put up quietly with such audacious insolence as this.

Many things have occurred of late to revive and to cherish this hope; but, as for myself, I seriously declare, that nothing has occurred, for many years, or, at least, within my recollection, so cheering, as to public matters, as your rejection of the Addresses, proposed at Maidstone, in which rejection you have set an example to the whole nation, an example of the utmost importance; and, you have, at the same time, by your resolute pronunciation of the single syllable NO, spoken thunder to your adversaries, who, by all kinds of shifts and tricks, are endeavouring in vain to recover from their consternation.

In proceeding, now, to rebut the attacks of your calumniators, I shall first insert *a narrative of the proceedings* of the 17th, according to the materials furnished me by the newspapers above-mentioned, and by letters which I have received from Maidstone.

It appears, that, according to the usual custom, a requisition had been presented to the Sheriff to call *a Meeting of the County*. and that, in compliance with this requisition, that gentleman appointed the Meeting to take place on the 17th of June, at the town of Maidstone, that being the most central town in the County, and being, indeed, the *County-town*. The account of what passed has been

published in the Kentish Chronicle of the 18th of June, in the following words:

"Maidstone was yesterday a scene of *such disgraceful confusion*, as cannot be recorded without the *most painful feelings*, by any man who wishes for the *welfare and happiness of England*. It is already known that a requisition, most respectfully signed, and embracing the names of gentlemen of opposite opinions in political life, had been transmitted to the High Sheriff of this county: In consequence of which he appointed a public meeting to be held, simply for the purpose of congratulating the Royal Family on the marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Yesterday was the day fixed for this meeting to take place, and the following is a faithful report of the proceedings of the assembly:—

"Though the meeting was to have been holden at twelve, it was nearly one o'clock before the High Sheriff had repaired to the spot, accompanied by several noblemen and distinguished gentlemen of the county, when he opened the business in the usual form, but stating his concern that, owing to some sort of accident, the advertisement for the occasion had not appeared in the Kentish Gazette, though it had not been omitted in the other Kentish papers. Among the noblemen and gentlemen who were on either side of the High Sheriff, we noticed the *Marquis Camden*, Lords *Durnley*, *Clifton*, *Sidney*, and *Thanet*, Sir *Edward Knatchbull*, Sir *William Geary*, Sir *Thomas Dyke*, the *Hon. Colonel Harris*, and some clergymen. Waggoners were drawn out in the usual form, but *all the precautions* used could not prevent the populace from pre-occupying two of the waggons; and this disarrangement previously to the commencement of the proceedings, had some effect in facilitating the objects of those persons who had *evidently come* for the sole purpose of *stirring up resistance and noise*.

"LORD CLIFTON rose to address the Meeting. (after the resolution for the first Address had been read by the High Sheriff and put). He began by observing, that he esteemed it particularly fortunate to be his lot to present himself to the meeting on so propitious

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"an occasion, and on a subject which  
 "authorised him to look forward to their  
 "unanimous approbation. The resolution  
 "he had to support was one whereon  
 "he anticipated the vote of every man ;  
 "it was to carry, in the first instance, an  
 "Address of Congratulation to his Royal  
 "Highness the Prince Regent on the  
 "auspicious nuptials of his only child,  
 "with a Prince *whom she herself had*  
 "*esteemed worthy of her choice*, and  
 "whose great and amiable qualities gave  
 "the surest pledge of beholding *conjugal*  
 "*happiness again seated on the throne*.  
 "He wished, indeed, that the motion had  
 "fallen to better hands than his, since it  
 "related to that event which would prove  
 "*a blessing to the inhabitant of the*  
 "*palace and the cottage*—an event so  
 "calculated to rejoice every lover of  
 "*freedom*, and who had the *blood of an*  
 "*Englishman still flowing in his veins*.  
 "The Consort of our Princess was descended  
 "from an ancient and illustrious  
 "house, whose *religion was in unison*  
 "*with our established faith*, and who involved  
 "us in none of those *continental*  
 "*arrangements*, which were *adverse to*  
 "*our interest*. Had we formed the alliance  
 "which was in contemplation *two*  
 "*years ago*, it might have exposed us to  
 "circumstances most unpropitious to us,  
 "by being vexed and harassed with disputes  
 "as to territorial rights, which we should  
 "have been called upon to defend, and  
 "which had unfortunately cost us so much  
 "money and men.—It was also a circumstance  
 "as gratifying as it was new, for he believed  
 "it had *no parallel in the history* of the world,  
 "that a person of the elevated rank of the  
 "Princess Charlotte, *was united to a*  
 "*husband of her choice*. Respecting the  
 "character of the Prince so selected  
 "by her, it was happily the lot of  
 "Prince Leopold to be spoken of by all  
 "with universal admiration.—[Cries of  
 "'NOT ALL HERE.']—Affable and courteous,  
 "he was well qualified to obtain the good  
 "will of all classes of men ; while he had  
 "even now manifested his foresight and  
 "independence, by refusing to accept of any  
 "rank or title that would interfere with his  
 "resolution of keeping aloof from the different  
 "parties in this country. We ought, indeed,  
 "to thank Providence for so

"fine a prospect of domestic happiness  
 "and *national security*—[LAUGHING  
 "AND HISSES ;] and we had only  
 "to regret that, amidst such scenes of  
 "*mirth and pastime*, it was the fate of  
 "an afflicted Sovereign to be unable  
 "to *participate in the joy which was*  
 "*poured upon his subjects*. Happy were  
 "the royal pair, indeed thrice happy,  
 "if they knew their happiness.—The  
 "Noble Lord concluded by moving the  
 "addresses :—the first, offering to the  
 "Prince Regent the sincere congratulations  
 "on the marriage of his daughter,  
 "and assuring his Royal Highness of  
 "their being sensible of those blessings  
 "which this country had enjoyed under  
 "the sway of his Illustrious House ; the  
 "second, to her Majesty the Queen ; and  
 "the third, to Princess Charlotte and  
 "Prince Leopold, with an expression of  
 "hope that their union would be beneficial  
 "to the nation at large, while productive  
 "of their domestic peace.

"COLONEL HARRIS said, he most cordially  
 "concurred with the sentiments of the  
 "Noble Lord, and begged leave to  
 "second the addresses that had been proposed  
 "to them.

"Upon the High Sheriff now putting  
 "the Address to the Prince Regent,  
 "and the *majority of hands proving to*  
 "*be adverse to it*, no declaration was  
 "made by him, on which the populace  
 "called out, 'WHERE'S THE MAJORITY ?'  
 "—That proposed to the Queen,  
 "and those also to the Princess Charlotte  
 "and Prince Leopold, experienced the  
 "same fate, with mutterings of 'SEND  
 "UP A PETITION FOR EMPLOYMENT FOR  
 "THE POOR,' and 'WE CAN'T AFFORD TO  
 "KEEP FOREIGNERS,' from the deluded and  
 "disaffected in all quarters.

"[Here one of the populace had the  
 "effrontery to remark, that only two  
 "hands were held up, except by the High  
 "Sheriff and his friends. Sir Wm. Geary  
 "then challenged this man as to his  
 "condition in life, when he turned out  
 "to be a journeyman watchmaker, who  
 "was only a lodger in the town.]

"SIR W. GEARY now endeavoured, if  
 "possible, to *reclaim* the populace to  
 "something like *sense*, reminding them of  
 "the manner in which *he had represented*  
 "them. He declared it as his opinion

“that no one qualified to enter into the merits of the question could offer a substantial ground for rejecting the addresses. None was attempted to be offered, even by those who clamoured them down; and, for his part, he felt he was securing the liberties of his country in maintaining the present family in the succession to the throne. He would finally call upon them as men of Kent, *zealous for the honour of their country*, to pause well before they passed a judgment which he was confident would be *condemned by every British heart*. What had been the conduct of the Prince Regent in the transaction on which it was proposed to address him? Finding a man of honour, and to whom his daughter was attached, he had *acceded to the feelings of her heart*, regardless of territorial advantages, and acted as the *kindest of parents*. Did they wish to oppose such a character as Prince Leopold, *beloved by every one else?* He would desire the question to be again put, as he wished to see if they could conscientiously reject it, for if such a decision were to go out to the world, he was certain it must *disgrace them with every British heart*.

SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL said, that, after the manly and constitutional speech of his colleague, he could only say that the line of conduct just recommended, was the only one to be adopted by them. Had they forgotten the circumstance of *our good old King*, when he *once passed their town*, being borne upon the hands and with the hearts of all; but what would be his grief, could he understand they were refusing to approve of *his son's pursuing his political steps*, and even refusing to congratulate that son on the prospect of *continuing the royal line*.—[HEAR, HEAR!]  
—Where was the man present, who would not desire to be congratulated by his friends on *marrying his own daughter well?* The motion had been seconded by an Honourable Friend of his (Colonel Harris, of the 73d) who this very day twelvemonth was fighting in their cause—fighting in the *Battle of Waterloo*, where he *bled*, and of whom those who survived with him never spoke but in the *highest terms*. He should again call upon them to support the addresses by one unanimous vote.

“Amidst an increase of confusion and calls, the three Addresses were then proposed together by the Sheriff, and *lost, and no advocate for loyalty could succeed*.

SIR WM. GEARY was desirous of submitting an alteration, although he was confident that the subject of the Addresses was one upon which there could be no objection, except a man were the enemy of his country. He would propose to strike out the words *‘Meeting at Maidstone,’* (which alteration they themselves would regret at *another time*) then to let the Address be circulated widely, and signed by those who approved of the object of them. [UPROARIOUS CLAMOUR, WITH CALLING OUT ‘THEN IT WOULD BE A SECRET ADDRESS.’]  
—Clamour should not prevent him from supporting what he conceived to be just; he was a *sailor's son*, and not *easily to be shaken*. Formerly he had appealed to the state of the poll; and he would now appeal from the *undeliberating noise* of that meeting, to the *good sense* of the county. He should therefore move, that the meeting do adjourn.—[LOUD CRIES OF NO, NO! GO ON.]

THE HIGH SHERIFF having consulted with the Noblemen and Gentlemen near him, declared the meeting to be *dissolved*.

Those who really were competent to deliberate and vote then adjourned to the Bell Inn, where Marquis Camden was called to the Chair, the High Sheriff not thinking it proper for himself to occupy that seat. After a variety of opinions here delivered in a desultory way, it was resolved, on the motion of Sir William Geary, which was seconded by Sir Thomas Dyke, that the Addresses should be transmitted for signature to the principal towns in Kent, and returned through Mr. Scudamore, of Maidstone.—Every one was confident of the result. Sir Wm. Geary said, he should feel it a particular duty to accompany the presentation of them, together with the High Sheriff, and he hoped that all the Noblemen and Gentlemen now present would honour them with their company too.

Nothing like rioting was attempted on the part of the persons who figured

"on the rejecting side during the first meeting, though it was afterwards remarked that some menace had been uttered by some one, and though matters might have assumed a more serious aspect, if the meeting had been prolonged. The fact plainly is, that it ought either to have been adjourned or dissolved, the moment the spirit of contumacy was seen."

Thus, my friends of Kent, we have before us the hiring account of the matter. Upon their own showing, the "disgrace" belongs solely to your adversaries. Here was "no rioting," they themselves say. No violence of any kind. The questions were proposed to the Meeting; the Meeting rejected them; and, all that was, in point of form, amiss at the Meeting, was, that the High Sheriff did not declare the decision, and then dissolve the Meeting, the business of the day being ended.

But this is not a true account of what passed. It is a partial account, at least, as will, indeed, easily be believed by every one, who observes the disposition, which the editor of this enslaved news-paper has displayed. But, a letter, which I have received from near Maidstone, dated on the 18th instant, gives an account of some particulars, which it was a base act in the Editors of the Kentish Chronicle and Maidstone Gazette to omit to notice, especially as it has been alledged against the Men of Kent, that they gave no reasons; that they stated no grounds of objection. My Correspondent's contains the following relation of particulars.

"SIR,—You will see by the paper, sent for your information this post, (the Maidstone Gazette) the proceedings of a County-Meeting, held at this town yesterday. The statement being, as far as it goes, tolerably accurate, it will be needless for me to trouble you in detail. Suffice it to say, that, although it is asserted (*falsely*), that no person of respectability took any part in the Opposition, great numbers were highly gratified at the result, as, indeed, all the real friends of freedom must be. John Bull was inexorable; each of the addresses was negatived by a show of hands ten to one; every subterfuge was resorted to on the part of the proposers of the Addresses, but all was unavailing. Sir William Geary, the only popular man on the hustings, made no impression on the Meeting;

"the universal cry was 'we will vote no addresses;' 'you are all tarr'd with the same brush.'—One man exclaimed, 'I have nine Children, and every morsel of bread that goes into their mouths is taxed to pay the Marquis of Camden's salary;' another said, 'if the Noble Marquis is anxious for the Royal Family, let him give his salary to support them.' On the Sheriff putting the question for adjournment, such was the panic, that he did not put the contrary question.—The Nobility actually sneaked away, like dogs with burnt tails, adjourning to do business at a Public-house! Here, to his praise, the Sheriff refused to take the Chair; declaring the Meeting, for which the requisition was signed, to be dissolved."

Such then, taking both accounts together, we will look upon as a pretty fair representation of what took place upon this memorable occasion. The hirelings of the press say, that your conduct was disgraceful; that it cannot be contemplated without the most painful feelings by any man who wishes for the welfare and happiness of England. Sir William Geary is represented to have said, that your conduct would be condemned by every British heart, and that it was disgraceful to you, and showed you to be persons destitute of sense. I am precisely of a contrary opinion. I think that your conduct was honourable to you; I thank you in the name of my circle of friends for the example that you have thus set to the country; and, instead of your being under the guidance of folly, it appears to me, that your conduct, from first to last, was marked by sound sense, while that of your adversaries, was, perhaps, the most foolish as well as the most insolent, ever witnessed, at any thing under the name of a county meeting in any part of England.

But, I will not, like your calumniators, content myself with bare assertion. I will prove what I say; or I will be content to pass for the equal of the Editors of the Kentish Chronicle and Maidstone Gazette.

You are represented as having laughed and hissed at the speech of Lord Clifton. His Lordship told you that the Princess herself had chosen her husband; that he was the man of her own choice; that it was a circumstance as gratifying as it was new to see a person of the elevated rank

of the Princess Charlotte married to a man of her own choosing; that this was without a parallel in the history of the world. Now, in the first place, how came Lord Clifton to know this fact; who told him that the Princess Charlotte did really and bona fide fall in love with this German Prince; that it was an affair of the heart, as that wise man, Sir Wm. Geary, afterwards told you it was? In the first place I say we must doubt very much, whether the Princess Charlotte did really make these gentlemen her confidants as to this very important matter. Of course we must look upon what they said, in this respect, as worthy of no attention at all. In the next place, supposing the fact to be true, it may speak very highly in praise of the husband, that the Princess Charlotte should prefer him to all the men in England; this may be something for Germans and Germany to be proud of; but, really, one cannot very well see how it can be a thing "to rejoice every one who has the blood of an Englishman flowing in his veins." Far be it from me to find fault with this royal lady's choice. I know no more about her husband than I do about her. She may, for aught I know, have shown very excellent taste in yielding to him, at almost first sight, a heart, which, as we must infer from the speeches of Lord Clifton and Sir Wm. Geary, had remained wholly insensible to every thing that she had seen in England; her taste in this matter may have been perfectly good; there may, for aught I know to the contrary, have been no man in England, or at least, with English blood in his veins, worthy of her affection or regard; there may, for aught I know to the contrary, be something in Germans a vast deal more worthy of love and admiration than there is in any young man of English birth and parentage. But, my Lord Clifton, admitting all this to be so, though we must commend and admire the correct taste of her Royal Highness, you must excuse me, my good Lord, if I do not regard the circumstance as something of which an Englishman ought to be proud; and of this opinion appear to have been the discerning and honest men of Kent. The next topic brought forward by the Addressers, appears to have been, the excellent character of the new-married husband.

Lord Clifton told you of his great and amiable qualities; Sir Wm. Geary told you that he was beloved by every one; Sir Edward Knatchbull told you that the Princess Charlotte was well married; and my Lord Clifton asserted, that it was, "happily, the lot of Prince Leopold to be spoken of by *all* with *universal* admiration." Lords, amongst their privileges, may, perhaps, possess that of setting the rules of grammar at defiance. I will, therefore, leave this sentence of Lord Clifton to enjoy that privilege, and proceed to observe, that you, with as much judgement as pith, gave, in three short words, a complete negative, and also a complete refutation, of his assertion. "NOT ALL HERE," was your answer; and, certainly, nothing could be more true in point of fact, nothing could be in better taste, in point of argument; and yet, the blundering bungling baronet, who talked about his being a sailor's son, and about your undeliberating noise, had the folly to propose, at the Bell Inn, the circulation of the Addresses through the county, because, as he said, you had rejected those Addresses without argument! There was more argument in the three words which you uttered in answer to Lord Clifton's assertion, than there was in all the speeches made by your adversaries during the whole day. It may be very true that the Prince of Saxe Cobourg is a most beautiful, most amiable, most virtuous, and most wise person; but it is false to say that he is spoken of with admiration by *all*; for, if the word *all* is to be understood as meaning no more than all the people in England, it must be well known to every body, that not one person out of ten thousand have ever seen him or ever will see him; that not above one out of every three or four hundred thousand, will, in all human probability, ever hear him speak; that not above one or two out of every million will ever know any thing of his qualities, good or bad; and that, therefore, it was manifestly false as well as insulting to the Meeting, to say that this gentleman was beloved by *every one*, and that he was spoken of with admiration by *all*. These were assertions, which were neither true nor decent; they contain falsehood in substance and courier-like insolence in manner; and they deserved the reproof which they received at your hands.

It is said, that you laughed and hissed when Lord Clifton told you, that "we ought, indeed, to *thank Providence* for "so *fine* a prospect of domestic happiness "and *national security*." But you do not appear to have laughed when he told you, that, you had only "to regret, "that, amidst such scenes of *mirth* and "*pastime* it was the fate of an afflicted sovereign to be unable to *participate in "the joy which was poured on his subjects*." You did not laugh at this, men of Kent; this, foolish as it was, was not an observation to laugh at. What scenes of mirth and pastime did his Lordship allude to? The scenes exhibited in almost every parish in England, where the farmers are removing off to jail, and their labourers to the poor-house? The scenes exhibited in Ireland, where the taxes are in many instances, collected under the guardianship of the bayonet, and where, throughout whole districts, the people are shut in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise? Or, was it to the scenes of mirth and pastime exhibited at this moment in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire, and particularly at the town of Ely; was it to these scenes of mirth and pastime that his Lordship alluded; were these the scenes of joy in which he wished the king to be able to participate? You appear to have received these observations of his Lordship with the disdain which they merited. Joy, indeed! What joy, I should be glad to know, has been "poured fourth" upon you, or upon any part of the people of England! Joy, who amongst us can feel any thing like joy, while we behold millions of our countrymen in such misery as never was experienced before in this country in any age or under any sovereign; for when was it before known of England, that her people, rich as well as poor, were seeking to flee from her soil in all directions, in order to find out a spot of earth where they might be less miserable? Lord Clifton, perhaps, and Lord Camden, and Lord Sydney, and the rest of those persons who were forward in endeavouring to enveigle you into an approbation of their Addresses; these persons, perhaps, may have had joy poured out upon them, in the shape of places and pensions; but, as to the people in general; as to those who work to raise the means of paying the taxes, no

joy have they had poured out upon them.

As to the *Domestic Happiness*, of which his Lordship told you there was so *fine* a prospect, I will only say, that, taking all circumstances into view, I am really surprized that even Lord Clifton should have entangled himself voluntarily in the meshes of so very *ticklish* a subject. Yet, Sir Wm. Geary must go a little further, and, without the least apparent necessity in the world, talk about the conduct of the Prince Regent, who, he said, "finding a "man of honour, and to whom his daughter was attached, had acceded to the "feelings of her heart, *regardless of territory or advantages*, and acted as the "*kindest of parents*." Why, one would really think that Sir William, in his "endeavours to reclaim you to something "like sense," had, for the time being, at any rate, suspended the operation of every thing like sense in his own mind. For, besides the slippery ground upon which he had chosen to tread, with regard to the parental feelings, how excessively, how exuberantly foolish it was to talk about the Prince's "*regardlessness of territory*" in the husband of his daughter, at the very moment when a Bill was before Parliament, the object of which Bill was and is to provide a *landed estate* for the husband of the Princess at the expence of the people of England; exclusive of the out-fit and the pension and the reversionary pension mentioned in the former part of this address. These facts, so well known as they were to every man present, would, one would have thought, have been sufficient to restrain, from touching upon such a subject, even the tongue of Sir Wm. Geary. If, indeed, the Prince Regent, out of regard for the feelings of his daughter, or from any other motive, had lopped off part of his own expences, and had given the part so lopped off, to this amiable German, in order to supply the place, of that want of territory, or income, of which the sprightly Barouet chose to speak; if His Royal Highness had thus provided a fortune for the young couple, even then we might have very reasonably claimed the right of sharing with his Royal Highness in the merit of having been generously "*regardless of territory*;" but, to cry up this *regardlessness* in him as an act of wondrous generosity and kindness, while we were called upon to supply the husband with

territory, was something so insulting to the understanding of the meeting, that the gentleness of your conduct upon the occasion appears to me to have been truly wonderful. For my part, if I had been present when the observation was made, I could no more have held my tongue than I could have bit off my own nose.

And, pray, my worthy friends of Kent, what could Lord Clifton mean by telling you that in this marriage we were so blessed, that even the *cottagers* were to be blessed by it, and that we ought to *thank Providence* for the fine prospect of "*National Security*" that it gave us? What could his Lordship mean by these words? Is there common sense in supposing that our *security as a nation*, can, in the smallest degree, depend upon this marriage? If so we were in a state of insecurity before the marriage took place; and should, of course, be replunged into that state, if the marriage were to be put an end to by the death of the husband, or that of the wife, or by any event which might produce a separation! Now, really, though I am by no means disposed to under-rate the character of the husband of the Princess Charlotte, I must be permitted to observe, that John Bull, that famous John Bull, that swaggering John Bull, that fighting John Bull, that squandering John Bull, who has had all Germany in his pay, ten times over, is come to a pretty pass, or, as we Hampshire people should say, has brought his hogs to a fine market at last, if it be really true, that his NATIONAL SECURITY depends upon the life, or the disposition, of a German Prince, and of a German Prince, too, to whom John is to pay a pension for life! Amiable as you please, Sir William Geary; beloved as much as you please, Sir William Geary; admired as much as you please, my Lord Clifton. Say, Gentlemen, all that you please in praise of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, and I will never contradict you. Down upon your knees and kiss his hand, and I will never interrupt you. But, whenever you take it into your wise heads to assert that the *security of England* depends upon the will or upon the life of this Prince or upon that of any other Prince, I will always say, that you are very low minded or very weak minded men. When this expression was made use of at Maidstone, the people

laughed in your faces, and well they might; they hissed too, at the same time; and the assertion was a subject for hissing as well as for laughter: It was at once ridiculous and insulting.

Having now shown, as I think, pretty clearly, that you, the people of the county of Kent, were right in your decision, upon the occasion alluded to, I now proceed to observe upon the conduct, of those who brought forward and endeavoured to support the addresses, than which conduct, any thing more foul has seldom been witnessed. The Meeting had been called on a requisition of the persons who proposed the addresses; it had been convened by the Sheriff accordingly; the addresses themselves purported to be the addresses of the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, Yeomanry, Freeholders and *Inhabitants* of the County of Kent. All the addresses were full of expressions of joy at the marriage, and of expectations of great national benefits to be derived from it, together with acknowledgements of the vast advantages, which the nation had derived from the sway of the House of Brunswick. Now, the main thing to observe here is, that the Addresses purported to be the addresses of the *Inhabitants* of the County of Kent; and, therefore, there was no person living in the county of Kent, who had not a perfect right to vote and to speak, if he chose, at this Meeting. It was, therefore, the extreme of insolence in Sir William Geary to pretend that the persons who opposed the Addresses, had no right to be there. There was no creature, in whatever rank of life, being within the county of Kent, who had not as much right to speak and to vote as Sir William Geary or Lord Camden had; and, indeed, a much greater right than Lord Camden, or Lord Sydney, or any of the others who were present and who receive money out of the taxes, that is to say, out of the produce of the people's labour. One of the persons, who, it appears, made the most pointed observations in opposition to the addresses, was, we are told, a journeyman watch-maker; and it is added very significantly that he had lived in Maidstone not above *two years*, and was only a *lodger* into the bargain! Very well! and what then! Was not this man an "*inhabitant*" of the County of Kent; and if he had not a right to



speak and to vote, with what propriety could these addresses be called the addresses of the "inhabitants of the County of Kent?" This journeyman watch-maker was an inhabitant as well as Sir William Geary, and if the voice of the former was to be shut out and stifled, it was a falsehood, it was a mean piece of cheater, to pretend that the addresses were coming from the inhabitants of the County of Kent.

The party, the aristocracy, or, rather, the Oligarchy, who afterwards retired to the Bell Inn, should, if they had intended not to let the inhabitants in general have any share in deciding upon the questions; if this had been their intention, as it certainly was, they should have called a meeting of themselves, and not of the *inhabitants*. They might then have had their meeting as snugly as possible. They might then have carried their addresses with the most wonderful unanimity. But, this was not what they wanted; it was not an address from a set of Courtiers, Colonels, borough-mongers, sinecure placemen, pensioners, and tax-gatherers; it was not an address from a band like this that was wanted. The movers of these addresses knew very well the light in which *their* congratulations would be viewed. No; what was wanted was an address from the inhabitants, that is to say from the people at large of the County of Kent. And, as this was the first County which had been tried upon this tender subject, every effort appears to have been made in order to insure success. There have been addresses enough from Corporations, Boroughs, and Colleges. There have been people enough strutting up from all parts of the country in Corporation gowns and bag wigs. There have been Doctors and Proctors, and all sorts of Dignitaries; the sinecure and pension list have all passed in review before the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, with their addresses and congratulations. There have been Scotch Counties, too, I believe; or, at least, there easily might be, unless the *people* should be called together in that country, which I believe they never have been yet in a fair and open manner.

But, all this was poor stuff; all this was of no value. All the applause and the affection that came from these quarters was something like that which one re-

ceives from one's own family. It was all in the family; all in the regiment, as Sir Francis Burdett once observed. This, therefore, was not what was wanted. What was wanted was to get the *people* to congratulate; to get the *people* to express their happiness, their joy, their gratitude, upon this occasion. The *City of London* was said to have taken the lead in this affair of congratulation; but, it was not the city of London that congratulated. It was merely the *members of the Corporation of London*. So far from its being the *people* of London, it was not even the *livery* of London. A *Common Hall* would have expressed the sense of the Livery; but even this had not been ventured upon; and as to the people of Westminster there had been no meeting of any sort in that City upon this occasion. In short, there had been a meeting of the people no where; the first attempt was made at Maidstone; and as I observed before, every trick seems to have been resorted to, to make this attempt succeed. Lord Clifton talked about the only child of the Prince, and about the *true English feeling* of Prince Leopold! He then descanted at large upon the inestimable blessings which John Bull had enjoyed under the illustrious House of Brunswick. Sir William Geary with a taste peculiar to himself represented the German Prince as a person beloved by every one except the majority of the meeting, and spoke of the match quite in the style of a love-born novelist. Sir Edward Knatchbull, in a strain still more affecting, called upon the people to remember that our *good old King once did Maidstone the honour to pass through it*, and bade them consider seriously, what would be his grief *could he now understand* that they were actually refusing to congratulate his son on the prospect of continuing the Royal line! This, I suppose, was one of those *arguments*, which the Bell Inn society were discontented at not hearing answered! But Sir Edward having once mounted his stilts; having once, as he appears to have thought, made a way into your hearts by the powers of his eloquence, did not think proper to stop here. He took occasion to play off the battle of Waterloo upon you, by observing, most aptly, that Colonel Harris, who had seconded the addresses, was, that very day twelvemonth,

fighting in *your cause*, in the battle of Waterloo, where he *bled*! To be sure, this had a great deal to do with the subject before you! Sir Edward Knatchbull appears to be a man of excellent taste as to the selection of his topics. The Hon. Colonel Harris being a friend of Sir Edward, and having bled at Waterloo, were I suppose amongst those cogent *arguments* in favour of the addresses, which you were censured for not answering.

But, if this cajolerie, these low, these pitiful, these worse than mountebank tricks, this despicable cant; if these excited your disgust, and made you hold in utter contempt the persons by whom they were played off, what must have been your feelings, when you saw them, after their attempts at cajolerie had failed, endeavour to extort a vote from your fears? What must have been your feelings when you heard Sir William Geary calling out to know the *name* of the journeyman watchmaker, with evident intention to *mark him out*; When you heard the same gentleman assert, immediately afterwards, that no man would oppose the addresses, who was not an *enemy to his country*; and especially when you heard him utter the mean threat of making Maidstone *no longer the place for holding public meetings*!

However, in spite of both cajoling and bullying, you persevered in rejecting the addresses, and in that perseverance you rendered a most signal service to your country, if it were only by proving to other counties and to other assemblages of the people, that if they will but make use of the trifling rights which are still left to them, even that will be of some use.

It is impossible for me, my friends of Kent, to know how the Oligarchy felt when they were sneaking away to the Bell Inn; but I know very well how I myself should have felt upon the occasion, and I know that I should have been very glad to have escaped from the band at the expence of a broken head. Arrived at the *Bell Inn*, the gentlemen appear to have been as bold as so many pages of the Royal Household. There they found that *deliberation*, which they affected not to meet with out of doors, where Sir William Geary pretended that there was nothing but undeliberating noise. Now, my friends, mark the impudence of this assertion. Pray mark the impudence of

these men; and I pray you punish it, by your loudly expressed censure upon some future occasion. The addresses were brought forward; they were proposed by a Lord; they were seconded by the son of another Lord; they were then regularly put to you by the Sheriff; they were put to the whole meeting; they expressly purposed to be the addresses of the inhabitants of the County of Kent. And what did the meeting do? What did the people of Kent do? Why, without any prompter; without any leader; without any Speech-maker; the people themselves and of themselves, when they were asked if they would send up those addresses, said NO. What could be more regular? What decision could be more fair or more conclusive? When the Sheriff put the question to the people and said "as many of you as are for these addresses will please to hold up your hands;" it appears that only two persons, besides the *band*, held up their hands. But when the contrary was put to the meeting, a forest of hands sprung up in an instant! Yes, my friends of Kent, those were the hands; it was that description of hands; it was those big and hard fists, and the like of them, which won the battles, by sea and by land, to perpetuate the memory of which millions are to be expended on monuments! That was the sort of hands which it was desired to see raised up all over England, in approbation of the recent marriage, and of the expences connected with it! This was the sort of hands, these grimy and muscular fists, which raised the bread we eat and which make the covering for our bodies and the houses we live in! This was the sort of hands that it was the object to see raised in this cause all over the country; and not the little soft dough-like hands of Doctors, and Proctors, and Placemen, and Pensioners. The difference between these two sets of hands is perfectly well understood, I assure you; and, though the project has been defeated by your good sense and public spirit, it was a project that reflected no small credit on the mind of the inventor.

The rejection of the addresses in this instance, was purely the work of the people; and on this account the decision was extremely interesting. The band consisted of both the political parties. Sir Edward Knatchbull is notorious for being

a thorough-paced Pittite. Sir William Geary is as notorious for being what is called a thorough-paced whig. These are the two members who represent the county in parliament. That is to say one of them represents the Kentish IN faction, the other represents the Kentish OUT faction; but, as you have now most clearly proved to the world, neither of them, nor both of them together, represent you, the people of Kent. This is a fact to be borne in mind. There were both the factions present. Both the factions were for the addresses. The two factions quarrel very frequently. They abuse each other, at times, in the most indecent strain; but when the object was to carry an address, in which both of them were interested, and most deeply interested too, in a way which I need not explain, or, at least, which I do not think it right to explain here; in such a case, they could forget their mutual abuse, and most cordially co-operate in the endeavouring, first to cajole you, and next to bully you, into a compliance with their wishes. You have given the two factions a lesson. They may send their addresses round the county to be signed in the parlours of parsons, placemen, pensioners and tax-gatherers; they may send them to be signed in the custom-houses, the excise-offices, the barracks, and the martello towers; but never, as long as they have any memory left, will they tender addresses like these to a meeting of the men of Kent.

A writer in the Courier news-paper has observed, that it was wrong to call a meeting in the *Street*; that it should have been held in the *Council Chamber*, or *Shire Hall*. And that nobody should have been admitted to it, except the nobility, the gentlemen of large estates, the clergy, the considerable freeholders, and the persons in office under the government. This he says was the practice of *our ancestors*. That this last assertion is a very daring falsehood most of you know. But, it is not to detect the falsehoods of a writer like this that I have introduced him. You know that this Courier is a decided hireling. You know that such a print only speaks as it is prompted. I have therefore introduced this writer and his article principally to show you how the phisic works which you administered on the 17th of June.

It is false to say that addresses and peti-

tions were by our ancestors signed in holes and corners; it is false to say that any *free man* in England, that is to say any man who was not a bondsman or a vassal; it is false to say that any such man was in former times excluded from the exercise even of the right of choosing members of parliament. But, if it be right to shut out the people; if the people have nothing to do with meetings of this sort, what impudence is it in any of these factions to pretend that they have the voice of the people with them! Let the factions meet in their holes and corners; let them draw up and pass their addresses in their Shire Halls or their barracks. This is all very well; but let them not pretend, let them not have the impudence to pretend, that they are carrying up in these addresses the sound of the voice of the people. Let them begin their address thus, "We, the placemen, pensioners, clergy, contractors, silk-gown gentlemen, tax-gatherers, and all other persons living out of the taxes, in the county of Kent, humbly beg leave to offer our most sincere and heartfelt congratulations," &c. &c. let them begin their address in this way, and I have not the smallest objection, nor can you, I presume, to their meeting in any Chamber, or any Hall that they may choose to fix on. For my part, if they were to meet for this county for instance, and I happened to be going by the place at the time, I do not say that I should not stop to look at them; but, it would be without any interest on my part the least in the world. I should stop and look, and laugh for a minute or two, as we frequently do at the mountebanks and tumblers, who do us the favour to stop and amuse our children in the villages which lie along the roads in this part of our county, as they are travelling to and from the great fair at Portsdown. Such meetings would be perfectly harmless. Their addresses would carry upon the face of them their fair character and a true representation of the persons from whom they proceeded. These "Shire Hall" gentry, or barrack gentry, might put what resolutions they pleased; they might pass without opposition whatever they liked to draw up; but then, what use would it be to carry up such addresses? That Prince or Princess must be stupid indeed, who would not at once perceive that the praises of such people

only were the strongest proof of a general feeling, or opinion of a precisely contrary character.

The writer in the *Courier*, who, I beg you to believe, is a person of very considerable importance, and one who is the mouth-piece of another person who has a great deal to say in your county; this writer says, that the latter must not go off so; he says, that the *public voice*, means the voice "of *select bodies, corporations, men of property, or of office, such as the clergy,*" &c.; and he adds that "laws were passed *twenty years ago*, for "bidding any meeting of more than forty "persons, unless called by magistrates." Then, he accuses your magistrates in the present case of *vanity*, in wishing to have a large meeting; and tells them that they should have had their meeting of a select sort. Now, my friends of Kent, this writer, who pretends that our *ancestors* met in holes and corners, and excluded the common people from all political meetings, was, it seems, talking of those famous *ancestors* of ours, Pitt, Dundas, and their associates, backed by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and his associates, who passed twenty years ago, those laws, which this writer so much commends, and which were called the *Gagging Laws*; but which laws will stand in need of being *revived*, in order to answer this writer's purpose, seeing that as far as relates to public meetings, the said *Gagging Laws* have expired; and also seeing, that the people may now lawfully meet, and deliberate upon politics without limitation as to numbers, and without the consent of Magistrate or Sheriff. However, let these laws be passed again, if Castlereagh and Canning and Sir Edward Knatchbull, and Sir William Geary, and the rest of the Parliament choose. Let them pass the laws again if they like. There will be no deception; no cheater, no fraud, either towards us or towards the world in the passing of such laws, or in the enforcing of them; we shall all understand that clearly. What I object to is the *fraud*; the *base and false pretence*, that it is the *people of England* that say this, or that like that, when they say the contrary of the one every day and every hour of their lives, and when they hate and detest the other with every vein in their hearts. This is what I object to. This knavish species of misrepresentation; this cheat-

ing of the people out of their voices; this filthy, this hateful trick, which has been so long practised, and with a degree of success not less destructive to the liberties of Europe than to the liberties and happiness of England herself.

By this grand trick the several bodies of the people of England have been played off against each other; first each particular body against all the other bodies; and then all the bodies except one against one body alternately. Thus, if these addresses had been carried at Maidstone, away would have gone one all through the country a most pompous account of the proceedings in the *county of Kent*. The "nobility, gentry, clergy, yeomanry, freeholders," would all have been *dropped* quietly. Not a word would have been said about them in these pompous accounts. They would have been put aside as so much rubbish; and nothing would have been talked of, but the *Kent county meeting*; the meeting of the *people in Kent*; the addresses of the *people of Kent*; the loyalty of the *people of Kent*. The placemen and pensioners and tax-gatherers would have been sitting quietly sniggering and chuckling at home, while this gross misrepresentation of the sentiments of the people of Kent; while the impudent imposture; while this scandalous piece of cheater was running throughout the country, and setting all the other counties in motion, very probably, to follow the *example*, as it would have been artfully and basely called, of the *PEOPLE OF KENT*! It would have been in vain that you yourselves knew the falsehood and the baseness of the misrepresentation; it would have been in vain that your hearts burnt within you to proclaim the real truth and to warn the rest of the counties against being imposed upon and cheated out of their voices and misrepresented and calumniated in the same way; it would have been in vain for you to endeavour to recal the occasion of preventing the misuse of your name; it would have been too late for you to lament; ninety-nine hundredths of the *press* is in other hands than yours; and, perhaps, every county in England, one after another, would, in consequence of the example of Kent, have been induced to send up similar addresses. From this the country has been preserved by your discernment and

resolution; far, not only will your example now not do harm; it will do good; it will operate in a different direction, and, if a similar trick should be attempted in any other county, it will, I have not the smallest doubt, meet with a similar fate. Let the addresses; let those who live upon the taxes, try their hand all along the coast and towards the west. Let them try their hands in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, or let them go into Berkshire; or, in short, into any other county; let them call a fair and open county meeting, and they will see how disgracefully they may be driven from the field.

So far, however, is the mercenary and most corrupt writer in the *Courier* from being of this opinion, that he asserts "that another meeting of the County of Kent should, nay, must be called. The county cannot (he says) sit down under the stigma of having refused to congratulate the Princess Charlotte on her marriage; it cannot sit down under so gross an insult, under so gross an outrage on its character." This writer does, however, observe, that, in case of another meeting, "more care must be taken respecting the attendants!" Very true, and perhaps he means there shall be an attendance of gentlemen from the barracks, in red or blue coats, on the backs of horses, and with carabines in their holsters, and swords in their hands. If this be his meaning, or if the yeomanry cavalry are to attend armed and accoutred; if this be his meaning, and if his recommendation be acted upon, which is by no means impossible, you will, I dare say, leave Sir William Geary to deliberate as long as he pleases, and will wish all the parties joy of their address.

But, as I imagine, that you do not think it any "stigma" on your county to have rejected the fulsome and ill-timed addresses which were brought forward; as you are very well content with the light in which the late meeting places your character; so, I venture to predict that your adversaries will not again risk their characters by calling another meeting for a similar purpose. It has been said that there could be no reason for rejecting the address; that the address could be disagreeable to no man who is capable of understanding it; that it was such as could have been disapproved of only by the lowest and most ignorant of the country

boors; and Sir William Geary expressly said that it was such that no man could oppose it. Now, my fellow countrymen, I think, that I understand the meaning of words as well as Sir William Geary does. I am sure that I clearly understand the meaning of these addresses; I do not think that I am one of the very lowest and most ignorant of the country boors; I am sure I love my country as well as Sir William Geary does. And with all this I say, that, if I had been at the meeting, if there had been only my single hand to be held up against the addresses, held up it should have been. But *why?* In the first place because I feel no joy at all at the marriage, being of opinion, that it is in no way whatever, calculated to promote the good of this country; and, in the next place, I have an objection to the general, sweeping, unqualified, hyperbolic, fulsome, eulogium on the House of Brunswick, and that, too, at the expense of the English nation, just as if England was never any thing at all until this family was put upon the throne, and as if its very existence depended upon the breath of the persons belonging to that House. I have no objection to make use of respectful language towards the King and his family when an occasion calls for my addressing them, but really I cannot talk in a strain, that would seem to argue, that I think so basely of my country, and, of course, of myself. As the Prince Regent told the Citizens of London sometime ago, that he did not think the occasion called for his interference in behalf of the suffering protestants of France; so I should have deemed it quite answer enough to these addressers, to have said, that I did not think, that the occasion called for our interference in the way of congratulation to the Royal Family.

But, if I had been present at the Kent meeting, I should not have been contented with a simple negative. It would have been impossible for me to have suffered those gentlemen to retire to the Bell Inn, there to enjoy their one-sided deliberations, without an attempt to induce the meeting to adopt some petition, address, or remonstrance upon the subject of the heavy burthens to which the nation is subjected, in consequence of the recent marriage. It is very well known, that, in the act of Parliament passed for rais-

ing the property-tax to ten per cent. a clause was introduced for exempting from that tax the money which the King had in the funds. It is also well known, that, in 1811, Commissioners were appointed to take care of the King's private property. I am to presume, therefore, that the King has private property; and though I do not name the sum (not having any positive proof of the amount of it) I may fairly presume that the amount is very considerable. If, therefore, the Prince Regent, the father of the Royal Bride, could not spare her any portion of the sums allotted to his uses; if the Queen could spare none of the sums allotted to her uses, at a time when prices had so much fallen, and when such very general misery prevailed throughout the country; still, at such a time, might not the purse of the nation have been saved a little by an application to those private means of the King, of which I have just spoken? What harm could it have done, if the King's private property had been made use of upon this occasion?

If, however, there had been nothing else, I should object to the greatness of the sums of money granted upon this occasion. For this first year there will be a cost of very little short of 200,000 pounds. The news-papers tell us that the husband has ordered *fifty grey horses* to be bought for his use. I dare say this is false; but, at any rate, how are 60,000 pounds for an out-fit to be spent, besides 60,000 pounds of salary, or pension? At the very time when these grants were making, thousands upon thousands of families were falling into ruin on account of the pressure of the taxes. And at the very moment that so many thousands of English people were almost actually starving to death for want of food, these immense sums are granted to a signer on account of his marriage with the daughter of the Prince of Wales! My friends of Kent, they always tell us that every grant and every sum that we complain of is a trifle; but, trifling as these sums are, there will be pretty nearly as much money expended on the Princess Charlotte of Wales and her husband during the first year of their marriage as will be raised to maintain the *whole of the poor in Hampshire during that year!* Is this a trifle, my friends? Well might you

say that you could not afford to keep foreigners, when the fact is notorious, and has been so declared by the Members of Parliament themselves, that the increase of poverty and pauperism is such, that, unless it be speedily put a stop to, this country must be ruined and enslaved.

We are eternally told, by those whose interest it is to deceive us, that a government, to be good, must be *expensive*; must be costly; that the persons belonging to it must have monstrous sums of money given to them; must keep innumerable servants and horses; must live bedizened out in all sorts of finery; must be attended with guards dressed up in gold-laced clothes; and that a plain simple government, where the persons belonging to it have low salaries, is fit for nothing but to rule a country that is worth nothing, and that is not much larger than the Isle of Thanet. Now, my friends of the county of Kent, nothing can be more false than this. It is not only not true, but it is the very reverse of the truth, as is amply demonstrated in the case of the American Republic. That Republic has as many people in it as England has. It has finer cities than any in England or any in Europe. None, indeed, that are nearly so populous as London and Westminster, but, two, at least, which surpass in population, and infinitely surpass in all other respects, all the other cities in the British dominions. That republic has about fourteen hundred miles of Sea-coast; many rivers navigable more than a hundred miles up; that republic has, probably, more than a hundred sea-ports and harbours. It has very nearly as much commercial shipping as England, Ireland and Scotland, all put together, and very nearly as many sailors. This, then, is no *trifling* country; and, yet, the Chief Magistrate of that country; a country which has lately carried on, single-handed, a long and triumphant war against England; the Chief Magistrate of that country receives only 6,000 pounds a year; that is to say, my friends of Kent, only about a seventh part as much as your Lord Camden receives annually for his sinecure place of Teller of the Exchequer! And, observe, that the President of the United States, the Chief Magistrate of that great nation, a man of such talents, such experience, such

tried virtue as he must be, receives, in the course of twenty years, no more than as much as the Princess Charlotte and her husband will receive in pension and in out-fit, during this one year! And, I beg you further to observe, that, as the Prince of Saxe Cobourg is to receive 50,000 pounds a year for life, in case of the death of the Princess, the least possible sum that this nation will have to pay him, for fifty years, if he should live so long, and if the law granting the pension should remain in force, will be a sum more than eight times as great as that which our brethren in America will have to pay to the Chief Magistrate of the Country, the man who performs for them by their authority, and in their name and behalf, all the offices and acts of Sovereignty.

Ah, my friends of Kent, need we wonder that there are no paupers in that country! Need we wonder, that in that country the common labouring man, with a large family, may live well, go well clothed, and lay by 30 pounds sterling a year? They would fain persuade us, that these expences of government are not felt by the poor. What, then, does not the poor man help to pay the taxes? Can he possibly open his mouth to

eat until he has paid a tax? Does he not pay a tax upon his salt, sugar, tea, malt, soap, candles, and, indeed, does he not pay a tax on his bread and meat and cheese and butter; for, have not the land, the horses, the leather, the iron, and every thing else been taxed, by the means of which his bread and meat have been produced? Yes, and the man who called out to Lord Camden, and told him that every morsel of bread that went into the mouths of his wife and nine children was taxed to help to pay his Lordship's salary, showed as much sense as he did spirit; and, had I been at Maidstone, I would rather have gone home and have dined with that brave man and his wife and nine children off a morsel of that taxed bread, than I would have gone to dine upon the delicate fruit of the tax at the Bell Inn.

I have only to add my sincere thanks, in which I know I speak the voice of thousands upon thousands, to the men of Kent, for their spirited and sensible conduct upon this occasion, and to say that I think it an honour to *subscribe myself their countryman.*

WM. CORBETT.









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